Edward Earle of CLARENDON, *Lord High* CHANCELLOR *of England and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Ao Dñi 1667.*

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year, 1641.

With the precedent PASSAGES, and ACTIONS, that contributed thereunto: And the HAPPY END and CONCLUSION thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

Edward Earl of *Clarendon*,

Late Lord High Chancellour of *England*, Privy Counſellour in the Reigns of King CHARLES the Firſt and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME II.

Printed for *John Hyde*, and *Robert Owen*, Bookſellers, 1719.

Imprimatur,

RO. MANDER

Vice-Can. OXON.

Ap. 29. 1702.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

TO *Your Majesty is most humbly Dedicated this Second Part of the* History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars, *written by* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon. *For to whom so naturally can the Works of this Author, treating of the Times of Your Royal Grandfather, be addres's'd, as to Your Self; now wearing, with Lustre and Glory, that Crown, which, in those unhappy days, was treated with so much contempt and barbarity, and laid low even to the Dust?*

This Second Part comes with the greater confidence into Your Presence, by the advantage of the favourable reception the First hath met with in the World; since it is not to be doubted, but the same truth, fairness, and impartiality, that will be found throughout the whole thread of the History, will meet with the same Candour from all equal Judges.

'Tis true, some few Persons, whose Ancestors are here found not to have had that part during their lives, which would have been more agreeable to the wishes of their surviving Posterity, have been offended at some particulars, mentioned in this History, concerning so near Relations, and would have them pass for mistaken Informations. But it is to be hoped, that such a concern of Kindred for their Families, tho' not blameable in them, will rather appear partial on Their side; since it cannot be doubted, but this Author must have had his Materials from undeniable, and unexceptionable hands, and could have no temptation to insert any thing, but the Truth, in a work of this nature, which was design'd to remain to Posterity, as a faithful record of Things, and Persons in those Times, and of his own unquestionable sincerity in the representation of them:

In this assurance it is humbly hoped, it will not be unprofitable to Your Majesty to be here inform'd of the fatal and undeserv'd misfortunes of one of your Ancestors, with the particular and sad occasions of them; the better to direct Your Royal Person through the continual uncertainties of the Greatness of this World. And as Your Majesty cannot have a better Guide, throughout the whole Course of Your Reign, for the good Administration of Your Government, than History in general, so there cannot be a more useful one to Your Majesty than this of Your own Kingdoms; and it is presum'd, without lying under the Imputation of misleading Your Majesty, it may be asserted, that no Author could have been better instructed, and have known more of the Times and Matters of which he writes, than this who is here presented to You.

Your Majesty may depend upon his Relations to be true in Fact; and You will find his Observations just; his Reflections made with judgment and weight; and his Advices given upon wise and honest Principles; not capable of being now interpreted as subservient to any Ambition or Interest of his own; and having now outliv'd the Prejudices and Partialities of the Times in which they were Written. And Your Majesty thus Elevated, as by God's blessings You are, from whom a great many Truths may be industriously conceal'd, and on whom a great many wrong Notions under false Colours may with equal care be obtruded, will have the greater Advantage from this faithful Remembrancer.

This Author, once a Privy Counsellor and Minister to two Great Kings, and, in a good degree, Favourite to one of Them, hath some pretence to be admitted into Your Majesty's Council too, and may become capable of doing You Service also; whilst the Accounts he gives of Times past, come seasonably to guide You through the Times present, and those to come.

This History may lie upon Your Table unenvied, and Your Majesty may pass hours and days in the perusal of it, when possibly, They who shall be the most useful in Your Service, may be reflected on for aiming too much at influencing Your Actions, and engrossing Your Time.

From this History Your Majesty may come to know more of the nature, and temper of Your own People, than hath yet been observed by any other Hand. Neither can any living Conversation lay before Your Majesty, in one view, so many Transactions necessary for Your Observation. And seeing no Prince can be endued in a moment with a perfect Experience in the Conduct of Affairs, whatever knowledge may be useful to Your Majesty's Government, if it may have been concealed from You in the Circumstances of your private Life, in this History it may be the most effectually supplied; where Your Majesty will find the true Constitution of Your Government, both in Church and State, plainly laid before You, as well as the Mistakes, that were committed in the management of both.

Here Your Majesty will see how both those Interests are inseparable, and ought to be preserv'd so, and how fatal it hath prov'd to both, whenever, by the Artifice and Malice of wicked and self-designing Men, they have happen'd to be divided. And though Your Majesty will see here, how a Great King lost his Kingdoms, and at last his Life, in the Defence of this Church, You will discern too, that it was by Men who were no better Friends to Monarchy than to true Religion, that his Calamities were brought upon Him; and as it was the Method of those Men to take exceptions first to the Ceremonies and outward Order of the Church, that they might attack her the more surely in her very Being and Foundation, so they could not destroy the State, which they chiefly design'd, till they had first overturn'd the Church. And a truth it is which cannot be controverted, That the Monarchy of England *is not now capable of being Supported, but upon the Principles of the Church of* England; *from whence it will be very natural to conclude, that the preserving them both firmly United together, is the likeliest way for Your Majesty to Reign happily over Your Subjects.*

The Religion by Law Established is such a Vital part of the Government, so constantly woven and mixed into every branch of it, that generally Men look upon it as a good part of their Property too; since that, and the Government of the Church, is secured to them by the same Provision. So that it seems that, next to Treason against Your Sacred Person, an Invasion upon the Church ought to be watched and prevented by those who have the Honour to be trusted in the publick Administration, with the strictest Care and Diligence, as the best way to preserve Your Person and Government in their just Dignity and Authority.

Amongst

The DEDICATION.

Amongſt all the Obſervations, that may be made out of this Hiſtory, there ſeems none more Melancholick, than that, after ſo much miſery and deſolation brought upon theſe Kingdoms by that unnatural Civil War, which hath yet left ſo many deep and lamentable marks of it's Rage and Fury, there have hitherto appear'd ſo few ſigns of Repentance and Reformation.

Some Perſons will ſee, they are deſign'd to be excepted out of this Remark, whoſe Conduct hath happily made amends for the Miſtakes of their Anceſtors, and whoſe Practice in the Stations they are now in, does ſufficiently diſtinguiſh them. Happy were it for the Nation, had all the reſt thought fit to follow ſo good Examples, and that either Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion, or Acts of Grace and Favour, or Employments of Authority, Riches, and Honour, had hitherto been able to recover many of them to the temper of good Subjects. The truth of this obſervation is ſet forth by this Author in ſo lively a manner, that one hath frequent occaſions too look on him as a Prophet as well as an Hiſtorian, in ſeveral particulars mention'd in this Book.

That this remark may not look froward or angry, with great ſubmiſſion to Your Majeſty, it may be conſider'd, what can be the meaning of the ſeveral Seminaries, and as it were Univerſities, ſet up in divers parts of the Kingdom, by more than ordinary Induſtry, contrary to Law, ſupported by large Contributions; where the Youth is bred up in Principles directly contrary to Monarchical and Epiſcopal Government? What can be the meaning of the conſtant Solemnizing by ſome Men, the Anniverſary of that diſmal Thirtieth of January, *in ſcandalous and opprobrious Feaſting and Feſting, which the Law of the Land hath Commanded to be perpetually obſerv'd in Faſting and Humiliation? If no ſober Man can ſay any thing in the defence of ſuch Actions, ſo deſtructive to the very Eſſence of the Government, and yet impoſſible to be conducted without much Conſultation and Advice, it is hoped this Reflection will not be thought to have proceeded from an uncharitable and ill-natur'd Spirit, but from a dutiful and tender Regard to the good of the Nation, and the proſperity of Your Majeſty's Reign.*

In the mean time, whether this does not look like an induſtrious Propagation of the Rebellious Principles of the laſt Age, and on that ſcore render it neceſſary that Your Majeſty ſhould have an Eye towards ſuch unaccountable Proceedings, is humbly ſubmitted to Your Majeſty; who will make a better Judgment upon the whole than any others can ſuggeſt to You: You have a greater Intereſt to do it; You have much more to preſerve, and much more to loſe; You have the happineſs of Your Kingdoms, Your Crown, and Your Government to ſecure, in a time of as great difficulties, as ever were yet known, under a very Expenſive War at preſent, and ſome Circumſtances attending it in relation to theſe Nations that may continue even after a Peace; beſides the danger of a future Separation of the two Kingdoms, very uncomfortable to reflect on; which yet, in all probability, will have Influence upon the preſent times too, if it comes once to be thought that it is inevitable.

God give Your Majeſty a ſafe and proſperous paſſage through ſo many appearances of Hazard; You can never want Undertakers of divers ſorts, who, according to their ſeveral Politicks, will warrant You Succeſs if You will truſt 'em: But Your real happineſs will very much depend upon Your ſelf, and Your chooſing to Honour with Your Service ſuch Perſons as are Honeſt, Stout, and Wiſe.

If Informations of Times paſt may be uſeful, this Author will deſerve a ſhare of Credit with You, whoſe Reputation and Experience were ſo great in his Life time, that they will be Recorded in Times to come for the real Services he did, beſides the Honour, and great Fortune, unuſual to a Subject, of having been Grand-father to two great Queens, your Royal Siſter and your Self; both ſo well belov'd, and eſteem'd by your People; both ſo willing, and zealous to do Good. Her Power indeed was more limited and dependent; but Her early Death made room for your Majeſty's more unreſtrain'd and Sovereign Authority, and reſign'd to your Self alone the more laſting diſpenſation of thoſe Bleſſings that came from Heaven to you both.

If the benefit your Majeſty may reap by the peruſal of this Hiſtory, ſhall prove ſerviceable to after times, it will be remember'd to the praiſe and honour of his Name; and your Majeſty your ſelf, will not be diſpleaſed to allow his Memory a ſhare of that Advantage; nor be offended with being put in mind, that your Engliſh *Heart, ſo happily own'd by your ſelf, and Ador'd by your Subjects, had not been ſo* Entirely Engliſh, *without a communication with His Heart too, than which there never was one more devoted to the good of his Country, and the firm Eſtabliſhment of the Crown.*

It being deſign'd by this Dedication only to Introduce this Noble Author into your Preſence, it would be contrary to the Intention of it to take up more of your Majeſty's

Time

Time here; it is beſt therefore to leave this faithful Counſellor alone with you. For God's ſake, Madam, and your own, be pleaſed to read Him with Attention, and ſerious and frequent Reflections; and from thence, in Conjunction with your own Heart, preſcribe to your Self the methods of true and laſting Greatneſs, and the ſolid Maxims of a Sovereign truly Engliſh : *That during this Life, you may exceed in Felicities and Fame, and after this Life, in Reputation and Eſteem, that Glorious Predeceſſor of your Majeſty's, the Renown'd Firſt* Semper Eadem, *whoſe Motto you have choſen, and whoſe Pattern you ſeem to have taken for your great Example, to your own Immortal Glory, and the Defence, Security, and Proſperity of the Kingdoms you Govern.*

And God grant You may do ſo long.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Rebellion *and* Civil Wars, *&c.*

BOOK VI.

Iſa. XVIII. ii.

Go, ye ſwift Meſſengers, to a Nation ſcattered and peeled, to a People terrible from their beginning hitherto : a Nation meted out and troden down, whoſe Land the Rivers have ſpoiled.

Iſa. XIX. xiii, xiv.

The Princes of Zoan are become fools :
The Lord hath mingled a perverſe Spirit in the midſt thereof.

WHEN the King ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, which was on the 25th of *Auguſt*, as is before remember'd, he found the place much emptier than he thought the Fame of his Standard would have ſuffer'd it to be; and receiv'd Intelligence the next day, that the Rebels Army, for ſuch now he had declared them, was Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, at *Northampton*; beſides that Party which, in the end of the Fifth Book, we left at *Coventry*; whereas His few Cannon and Ammunition were ſtill at *York*, being neither yet in an Equipage to march, though Sir *John Heydon*, his Majeſty's faithful Lieutenant of the Ordnance, uſed all poſſible diligence to form

The King's condition at Nottingham.

and prepare it; neither were there Foot enough levy'd to guard it; and at *Nottingham*, beſides ſome few of the Train'd-bands, which Sir *John Digby*, the active Sheriff of that County, drew into the old ruinous Caſtle there, there were not of Foot levy'd for the Service yet three hundred Men. So that they who were not over much given to fear, finding very many places in that great River, which was look'd upon as the only ſtrength and ſecurity of the Town, to be eaſily fordable, and nothing towards an Army for defence, but the Standard ſet up, begun ſadly to apprehend the danger of the King's own Perſon. Inſomuch that Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, his Serjeant-Major-General of his intended Army, told him, "That he could not give any aſſurance againſt "his Majeſty's being taken out of his Bed, if the Rebels ſhould make a briſk "attempt to that purpoſe. And it was evident, all the Strength he had to depend upon was his Horſe, which were under the Command of Prince *Rupert* at *Leiceſter*, and were not at that time in Number above eight hundred, few better arm'd than with Swords, whilſt the Enemy had, within leſs than twenty Miles of that place, double the Number of Horſe, excellently arm'd and appointed, and a Body of five thouſand Foot well train'd and diſciplin'd; ſo that, no doubt, if they had advanced, they might at leaſt have diſperſed thoſe few Troops of the King's, and driven his Majeſty to a greater diſtance, and expoſed him to notable hazards and inconveniencies.

Portſmouth beſieg'd by the Parliaments Forces.

WHEN Men were almoſt confounded with this proſpect, his Majeſty received Intelligence, that *Portſmouth* was ſo ſtreightly beſieged by Sea and Land, that it would be reduced in very few days, except it were reliev'd. For the truth is, Colonel *Goring*, though he had ſufficient warning, and ſufficient ſupplies of Money to put that place into a poſture, had rely'd too much upon probable and caſual aſſiſtance, and neglected to do that Himſelf which a vigilant Officer would have done: and albeit his chief dependence was both for Money and Proviſions from the Iſle of *Wight*, yet he was careleſs to ſecure thoſe ſmall Caſtles and Block-houſes, that guarded the paſſage; which revolting to the Parliament aſſoon as he declared for the King, cut off all thoſe Dependences; ſo that he had neither Men enough to do ordinary Duty, nor Proviſions enough for thoſe few, for any conſiderable time. And at the ſame time with this news of *Portſmouth*, arriv'd certain Advertiſements, that the Marquis of *Hertford*, and all his Forces in the Weſt, from whom only the King hoped that *Portſmouth* ſhould be reliev'd, was driven out of *Somerſet-ſhire*, where his Power and Intereſt was believ'd unqueſtionable, into *Dorſetſhire*; and there beſieged in *Sherborne* Caſtle.

The Marquis of Hertford's *Actions in* Somerſet-ſhire, *&c.*

THE Marquis, after he left the King at *Beverley*, by ordinary Journies, and without making any long ſtay by the way, came to *Bath*, upon the very edge of *Somerſet-ſhire*, at the time when the General Aſſizes were there held; where, meeting all the conſiderable Gentlemen of that great County, and finding them well-affected to the King's Service, except very few who were ſufficiently known, he enter'd into conſultation with them, from whom he was to expect aſſiſtance, in what place he ſhould moſt conveniently fix himſelf for the better diſpoſing the Affections of the people, and to raiſe a ſtrength for the reſiſtance of any attempt which the Parliament might make, either againſt them, or to diſturb the Peace of the Country by their Ordinance of the Militia, which was the firſt Power they were like to hear of. Some were of opinion, "That *Briſtol* would be the fitteſt place, being a great, rich, and "populous City; of which being once poſſeſſed, they ſhould be eaſily able "to give the Law to *Somerſet* and *Gloceſter-ſhire*; and could not receive any af-"front by a ſuddain or tumultuary Inſurrection of the People. And if this Advice had been follow'd, it would, probably, have proved very proſperous. But on the contrary, it was objected, "That it was not evident, that his "Lordſhip's reception into the City would be ſuch as was expected; Mr. "*Hollis* being Lieutenant thereof, and having exerciſed the Militia there; "and there being viſibly many diſaffected People in it, and ſome of eminent "Quality; and if he ſhould attempt to go thither and be diſappointed, it "would break the whole Deſign: Then that it was out of the County of "*Somerſet*, and therefore that they could not Legally draw that People thi-"ther; beſides, that it would look like fear and ſuſpicion of their own Pow-"er, to put themſelves into a walled Town, as if they fear'd the Power of

"the

" the other Party would be able to oppreſs them. Whereas, except *Popham* " and *Horner*, all the Gentlemen of Eminent Quality and Fortune of *Somer-* " *ſet-ſhire*, were either preſent with the Marquis, or preſum'd not to be " inclin'd to the Parliament. And therefore they propos'd, That *Wells*, " being a pleaſant City in the heart and near the center of that County, " might be choſen for his Lordſhip's reſidence. Which was accordingly agreed on, and thither the Marquis and his Train went, ſending for the neareſt Train'd-bands to appear before him; and preſuming, that in little time, by the Induſtry of the Gentlemen preſent, and his Lordſhip's Reputation, which was very great, the affections of the People would be ſo much wrought upon, and their underſtandings ſo well inform'd, that it would not be in the Power of the Parliament to pervert them, or to make ill impreſſions on them towards his Majeſty's Service.

WHILST his Lordſhip in this gentle way endeavour'd to compoſe the fears and apprehenſions of the People, and by doing all things in a peaceable way, and according to the Rules of the known Laws, to convince all Men of the Juſtice and Integrity of his Majeſty's proceedings and Royal intentions; the other Party, according to their uſual confidence and activity, wrought under-hand to perſwade the People that the Marquis was come down to put the Commiſſion of Array in Execution, by which Commiſſion a great part of the Eſtate of every Farmer or ſubſtantial Yeoman ſhould be taken from them; alledging that ſome Lords had ſaid, "That twenty pounds " by the Year was enough for every Peaſant to live on; and ſo, taking advantage of the Commiſſion's being in Latin, tranſlated it into what *Engliſh* they pleaſed; perſwading the ſubſtantial Yeomen and Freeholders, that at leaſt, two parts of their Eſtates would, by that Commiſſion, be taken from them; and the meaner and poorer ſort of People, that they were to pay a *Tax* for one days labour in the Week to the King; and that all ſhould be, upon the matter, no better than Slaves to the Lords, and that there was no way to free and preſerve themſelves from this inſupportable Tyranny, but by adhering to the Parliament, and ſubmitting to the Ordinance for the Militia; which was purpoſely prepar'd to enable them to reſiſt theſe horrid Invaſions of their Liberties.

IT cannot eaſily be believ'd how theſe groſs Infuſions generally prevail'd. For though the Gentlemen of Antient Families and Eſtates in that County were, for the moſt part, well affected to the King, and eaſily diſcern'd by what Faction the Parliament was govern'd; yet there were a People of an inferior degree, who, by good Husbandry, Clothing, and other thriving Arts, had gotten very great Fortunes; and, by degrees, getting themſelves into the Gentlemen's Eſtates, were angry that they found not themſelves in the ſame Eſteem and Reputation with thoſe whoſe Eſtates they had; and therefore, with more induſtry than the other, ſtudied all ways to make themſelves conſiderable. Theſe, from the beginning, were faſt Friends to the Parliament; and many of them were now entruſted by them as Deputy Lieutenants in their new Ordinance of the Militia, and having found when the People were ripe, gather'd them together, with a purpoſe on a ſuddain, before there ſhould be any ſuſpicion, to ſurround and ſurprize the Marquis at *Wells*. For they had always this advantage of the King's Party and his Counſels, that their Reſolutions were no ſooner publiſh'd, than they were ready to be executed, there being an abſolute implicite Obedience in the inferior ſort to thoſe who were to Command them; and their private Agents, with admirable induſtry and ſecrecy, preparing all Perſons and Things ready againſt a Call: Whereas all the King's Counſels were, with great formality deliberated, before concluded: and then with equal formality, and preciſe caution of the Law, executed; there being no other way to weigh down the prejudice, that was contracted againſt the Court, but by the moſt barefaced publiſhing all concluſions, and fitting them to that apparent juſtice and reaſon, that might prevail over the moſt ordinary underſtandings.

WHEN the Marquis was thus in the midſt of an Enemy that almoſt cover'd the whole Kingdom, his whole ſtrength was a Troop of Horſe, raiſed by Mr. *John Digby*, Son to the Earl of *Briſtol*, and another by Sir *Francis Hawley* (both which were levied in thoſe parts to attend the King in the

North) and a Troop of Horſe and a ſmall Troop of Dragoons, raiſed and armed by Sir *Ralph Hopton* at his own charge; and about one hundred Foot gather'd up by Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lunsford* towards a Regiment, which were likewiſe to have march'd to the King. Theſe, with the Lord *Pawlet*, and the Gentlemen of the Country, which were about eight and twenty of the prime Quality there, with their Servants and Retinue made up the Marquis's force. Then their proceedings were with that exceeding caution, that upon advertiſement that the active Miniſters of the contrary party had appointed a general meeting at a Town within few Miles of *Wells*, Sir *Ralph Hopton* being adviſed with his ſmall Troop and ſome Voluntier Gentlemen to repair thither, and to diſappoint that Convention, and to take care that it might produce the leaſt prejudice to the King's Service; before he reach'd the place, thoſe Gentlemen who ſtay'd behind (and by whoſe advice the Marquis thought it neceſſary abſolutely to govern himſelf, that they might ſee all poſſible warineſs was us'd in the entrance into a War, which being once enter'd into, he well knew muſt be carried on another way) ſent him word, "That he ſhould forbear any hoſtile Act, other-"wiſe they would diſclaim whatſoever he ſhould do. Whereas the Courage and Reſolution of thoſe few were ſuch, and the Cowardize of the undiſciplin'd ſeditious Rabble and their Leaders was ſo eminent, that it was very probable, if thoſe few Troops had been as actively employ'd as their Commanders deſir'd, they might have been able to have driven the Biggots out of the Country, before they had fully poſſeſſed the reſt with their own rancour: which may be reaſonably preſum'd by what follow'd ſhortly after, when Mr. *Digby*, Sir *John Stawell* and his Sons, with ſome Voluntier Gentlemen, being in the whole not above fourſcore Horſe, and fourteen Dragoons, charged a greater Body of Horſe, and above ſix hundred Foot of the Rebels, led by a Member of the Houſe of Commons; and without the loſs of one Man, killed ſeven in the place, hurt very many, took their Chief Officers, and as many more Priſoners as they would; and ſo routed the whole Body, that ſix Men kept not together, they having all thrown down their Arms.

BUT this good Fortune abated only the Courage of thoſe who had run away, the others making uſe of this overthrow as an argument of the Marquis's bloody Purpoſes, and therefore, in few days, Sir *John Horner* and *Alexander Popham*, being the principal Men of Quality of that Party in that County, with the aſſiſtance of their Friends of *Dorſet*, and *Devon*, and the City of *Briſtol*, drew together a Body of above twelve thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot, with ſome pieces of Cannon, with which they appear'd on the top of the Hill over *Wells*; where the Marquis, in contempt of them, ſtay'd two days, having only Barricadoed the Town; but then, finding that the few Train'd-bands, which attended him there, were run away, either to their own Houſes, or to their fellows, on the top of the Hill; and hearing that more Forces, or, at leaſt, better Officers were coming from the Parliament againſt him, he retir'd in the noon day, and in the face of that Rebellious Herd from *Wells* to *Somerton*, and ſo to *Sherborne*, without any loſs or trouble.

He retires to Sherborne.

Thither, within two days, came to his Lordſhip Sir *John Berkley*, Colonel *Aſhburnham*, and ſome other good Officers, enough to have form'd a conſiderable Army, if there had been no other Want. But they had not been long there (and it was not eaſy to reſolve whither elſe to go, they having no reaſon to believe they ſhould be any where more welcome than in *Somerſet-ſhire*, from whence they had been now driven) when the Earl of *Bedford*, General of the Horſe to the Parliament, with Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Walter Earl* and other *Ephori*, and a compleat Body of Seven Thouſand Foot at leaſt, order'd by *Charles Eſſex*, their Serjeant-Major-General, a Soldier of good Experience and Reputation in the low Countries, and eight full Troops of Horſe, under the Command of Captain *Pretty*, with four pieces of Cannon, in a very ſplendid equipage came to *Wells*, and from thence to *Sherborne*.

The Earl of Bedford *comes againſt him.*

The Marquis by this time, having encreaſed his Foot to four hundred, with which that great Army was kept from entering that Town, and perſwaded to encamp in the Field about three quarters of a Mile North from the Caſtle; where, for the preſent, we muſt leave the Marquis and his great-ſpirited little Army.

IT

IT could never be underſtood, why that Army did not then march directly to *Nottingham*; which if it had done, his Majeſty's few Forces muſt immediately have been ſcatter'd, and himſelf fled, or put himſelf into their Hands, which there were enough ready to have adviſ'd him to do; and if he had eſcap'd, he might have been purſued by one Regiment of Horſe till he had quitted the Kingdom. But it pleaſed GOD, that they made not the leaſt advance towards *Nottingham*. They about the King began now to wiſh that he had ſtay'd at *York*, and propoſed his return thither; but that was not hearken'd to; and they who adviſed his ſtay there, and againſt the advance to *Nottingham*, were more againſt his return thither, as an abſolute flight; but urged the advance of the Levies, and a little patience, till it might be diſcern'd what the Enemy did intend to do. In this great anxiety, ſome of the Lords deſired, "That his Majeſty would ſend a Meſſage "to the Parliament, with ſome overture to incline them to a Treaty; which propoſition was no ſooner made, but moſt concurr'd in it, and no one had the confidence to oppoſe it. The King himſelf was ſo offended at it, that he declared, "He would never yield to it, and broke up the Coun- "cil, that it might be no longer urged. But the next day, when they met again, they renew'd the ſame advice with more earneſtneſs. The Earl of *Southampton*, a Perſon of great Prudence, and of a reputation at leaſt equal to any Man's, preſſed it, "As a thing that might do good, and could do no "harm: and the King's reaſons, with reference to the inſolence it would raiſe in the Rebels, and the diſhonour that would thereby reflect upon Himſelf, were anſwer'd, by ſaying, "Their inſolence would be for the King's "advantage; and when they ſhould reject the offer of Peace, which they "believ'd they would do, they would make themſelves the more odious to "the People, who would be thereby the more inclin'd to ſerve the King. So that they took it as granted, that the propoſition would be rejected; and therefore it ought to be made. It was farther ſaid, "That his Majeſty was "not able to make reſiſtance; that the Forces before *Sherborne*, *Portſmouth*, "and at *Northampton*, were three ſeveral Armies, the leaſt of which would "drive his Majeſty out of his Dominions; that it was only in his power "to chooſe, whether, by making a fair offer himſelf, he would ſeem to "make Peace, which could not but render him very gracious to the People, or ſuffer himſelf to be taken Priſoner (which he would not long be "able to avoid) which would give his Enemies Power, Reputation, and "Authority to proceed againſt his Majeſty, and, it might be, his Poſterity, according to their own engaged Malice.

The King conſults at Nottingham *of ſending a Meſſage for Peace.*

YET this motive made no impreſſion in him. "For, he ſaid, no "misfortune, or ill ſucceſs that might attend his endeavour of defending "himſelf, could expoſe him to more inconveniencies than a Treaty at this "time deſired by him, where he muſt be underſtood to be willing to yield "to whatſoever they would require of him; and how modeſt they were "like to be, might be judged by their Nineteen Propoſitions, which were "tender'd, when their power could not be reaſonably underſtood to be "like ſo much to exceed his Majeſty's, as at this time it was evident it did; "and that having now nothing to loſe but his honour, he could be only "excuſable to the world, by uſing his induſtry to the laſt, to oppoſe the "Torrent, which if it prevail'd, would overwhelm him. This compoſed "Courage and Magnanimity of his Majeſty ſeem'd too Philoſophical, and abſtracted from the Policy of ſelf Preſervation, to which moſt others were paſſionately addicted: and that which was the King's greateſt diſadvantage, how many ſoever were of his mind (as ſome few, and but few there were;) no Man durſt publickly avow that he was ſo; a Treaty for Peace being ſo popular a thing, that whoſoever oppoſed it would be ſure to be, by general conſent, a declar'd Enemy to his Country.

THAT which prevail'd with his Majeſty very reaſonably then to yield (and indeed it proved equally advantageous to him afterwards) was, "That "it was moſt probable (and his whole fortune was to be ſubmitted at beſt "to probabilities) that, out of their pride, and contempt of the King's "weakneſs and want of power, the Parliament would refuſe to treat; which "would be ſo unpopular a thing, that, as his Majeſty would highly oblige

" his People by making the offer, ſo They would loſe the hearts of them " by rejecting it; which alone would raiſe an Army for his Majeſty. That " if they ſhould embrace it, the King could not but be a gainer; for by " the Propoſitions which they ſhould make to him, he would be able to " ſtate the Quarrel ſo clearly, that it ſhould be more demonſtrable to the " Kingdom, than yet it was, that the War was, on his Majeſty's part, pure- " ly defenſive; ſince he never had, and now would not deny any thing, " which they could in reaſon, or juſtice ask: That this very overture would " neceſſarily produce ſome pauſe, and delay in their preparations, or mo- " tions of their Armies; for ſome Debate it muſt needs have; and during " that time, Men's minds would be in ſuſpence; whereas his Majeſty ſhould " be ſo far from ſlackning his Preparations, that he might be more vigorous " in them, by haſtning thoſe Levies, for which his Commiſſions were out. For theſe reaſons, and almoſt the concurrent deſire, and importunity of his Council, the King was prevailed with to ſend the Earls of *Southampton*, and *Dorſet*, Sir *John Colepepper*, Chancellor of his Exchequer, and Sir *William Udall* (whom his Majeſty gave leave under that pretence to intend the buſineſs of his own fortune) to the two Houſes with this Meſſage, which was ſent the third day after his Standard was ſet up.

The King ſends to the two Houſes a Meſſage for Peace by the Earl of Southampton, *&c.*

" WE have, with unſpeakable grief of heart, long beheld the diſtractions " of this our Kingdom. Our very Soul is full of Anguiſh, until We may find " ſome remedy to prevent the Miſeries, which are ready to overwhelm this " whole Nation by a Civil War. And though all our Endeavours, tending " to the compoſing of thoſe unhappy differences betwixt Us and our two " Houſes of Parliament (though purſued by Us with all zeal and ſincerity) " have been hitherto without that ſucceſs We hoped for; yet ſuch is our " conſtant and earneſt care to preſerve the publick Peace, that We ſhall not " be diſcouraged from uſing any expedient, which, by the bleſſing of the God " of Mercy, may lay a firm foundation of Peace and Happineſs to all our " good Subjects. To this end, obſerving that many Miſtakes have ariſen by " the Meſſages, Petitions, and Anſwers, betwixt Us and our two Houſes of " Parliament, which happily may be prevented by ſome other way of Trea- " ty, wherein the Matters in difference may be more clearly underſtood, " and more freely tranſacted; We have thought fit to propound to you, that " ſome fit Perſons may be by You enabled to treat with the like number to be " Authoriſed by Us, in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch freedom of Debate, as " may beſt tend to that happy concluſion which all good Men deſire, the " Peace of the Kingdom. Wherein, as We promiſe, in the Word of a " King, all ſafety and encouragement to ſuch as ſhall be ſent unto Us, if You " ſhall chooſe the place where We are, for the Treaty, which we wholely " leave to You, preſuming the like care of the ſafety of thoſe We ſhall Em- " ploy, if You ſhall name another place; ſo we aſſure You, and all our good " Subjects, that, to the beſt of our underſtanding, nothing ſhall be therein " wanting on our part, which may advance the true Proteſtant Religion, op- " poſe Popery and Superſtition, ſecure the Law of the Land (upon which is " built as well our juſt Prerogative, as the Propriety and Liberty of the Sub- " ject) confirm all juſt Power and Privileges of Parliament, and render Us " and our People truly happy by a good underſtanding betwixt Us and our " two Houſes of Parliament. Bring with You as firm Reſolutions to do your " Duty; and let all our good People join with us in our Prayers to Almighty " God, for His Bleſſing upon this Work. If this Propoſition ſhall be reject- " ed by you, we have done our duty ſo amply, that God will abſolve Us " from the Guilt of any of that Blood which muſt be ſpilt; and what opinion " ſoever other Men may have of our Power, We aſſure you nothing but our " Chriſtian and Pious Care to prevent the effuſion of Blood, hath begot this " motion; Our Proviſion of Men, Arms, and Money, being ſuch as may " ſecure Us from farther Violence, till it pleaſes God to open the Eyes of " Our People.

How it was received by them. THIS Meſſage had the ſame reception his Majeſty believ'd it would have; and was indeed receiv'd with unheard of Inſolence and Contempt. For the

the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, desiring to appear themselves before any notice should arrive of their coming, made such haste, that they were at *Westminster* in the Morning shortly after the Houses met. The Earl of *Southampton* went into the House of Peers, where he was scarce sat down in his place, when, with great passion, he was call'd upon to withdraw; albeit he told them he had a Message to them from the King, and there could be no exception to his Lordship's sitting in the House upon their own grounds; he having had leave from the House to attend his Majesty. However he was compell'd to withdraw, and then they sent the Gentleman Usher of the House to him, to require his Message; which his Lordship said, he was by the King's command to deliver himself, and refused therefore to send it, except the Lords made an Order that he should not deliver it himself; which they did; and thereupon he sent it to them; which they no sooner receiv'd, than they sent him Word, " That he should, at his Peril, immediately depart " the Town, and that they would take care that their Answer to the Mes- " sage should be sent to him. And so the Earl of *Southampton* departed the Town, reposing himself at the House of a Noble Person seven or eight miles off. Whilst the Earl had this skirmish with the Lords, Sir *John Colepepper* attended the Commons, forbearing to go into the House without leave, because there had been an Order (which is mentioned before) *that all the Members, who were not present at such a day, should not presume to sit there, till they had paid a hundred Pounds, and given the House satisfaction in the cause of their Absence.* But he sent word to the Speaker, " That he had a Message from the King to them, " and that he desired to deliver it in his place in the House. After some debate (for there remain'd yet some, who thought it as unreasonable as irregular to deny a Member of the House, against whom there had not been the least publick objection, and a Privy Counsellor, who had been in all times used there with great respect, leave to deliver a Message from the King in his own place as a Member) it was absolutely resolv'd, " That he should not sit " in the House, but that he should deliver his Message at the Bar, and immediately withdraw; which he did accordingly.

THEN the two Houses met at a Conference, and read the King's Message with great superciliousness; and within two days, with less difficulty and opposition than can be believ'd, agreed upon their Answer. The King's Messengers, in the mean time, though of that Quality, did not receive ordinary civilities from any Members of either House; they who were very willing to have done it, not daring for their own safety to come near them; and the others, looking upon them, as Servants to a Master whom they had, and meant farther to oppress. Private Conferences they had with some of the principal Governors; from whom they receiv'd no other advice, but that, *If the King had any care of Himself or his Posterity, he should immediately come to* London, *throw himself into the Arms of his Parliament, and comply with whatsoever they proposed.* The Answer which they return'd to the King was this.

The Answer of the Lords and Commons to his Majesty's Message of the 25th of August 1642.

" May it please Your Majesty:

" THE Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having receiv'd *Their Answer.*
" your Majesty's Message of the 25th of *August*, do with much grief resent the
" dangerous and distracted State of this Kingdom; which we have by all
" means endeavour'd to prevent, both by our several Advices and Petitions
" to your Majesty; which hath been not only without success, but there hath
" follow'd that which no ill Counsel in former Times hath produced, or any
" Age hath seen, namely those several Proclamations and Declarations against
" both the Houses of Parliament, whereby their Actions are declar'd Treason-
" able, and their Persons Traytors. And thereupon your Majesty hath set up
" your Standard against them, whereby you have put the two Houses of Par-
" liament, and, in Them, this whole Kingdom, out of your Protection; so
" that until your Majesty shall recall those Proclamations and Declarations,
" whereby the Earl of *Essex*, and both Houses of Parliament, and their Ad-
" herents, and Assistants, and such as have obey'd and executed their Com-

" mands and Directions, according to their Duties, are declar'd Traytors or " otherwiſe Delinquents: and until the Standard, ſet up in purſuance of the " ſaid Proclamation, be taken down, your Majeſty hath put us into ſuch a " Condition, that whilſt we ſo remain, we cannot, by the fundamental Pri- " vileges of Parliament, the publick Truſt repoſed in us, or with the gene- " ral good and ſafety of this Kingdom, give your Majeſty any other Anſwer " to this Meſſage.

WHEN the King's Meſſengers return'd with this Anſwer to *Nottingham*, all Men ſaw to what they muſt truſt; and the King believ'd, he ſhould be no farther moved to make Addreſſes to them. And yet all hopes of an Army, or any ability to reſiſt that violence, ſeem'd ſo deſperate, that he was privately adviſed by ſome, whom he truſted as much as any, and thoſe whoſe affections were as entire to him as any Mens, to give all other thoughts over, and inſtantly to make all imaginable haſte to *London*, and to appear in the Parliament Houſe before they had any expectation of him. And they conceiv'd, there would be more likelyhood for him to prevail that way, than by any Army he was like to raiſe. And it muſt be ſolely imputed to his Majeſty's own Reſolution, that he took not that courſe. However he was contented to make ſo much farther uſe of their Pride and Paſſion, as to give them occaſion, by another Meſſage, to publiſh more of it to the People; and therefore within three days after the return of his Meſſengers, he ſent the Lord *Falkland*, his Principal Secretary of State, with a Reply to their Anſwer in theſe Words.

The King ſends another Meſſage to the two Houſes.

" WE will not repeat, what means we have uſed to prevent the dange- " rous and diſtracted Eſtate of the Kingdom, nor how thoſe means have " been interpreted; becauſe, being deſirous to avoid the effuſion of Blood, " We are willing to decline all memory of former bitterneſs, that might " render our offer of a Treaty leſs readily accepted. We never did declare, " nor ever intended to declare, both our Houſes of Parliament Traytors, or " ſet up our Standard againſt them; and much leſs to put them and this King- " dom out of our Protection. We utterly profeſs againſt it before GOD, and " the World; and farther to remove all poſſible Scruples, which may hinder " the Treaty ſo much deſir'd by us, We hereby promiſe, ſo that a day be ap- " pointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations againſt all Perſons as " Traytors, or otherwiſe, for aſſiſting us; We ſhall with all chearfulneſs, upon " the ſame day, recall Our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down " Our Standard. In which Treaty, We ſhall be ready to grant any thing, " that ſhall be really for the good of our Subjects: Conjuring you to con- " ſider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous Condition of *En-* " *gland*, in as high a degree, as by theſe Our offers We have declared our Self " to do. And aſſuring you, that our chief deſire in this World, is to beget " a good underſtanding, and mutual Confidence betwixt Us and Our two " Houſes of Parliament.

THIS Meſſage had no better effect, or reception than the former; their Principal Officers being ſent down ſince the laſt Meſſage to *Northampton*, to put the Army into a readineſs to march. And now they requir'd the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf to make haſte thither, that no more time might be loſt, ſending by the Lord *Falkland*, within two days, this Anſwer to the King.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty;

The humble Anſwer and Petition of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, unto the King's laſt Meſſage.

" May it pleaſe your Majeſty:

Their Anſwer. " IF We, the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, ſhould repeat " all the ways We have taken, the endeavours We have uſed, and the Expreſ- " ſions we have made unto your Majeſty, to prevent thoſe diſtractions, and " dangers, your Majeſty ſpeaks of, We ſhould too much enlarge this reply. " Therefore, as We humbly, ſo ſhall we Only let your Majeſty know, that

We

" We cannot recede from our former Anſwer, for the reaſons therein expreſ-
" ſed. For that your Majeſty hath not taken down your Standard, recall'd
" your Proclamations and Declarations, whereby you have declar'd the Ac-
" tions of both Houſes of Parliament to be Treaſonable, and their Perſons
" Traytors; and you have publiſhed the ſame ſince your Meſſage of the 25th
" of *Auguſt*, by your late Inſtructions ſent to your Commiſſioners of Array;
" which Standard being taken down, and the Declarations, Proclamations,
" and Inſtructions recall'd, if your Majeſty ſhall then, upon this our hum-
" ble Petition, leaving your Forces, return unto your Parliament, and re-
" ceive their faithful Advice, your Majeſty will find ſuch expreſſions of our
" Fidelities, and Duties, as ſhall aſſure you, that your Safety, Honour, and
" Greatneſs, can only be found in the Affections of your People, and the
" ſincere Counſels of your Parliament; whoſe conſtant and undiſcoura-
" ged Endeavours and Conſultations have paſſed through difficulties un-
" heard of, only to ſecure your Kingdoms from the violent miſchiefs and
" dangers now ready to fall upon them, and every part of them; who
" deſerve better of your Majeſty, and can never allow themſelves (repreſent-
" ing likewiſe your whole Kingdom) to be ballanced with thoſe Perſons,
" whoſe deſperate Diſpoſitions and Counſels prevail ſtill to interrupt all our
" Endeavours for the relieving of bleeding *Ireland*; as we may fear our
" Labours and vaſt Expences will be fruitleſs to that diſtreſſed Kingdom.
" As your Preſence is thus humbly deſir'd by Us, ſo it is in our hopes your
" Majeſty will in your reaſon believe, there is no other way than this, to
" make your Majeſty's ſelf happy, and your Kingdom ſafe.

AND leſt this Overture of a Treaty might be a means to allay and compoſe the diſtempers of the People, and that the hope and expectation of Peace might not diſhearten their Party, in their preparations and contributions to the War, the ſame day they ſent their laſt Anſwer to the King, they publiſh'd this Declaration to the Kingdom.

The two Houſes Declaration to the Kingdom.

" WHEREAS his Majeſty, in a Meſſage receiv'd the fifth of *Septem-*
" *ber*, requires that the Parliament would revoke their Declarations
" againſt ſuch Perſons, as have aſſiſted his Majeſty in this unnatural War
" againſt his Kingdom; it is this day order'd and declar'd by the Lords and
" Commons, that the Arms, which they have been forced to take up, and
" ſhall be forced to take up, for the preſervation of the Parliament, Religion,
" the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, ſhall not be laid down, until his
" Majeſty ſhall withdraw his Protection from ſuch Perſons as have been Voted
" by both Houſes to be Delinquents, or that ſhall by both Houſes be
" Voted to be Delinquents, and ſhall leave them to the Juſtice of
" the Parliament to be proceeded with according to their demerit; to the end
" that both this and ſucceeding Generations may take warning, with what
" danger they incur the like heinous Crimes: and alſo to the end that
" thoſe great Charges and Damages, wherewith all the Common-wealth
" hath been burden'd in the premiſes, ſince his Majeſty's departure
" from the Parliament, may be born by the Delinquents, and other Malignant
" and Diſaffected Perſons: and that all his Majeſty's good and well affected
" Subjects, who by Loan of Monies, or otherwiſe at their Charge, have
" aſſiſted the Common-wealth, or ſhall in like manner hereafter aſſiſt the
" Common-wealth in time of extreme danger, may be repay'd all Sums of
" Money lent by them for thoſe purpoſes, and be ſatisfied their Charges ſo
" ſuſtain'd, out of the Eſtates of the ſaid Delinquents, and of the Malignant
" and diſaffected Party in this Kingdom.

THIS Declaration did the King no harm; for beſides that it was evident to all Men, that the King had done whatſoever was in his power, or could be expected from him, for the prevention of a Civil War, all Perſons of Honour and Quality plainly diſcern'd that they had no ſafety but in the preſervation of the Regal Power, ſince their Eſtates were already diſpoſed of by them who could declare whom they would Delinquents, and would infallibly

declare all ſuch who had not concurr'd with them. And the Advantage the King received by thoſe Overtures, and the pride, frowardneſs, and perverſneſs of the Rebels, is not imaginable; his Levies of Men, and all other preparations for the War, being incredibly advanced from the time of his firſt Meſſage. Prince *Rupert* lay ſtill with the Horſe at *Leiceſter*; and though He, and ſome of the Principal Officers with him, were diſcontented to that degree, upon the King's firſt Meſſage and deſire of a Treaty, as likely not only to deſtroy all hopes of raiſing an Army, but to Sacrifice thoſe who were raiſed, that they were not without ſome thoughts, at leaſt Diſcourſes, of offering violence to the Principal Adviſers of it, he now found his Numbers increaſed, and better reſolv'd by it; and from *York-ſhire*, *Lincoln-ſhire*, and *Stafford-ſhire*, came very good recruits of Foot; ſo that his Cannon and Munition being likewiſe come up from *York*, within twenty days, his Numbers began to look towards an Army; and there was another Air in all Mens Faces; yet *Nottingham* ſeem'd not a good Poſt for his Majeſty to ſtay longer at; and therefore, about the middle of *September*, the Earl of *Eſſex* being then with his whole Army at *Northampton*, his Majeſty march'd from *Nottingham* to *Derby*; being not then reſolv'd whither to bend his courſe, to *Shrewsbury* or *Cheſter*, not well knowing the temper of thoſe Towns, in both which the Parliament Party had been very active; but reſolving to ſit down near the borders of *Wales*, where the Power of the Parliament had been leaſt prevalent, and where ſome Regiments of Foot were Levying for his Service. Before his leaving *Nottingham*, as a farewell to his hopes of a Treaty, and to make the deeper ſenſe and impreſſion, in the Hearts of the People, of thoſe who had ſo pertinaciouſly rejected it, his Majeſty ſent this Meſſage to the Houſes.

Another Meſſage from the King to the two Houſes, in reply to their Anſwer.

" WHO have taken moſt ways, uſed moſt endeavours, and made moſt real " expreſſions to prevent the preſent diſtractions and dangers; let all the World " judge, as well by former paſſages, as by Our two laſt Meſſages, which have " been ſo fruitleſs, that, though We have deſcended to deſire and preſs it, not " ſo much as a Treaty can be obtain'd; unleſs We would denude Our ſelf of " all force to defend Us from a viſible ſtrength marching againſt us; and ad- " mit thoſe Perſons as Traytors to us, who, according to their Duty, their " Oaths of Allegiance, and the Law, have appear'd in defence of Us, their " King and Liege Lord (whom We are bound in Conſcience and Honour to " preſerve) though We diſclaim'd all Our Proclamations, and Declarations, " and the erecting of our Standard, as againſt our Parliament. All we have " now left in our Power, is to expreſs the deep ſenſe We have of the publick " Miſery of this Kingdom, in which is involv'd that of Our diſtreſſed Pro- " teſtants of *Ireland*; and to apply our ſelf to our neceſſary defence, wherein " We wholely rely upon the Providence of God, the Juſtice of our Cauſe, " and the Affection of our good People; ſo far We are from putting them " out of our Protection. When you ſhall deſire a Treaty of us, We ſhall " piouſly remember, whoſe Blood is to be ſpilt in this Quarrel, and chear- " fully embrace it. And as no other reaſon induced us to leave our Ci- " ty of *London*, but that, with Honour and Safety We could not ſtay " there; nor to raiſe any Force, but for the neceſſary defence of our " Perſon and the Law, againſt Levies in oppoſition to both; ſo We ſhall " ſuddainly and moſt willingly return to the One, and disband the O- " ther, aſſoon as thoſe Cauſes ſhall be removed. The God of Heaven " direct you, and in mercy divert thoſe Judgments, which hang over this " Nation; and ſo deal with us, and our Poſterity, as we deſire the Preſer- " vation, and Advancement of the true Proteſtant Religion; the Law, and " the Liberty of the Subject; the juſt Rights of Parliament, and the Peace " of the Kingdom.

The King removes to Derby.

WHEN the King came to *Derby*, he receiv'd clear information from the well-affected Party in *Shrewsbury*, that the Town was at his Devotion; and that the very Rumour of His Majeſty's purpoſe of coming thither, had driven away all thoſe who were moſt inclined to Sedition. And therefore, as well in regard of the ſtrong and pleaſant Situation of it (one ſide being defended by the *Severn*, the other having a ſecure paſſage into *Wales*, the Con-

Confines of *Montgomery-ſhire* extending very near the Town) as for the Correſpondence with *Worceſter*, of which City he hoped well; and that by his being at *Shrewsbury*, he ſhould be as well able to ſecure *Cheſter*, as by carrying his whole Train ſo far North; beſides that the other might give ſome apprehenſion of his going into *Ireland*, which had been formerly mention'd, his Majeſty reſolv'd for that Town, and, after one days ſtay at *Derby*, by eaſy marches he went thither, drawing his whole ſmall Forces to a Rendezvous at *Wellington*, a days march ſhort of *Shrewsbury*; and that being the firſt time that they were together, his Majeſty then cauſed his Military Orders for the Diſcipline and Government of the Army, to be read at the Head of each Regiment; and then, which is not fit ever to be forgotten, putting himſelf in the middle, where he might be beſt heard, not much unlike the Emperor *Trajan*, who when he made *Sura* Great Marſhal of the Empire, gave him a Sword, ſaying, "Receive this Sword of me, and if I command as I ought, employ "it in my defence; if I do otherwiſe, draw it againſt me, and take my Life "from me, his Majeſty made this Speech to his Soldiers.

The King's Speech and Proteſtation at the Head of his Forces, after the reading his Orders of War.

"GENTLEMEN, you have heard thoſe Orders read: it is your part "in your ſeveral places, to obſerve them exactly; the time cannot be long, "before We come to Action, therefore you have the more reaſon to be careful; and I muſt tell you, I ſhall be very ſevere in the puniſhing of thoſe, of what "Condition ſoever, who tranſgreſs theſe Inſtructions. I cannot ſuſpect your "Courage and Reſolution; your Conſcience and your Loyalty hath brought "you hither, to Fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of the "Land. You ſhall meet with no Enemies but Traytors, moſt of them *Brow-* "*niſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Atheiſts*; ſuch who deſire to deſtroy both Church and "State, and who have already condemn'd You to ruin for being Loyal to Us. "That you may ſee what uſe I mean to make of your Valour, if it pleaſe "God to bleſs it with ſucceſs, I have thought fit to publiſh my Reſolution "to you in a Proteſtation; which when you have heard me make, you will "believe you cannot Fight in a better Quarrel; in which I promiſe to "live and die with you.

THE *Proteſtation* his Majeſty was then pleaſed to make, was in theſe words:

"I do promiſe in the preſence of Almighty God, and as I hope for "his Bleſſing and Protection, that I will, to the utmoſt of my power, de- "fend and maintain the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſh'd "in the Church of *England*; and, by the grace of God, in the ſame will live and die.

"I deſire to govern by all the known Laws of the Land, and that the "Liberty and Property of the Subject, may be by them preſerv'd with the "ſame care, as my own juſt Rights. And if it pleaſe God, by his Bleſſing "upon this Army, raiſed for my neceſſary defence, to preſerve me from this Re- "bellion, I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe, in the ſight of God, to "maintain the juſt Privileges and Freedom of Parliament, and to govern "by the known Laws of the Land to my utmoſt Power; and particularly, to "obſerve inviolably the Laws conſented to by me this Parliament. In the mean "while, if this time of War, and the great neceſſity, and ſtraits I am "now driven to, beget any violation of thoſe, I hope it ſhall be imputed "by God and Men to the Authors of this War, and not to Me; who have ſo "earneſtly labour'd for the preſervation of the peace of this Kingdom.

"WHEN I willingly fail in theſe particulars, I will expect no aid or re- "lief from any Man, or Protection from Heaven. But in this Reſolution, I "hope for the chearful aſſiſtance of all good Men, and am confident of God's Bleſſing.

THIS Proteſtation, and the manner and ſolemnity of making it, gave not more life and encouragement to the little Army, than it did comfort and ſatisfaction to the Gentry and Inhabitants of thoſe parts; into whom the Parliament had infuſed, that, if his Majeſty prevailed by Force, he would, with the ſame Power, aboliſh all thoſe good Laws, which had been made this Parliament; ſo that they look'd upon this Proteſtation, as a more

ample ſecurity for their enjoying the benefit of thoſe Acts, than the Royal Aſſent he had before given. And a more general, and paſſionate expreſſion of affections cannot be imagin'd, than he receiv'd by the people of thoſe Counties of *Derby*, *Stafford*, and *Shrop-ſhire*, as he paſſed; or a better reception, than he found at *Shrewsbury*; into which Town he enter'd on *Tueſday* the 20th of *September*.

The King comes to Shrewsbury.

IT will be, and was then, wonder'd at, that ſince the Parliament had a full and well-form'd Army; before the King had one full Regiment, and the Earl of *Eſſex* was Himſelf come to *Northampton*, ſome days before his Majeſty went from *Nottingham*, his Lordſhip neither diſquieted the King whilſt he ſtay'd there, nor gave him any diſturbance in his March to *Shrewsbury*; which if he had done, he might either have taken him Priſoner, or ſo diſperſed his ſmall Power, that it would never have been poſſible for him to have gotten an Army together. But as the Earl had not yet receiv'd his Inſtructions, ſo they, upon whom he depended, avoided that expedition out of meer Pride, and Contempt of the King's Forces; and upon a preſumption, that it would not be poſſible for him to raiſe ſuch a Power, as would be able to look their Army in the face; but that, when he had in vain tried all other ways, and thoſe, who not only follow'd him upon their own Charges, but ſuported thoſe who were not able to bear their own (for his Army was maintain'd and paid by the Nobility and Gentry, who ſerv'd likewiſe in their own Perſons) were grown weary and unable longer to bear that burden, his Majeſty would be forced to put himſelf into Their Arms for Protection and Subſiſtence; and ſuch a Victory without blood had crown'd all their deſigns. And if their Army, which they pretended to raiſe only for their defence, and for the ſafety of the King's Perſon, had been able to prevent the King's raiſing any, or if the King, in that Melancholick conjuncture at *Nottingham*, had return'd to *White-Hall*, he had juſtified all their Proceedings, and could never after have refuſed to yield to whatſoever they propoſed.

AND it is moſt certain, that the common Soldiers of their Army were generally perſwaded, that they ſhould never be brought to Fight; but that the King was in truth little better than Impriſon'd by evil Counſellors, Malignants, Delinquents, and Cavaliers (the terms applied to his whole Party) and would gladly come to his Parliament if he could break from that Company; which he would undoubtedly do, if their Army came once to ſuch a diſtance, that his Majeſty might make an eſcape to them. In this kind of diſcourſe they were ſo ſottiſh, that they were perſwaded, that thoſe Perſons of whoſe Piety, Honour, and Integrity, they had received heretofore the greateſt Teſtimony, were Now turn'd Papiſts; and that the ſmall Army, and Forces the King had, conſiſted of no other than Papiſts. Inſomuch as truly thoſe of the King's Party, who promiſed themſelves any ſupport, but from the comfort of their own conſciences, or relied upon any other means than from God Almighty, could hardly have made their expectations appear reaſonable; for his Enemies were in a manner poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdom.

Colonel Goring *ſurrenders* Portſmouth.

PORTSMOUTH, the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified Town then in the Kingdom, was ſurrender'd to them; Colonel *Goring*, about the beginning of *September*, though he had ſeem'd to be ſo long reſolv'd and prepared to expect a Siege, and had been ſupplied with Monies according to his own propoſal, was brought ſo low, that he gave it up, only for liberty to tranſport Himſelf beyond *Seas*, and for his Officers to repair to the King. And it were to be wiſh'd that there might be no more occaſion to mention him hereafter, after this repeated treachery; and that his incomparable dexterity and ſagacity had not prevailed ſo far over thoſe, who had been ſo often deceived by him, as to make it abſolutely neceſſary to ſpeak at large of him, more than once, before this diſcourſe comes to an end.

The Marquis of Hertford's *proceedings in the* Weſt.

THE Marquis of *Hertford*, though he had ſo much diſcredited the Earl of *Bedford*'s Soldiery, and diſheartened his great Army, that the Earl (after lying in the Field four or five Nights within leſs than Cannon ſhot of the Caſtle, and Town, and after having refuſed to fight a duel with the Marquis, to which he provoked him by a Challenge) ſent Sir *John Norcot*, un-

of a Treaty, and the Godly care to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, in plain *Engliſh* to deſire, "That he might fairly and peaceably draw off his "Forces, and march away; the which, how reaſonable a requeſt ſoever it was, the Marquis refuſed; ſending them word, "That as they came thither "upon their own Counſels, ſo they ſhould get off as they could: And at laſt they did draw off, and march above a dozen miles for repoſe; leaving the Marquis, for ſome weeks, undiſturb'd at *Sherborne*: Yet when he heard of the loſs of *Portſmouth*, the relief whereof was his principal buſineſs, and ſo that thoſe Forces would probably be added to the Earl of *Bedford*, and by their ſucceſs give much courage to his baſhful Army, and that a good Regiment of Horſe, which he expected (for Sir *John Byron* had ſent him word from *Oxford*, that he would march towards him) was retired to the King; and that the Committees were now ſo buſy in the ſeveral Counties, that the People, in all places, declared for the Parliament; and more particularly ſome ſtrong and populous Towns in *Somerſet-ſhire*; as *Taunton*, *Wellington*, and *Dunſtar*-Caſtle; by reaſon whereof it would not be poſſible for him to increaſe his ſtrength, he reſolv'd to leave *Sherborne*, where his ſtay could no way advance the King's Service; and to try all ways to get to his Majeſty. But when he came to *Minhead*, a Port Town, from whence he made no doubt he ſhould be able to tranſport Himſelf, and his company into *Wales*, he found the People both of the Town and County ſo diſaffected, that all the boats, of which there uſed always to be great ſtore, by reaſon of the trade for Cattle and Corn with *Wales*, were induſtriouſly ſent away, ſave only two; ſo that the Earl of *Bedford* having taken new heart, and being within four miles with his Army, his Lordſhip, with his ſmall Cannon and few Foot, with the Lord *Pawlet*, Lord *Seymour*, and ſome Gentlemen of *Somerſet-ſhire*, tranſported himſelf into *Glamorgan-ſhire*; leaving Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Berkley* Mr. *Digby*, and ſome other Officers with their Horſe (conſiſting of about one hundred and twenty) to march into *Cornwal*, in hopes to find that County better prepared for their reception.

Thence tranſporteth himſelf into Glamorgan-ſhire.

ON the other hand, the Earl of *Bedford*, thinking thoſe few fugitives not worth his farther care, and that they would be eaſily apprehended by the Committee of the Militia, which was very powerful in *Devon* and *Cornwal*, contented himſelf with having driven away the Marquis, and ſo expelled all hope of raiſing an Army for the King in the Weſt; and retired with his Forces to the Earl of *Eſſex*, as Sir *William Waller* had done from *Portſmouth*; ſo that it was not expected, that the Forces about his Majeſty could be able to defend him againſt ſo puiſſant an Army, ſo it was not imaginable that he could receive any addition of ſtrength from any other parts. For wherever they found any Perſon of Quality inclined to the King, or but diſinclined to Them, they immediately ſeiſed upon his Perſon, and ſent him in great Triumph to the Parliament; who committed him to Priſon, with all circumſtances of cruelty and inhumanity.

THUS they took Priſoner the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, at his Houſe in *Northampton ſhire*, a Perſon of great reverence, being above fourſcore years of age, and of unblemiſh'd Reputation, for declaring himſelf unſatisfied with their diſobedient and undutiful proceedings againſt the King, and more expreſsly againſt their Ordinance for the Militia; and notwithſtanding that he had a Brother of the Houſe of Peers, the Lord Privy Seal, and a Nephew the Lord *Kimbolton*, who had as full a power in that Council as any Man, and a Son in the Houſe of Commons very unlike his Father; his Lordſhip was committed to the Tower a cloſe Priſoner; and though he was afterwards remitted to more Air, he continued a Priſoner to his death.

THUS they took Priſoner in *Oxford-ſhire* the Earl of *Berkſhire*, and three or four principal Gentlemen of that County; and committed them to the Tower, for no other reaſon but wiſhing well to the King; for they never appear'd in the leaſt Action in his Service. And thus they took Priſoner the Earl of *Bath* in *Devon-ſhire*, who neither had, or ever meant to do the King the leaſt ſervice; but only out of the moroſity of his own Nature, had before, in the Houſe, expreſs'd himſelf not of their minds; and carried him, with many other Gentlemen of *Devon* and *Somerſet*, with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe, to *London*; where, after they had been expoſed to the rudeneſs and reproach

of the Common people, who called them Traytors and Rebels to the Parliament, and purſued them with ſuch uſage as they uſe to the moſt infamous Malefactors, they were, without ever being examin'd, or charged with any particular crime, committed to ſeveral Priſons; ſo that not only all the Priſons about *London* were quickly fill'd with Perſons of Honour, and great Reputation for ſobriety and integrity to their Counties, but new Priſons were made for their reception; and, which was a new and barbarous invention, very many Perſons of very good Quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, were committed to Priſon on board the Ships in the River of *Thames*; where they were kept under Decks, and no friend ſuffer'd to come to them, by which many loſt their lives. And that the loſs of their Liberty might not be all their puniſhment, it was the uſual courſe, and very few eſcaped it, after any Man was committed as a notorious Malignant (which was the brand) that his Eſtate and Goods were ſeiſed, or plunder'd by an Order from the Houſe of Commons, or ſome Committee, or the Soldiers, who in their march took the Goods of all Papiſts and eminent Malignants, as lawful prize; or by the Fury and Licence of the Common People, who were in all places grown to that barbarity and rage againſt the Nobility and Gentry (under the Style of Cavaliers) that it was not ſafe for any to live at their Houſes, who were taken notice of as no Votaries to the Parliament.

So the Common People (no doubt by the advice of their Superiors) in *Eſſex*, on a ſuddain, beſet the Houſe of Sir *John Lucas*, one of the beſt Gentlemen of that County, and of the moſt eminent affection to the King, being a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Prince of *Wales*; and upon pretence that he was going to the King, poſſeſs'd themſelves of all his Horſes and Arms, ſeiſed upon his Perſon, and uſed him with all poſſible indignities, not without ſome threats to murder him; and when the Mayor of *Colcheſter*, whither he was brought, with more humanity than the reſt, offer'd to keep him Priſoner in his own Houſe, till the pleaſure of the Parliament ſhould be farther known, they compell'd him or he was willing to be compell'd, to ſend him to the Common Goal; where he remain'd, glad of that ſecurity, till the Houſe of Commons remov'd him to another Priſon (without ever charging him with any crime) having ſent all his Horſes to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to be uſed in the ſervice of that Army.

AT the ſame time the ſame Rabble enter'd the Houſe of the Counteſs of *Rivers* near *Colcheſter*; for no other ground, than that ſhe was a Papiſt; and in few hours diſfurniſh'd it of all the Goods, which had been many years with great curioſity providing, and were not of leſs value than forty thouſand pounds ſterling; the Counteſs her ſelf hardly eſcaping, after great inſolence had been uſed to her Perſon: And ſhe could never receive any reparation from the Parliament. Theſe and many other Inſtances of the ſame kind in *London* and the parts adjacent, gave ſufficient evidence to all Men how little elſe They were to keep, who meant to preſerve their Allegiance and Integrity in the full Vigour.

I MUST not forget, though it cannot be remember'd without much horror, that this ſtrange Wild-fire among the people, was not ſo much and ſo furiouſly kindled by the breath of the Parliament, as of their Clergy, who both adminiſter'd fuel, and blow'd the Coales in the Houſes too. Theſe Men having creeped into, and at laſt driven all Learned and Orthodox Men from the Pulpits, had, as is before remember'd, from the beginning of this Parliament, under the Notion of Reformation and extirpating of Popery, infuſed ſeditious inclinations into the hearts of Men againſt the preſent Government of the Church, with many libellous invectives againſt the State too. But ſince the raiſing an Army, and rejecting the King's laſt overture of a Treaty, they contain'd themſelves within no bounds; and as freely and without controul, inveighed againſt the Perſon of the King, as they had before againſt the worſt Malignant; prophanely, and blaſphemouſly applying whatſoever had been ſpoken and declared by God Himſelf, or the Prophets, againſt the moſt wicked and impious Kings, to incenſe and ſtir up the People againſt their moſt Gracious Sovereign.

THERE are Monuments enough in the ſeditious Sermons at that time printed, and in the Memories of Men, of others not printed, of ſuch wreſting

wreſting and perverting of Scripture, to the odious purpoſes of the Preacher, that pious Men will not look over without trembling. One takes his Text out of *Moſes*'s words in the 32d Chap. of *Exodus*, and the 29th Verſe. *Conſecrate your ſelves to day to the Lord, even every Man upon his Son, and upon his Brother, that he may beſtow upon you a bleſſing this day:* And from thence incites his Auditory to the utmoſt proſecution of thoſe, under what relation ſoever of Blood, Neighbourhood, Dependence, who concurred not in the Reformation propoſed by the Parliament. Another makes as bold with *David*'s words, in the 1 *Chron.* Chap. 22. Verſ. 16. *Ariſe therefore and be doing:* And from thence aſſures them, it was not enough to wiſh well to the Parliament, if they brought not their purſe as well as their prayers, and their hands, as well as their hearts to the aſſiſtance of it, the duty in the Text was not performed. There were more than Mr. *Marſhal*, who from the 23d. Verſe of the 25th. Chap. of *Judges*, *Curſe ye Meroz, ſaid the Angel of the Lord, ourſe ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, becauſe they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord againſt the mighty*, preſumed to inveigh againſt, and in plain terms to pronounce God's own curſe againſt all thoſe, who came not, with their utmoſt power and ſtrength, to deſtroy and root out all the Malignants, who in any degree oppoſed the Parliament.

THERE was one, who from the 48th. Chap. of the Prophet *Jeremiah* and the 10th. Verſe. *Curſed be he that keepeth back his ſword from blood*; reproved thoſe who gave any quarter to the King's Soldiers. And another out of the 5th. Verſe of the 25th. Chap. of *Proverbs*. *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs*; made it no leſs a caſe of Conſcience by force to remove the evil Counſellors from the King (with bold intimation what might be done to the King Himſelf, if he would not ſuffer them to be removed) than to perform any Chriſtian duty that is enjoyn'd. It would fill a Volume to inſert all the impious madneſs of this kind, ſo that the complaint of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, might moſt truly, and ſeaſonably have been applied, *There is a conſpiracy of her Prophets in the midſt thereof, like a roaring Lion ravening the Prey, they have devoured Souls, they have taken the Treaſure, and precious things, they have made her many Widows in the midſt thereof.* Ezek. xxii. ver. 27.

IT was the complaint of *Eraſmus* of the Clergy in his time, that when Princes were inclinable to Wars, *alius è ſacro ſuggeſto promittit omnium admiſſorum condonationem, alius promittit certam victoriam, Prophetarum voces ad rem impiam detorquens. Tam bellaces conciones audivimus*, ſays he. And indeed no good Chriſtian can, without horror think of thoſe Miniſters of the Church, who by their Function being Meſſengers of Peace, were the only Trumpets of War, and Incendaries towards Rebellion. How much more Chriſtian was that *Athenian* Nun in *Plutarch*, and how ſhall She riſe up in judgment againſt thoſe Men, who, when *Alcibiades* was condemn'd by the publick Juſtice of the State, and a Decree made that all the Religious Prieſts and Women ſhould ban and curſe him, ſtoutly refuſed to perform that office; anſwering, "That ſhe was profeſſed Religious, to *pray* and to *bleſs*, not to *curſe* and to *ban*. And if the Perſon, and the Place can improve and aggravate the offence (as without doubt it doth, both before God and Man) methinks the Preaching Treaſon and Rebellion out of the Pulpits ſhould be worſe than the advancing it in the Market, as much as poyſoning a Man at the Communion would be worſe than murdering him at a Tavern. And it may be, in that Catalogue of Sins, which the Zeal of ſome Men hath thought to be the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, there may not any one be more reaſonably thought to be ſuch, than a Miniſter of Chriſt's turning Rebel againſt his Prince (which is a moſt notorious Apoſtacy againſt his Order) and his Preaching Rebellion, to the People, as the Doctrine of Chriſt; which adding blaſphemy and pertinacy to his Apoſtacy, hath all the marks by which good men are taught to avoid that Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

The Earl of Eſſex *moves with his Army from* North-ampton.

WITHIN three or four days after the King's remove from *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, with his whole Army, removed from *Northampton*, and march'd towards *Worceſter*; of which his Majeſty had no ſooner Intelligence, than he ſent Prince *Rupert*, with the greateſt part of the Horſe, on the other ſide of the *Severn*, towards that City; as well to obſerve the motion of the Enemy, as to give all aſſiſtance to that place, which had declared good

affections to him; at leaſt to countenance and ſecure the retreat of thoſe Gentlemen, who were there raiſing Forces for the King; but eſpecially to joyn with Sir *John Byron*, whom his Majeſty had ſent, in the end of *Auguſt*, to *Oxford* to convey ſome Money, which had been ſecretly brought from *London* thither to his Majeſty. And he, after ſome ſmall diſaſters in his March by the inſurrection of the Country People, who were encouraged by the Agents for the Parliament, and ſeconded by the Officers of the Militia, came ſafe with his charge to *Worceſter*; where he had been very few hours, when a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons, being ſent by the Earl of *Eſſex*, under the Command of *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, came to ſurprize the Town; which was open enough to have been enter'd in many places, though in ſome it had an old decayed Wall; and, at the moſt uſual and frequented entrances into the City, weak, and rotten Gates to be ſhut, but without either Lock or Bolt.

YET this Commander, coming early in the Morning, when the ſmall Guard which had watched, conceiving all to be ſecure, were gone to reſt, and being within Muſquet ſhot of the Gate before he was diſcover'd, finding that weak Gate ſhut, or rather cloſed againſt him, and not that quick appearance of a Party within the Town, as he promiſed himſelf, without doing any harm, retired in great diſorder, and with ſo much haſte, that the wearied Horſe, ſent out preſently to attend him, could not overtake any of his Train; ſo that when Prince *Rupert* came thither, they did not conceive any conſiderable Party of the Enemy to be near. However his Highneſs reſolv'd to retire from thence, as ſoon as he ſhould receive perfect Intelligence of the motion of the Enemy, when on the ſuddain repoſing himſelf on the ground with Prince *Maurice* his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, and the principal Officers, in the field before the Town, ſome of his wearied Troops (for they had had a long March) being by, but the reſt and moſt of the Officers in the Town, he eſpied a fair Body of Horſe, conſiſting of near five hundred, marching in very good Order up a Lane within Muſquet ſhot of him. In this confuſion, they had ſcarce time to get upon their Horſes, and none to conſult of what was to be done, or to put themſelves into their ſeveral places of Command. And, it may be, it was well they had not; for if all thoſe Officers had been in the heads of their ſeveral Troops, it is not impoſſible it might have been worſe. But the Prince inſtantly declaring, "That he "would Charge; his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, Commiſſary General *Wilmot*, Sir *John Byron*, Sir *Lewis Dives*, and all thoſe Officers and Gentlemen, whoſe Troops were not preſent or ready, put themſelves next the Prince; the other wearied Troops coming in order after them.

A Rencounter between the Forces near Worceſter, *where Prince* Rupert *gets the better.*

IN this manner the Prince Charg'd them, as ſoon as they came out of the Lane; and being ſeconded by his handful of good Men, though the Rebels being gallantly led by Colonel *Sandys* (a Gentleman of *Kent*, and the Son of a worthy Father) and compleatly arm'd both for Offence, and Defence, ſtood well; yet in a ſhort time, many of their beſt Men being kill'd, and Colonel *Sandys* Himſelf falling with his hurts, the whole Body was routed, fled, and was purſued by the Conquerors for the ſpace of above a mile. The number of the ſlain were not many, not above forty or fifty, and thoſe moſt Officers; for their Arms were ſo good, that in the charge they were not to be eaſily kill'd, and in the chaſe the goodneſs of their Horſe made it impoſſible. Colonel *Sandys* who died ſhortly after of his wounds, Captain *Wingate* who was the more known, by being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and taken notice of for having in that charge behaved himſelf ſtoutly, and two or three *Scotiſh* Officers, were taken Priſoners. Of the King's Party none of Name was loſt: Commiſſary General *Wilmot* hurt with a Sword in the ſide, and Sir *Lewis Dives* in the ſhoulder, and two or three other Officers of Inferior Note; none miſcarrying of their wounds, which was the more ſtrange for that, by reaſon they expected not an encounter, there was not, on the Prince's ſide, a piece of Armour worn that day, and but few Piſtols; ſo that moſt of the hurt that was done was by the Sword. Six or ſeven Cornets of the Enemies were taken, and many good Horſes, and ſome Arms; for they who run away made themſelves as light as they could.

THIS

THIS Rencounter proved of great advantage, and benefit to the King. For it being the first Action his Horse had been brought to, and that party of the Enemy being the most pick'd and choice Men, it gave his Troops great courage, and render'd the Name of Prince *Rupert* very terrible, and exceedingly appalled the adversary; insomuch as they had not, in a long time after, any confidence in their Horse, and their very Numbers were much lessen'd by it. For that whole party being routed, and the Chief Officers of Name and Reputation either kill'd, or taken, though the number lost upon the place was not considerable, there were very many more who never return'd to the service; and which was worse, for their own excuse, in all places talked aloud of the incredible, and unresistible courage of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horse. So that, from this time, the Parliament, begun to be apprehensive, that the business would not be as easily ended, as it was begun; and that the King would not be brought back to them with their bare Votes. Yet how faintly soever the private pulses beat (for no question many who had made greatest noise, wish'd they were again to choose their side, the two Houses were so far from any visible abatement of their mettle, that to weigh down any possible supposition that they might be inclined, or drawn to treat with the King, or that they had any apprehension that the people would be less firm, and constant to them, they proceeded to bolder Acts to evince both, than they had yet done.

FOR to the first, to shew how secure they were against resentment from his Allies, as well as against his Majesty's own power, they caused the Capuchin Fryars, who, by the Articles of Marriage, were to have a safe reception and entertainment in the Queen's Family, and had, by her Majesty's care, and at her charge, a small, but a convenient habitation, by her own Chappel, in her own House, in the *Strand*, and had continued there, without disturbance, from the time of the Marriage, after many insolencies and indignities offer'd to them by the rude Multitude, even within those Gates of her own House, to be taken from thence, and to be sent over into *France*, with Protestation "That if they were found again in *England*, they should be pro-
"ceeded against as Traytors: And this in the face of the *French* Embassador, who notwithstanding withdrew not from them his Courtship and Application.

THEN, that the King might know how little they dreaded his Forces, they sent down their Instructions to the Earl of *Essex* their General, who had long expected them; whereby among other things of form for the better discipline of the Army, "They requir'd him to march with such Forces as *The two Houses Instructions to their General.*]
"he thought fit, towards the Army raised, in his Majesty's Name against the
"Parliament, and the Kingdom; and with them, or any part of them, to
"Fight, at such time and place as he should judge most to conduce to the
"Peace and Safety of the Kingdom: and that he should use his utmost endea-
"vour by battle, or otherwise, to rescue his Majesty's Person, and the Per-
"sons of the Prince, and Duke of *York*, out of the hands of those despe-
"rate persons, who were then about them. They directed him to take an
"opportunity in some safe and honourable way, to cause the Petition of
"both Houses of Parliament, then sent to him, to be presented to his Ma-
"jesty; and if his Majesty should thereupon please to withdraw himself from
"the Forces then about him, and to resort to the Parliament, his Lordship
"should cause his Majesty's Forces to disband, and should serve and defend
"his Majesty with a sufficient strength in his return. They requir'd his
"Lordship to publish and declare, that if any who had been so seduced, by
"the false aspersions cast upon the proceedings of the Parliament, as to assist
"the King in acting of those dangerous Counsels, should willingly with-
"in ten days after such publication in the Army, return to their Duty, not
"doing any Hostile Act within the time limited, and joyn themselves with
"the Parliament in defence of Religion, his Majesty's person, the Liber-
"ties, and Law of the Kingdom, and privileges of Parliament, with their
"persons, and Estates, as the Members of both Houses, and the rest of
"the Kingdom have done, that the Lords and Commons would be ready, up-
"on their submission, to receive such persons in such a manner, as they should
"have cause to acknowledge they had been used with Clemency and Favour;
"provided that That favour should not extend to admit any Man into

" either Houſe of Parliament, who ſtood ſuſpended, without giving ſatiſ-
" faction to the Houſe whereof he ſhould be a Member; and except all Per-
" ſons who ſtood impeach'd, or particularly Voted againſt in either Houſe
" of Parliament for any Delinquency whatſoever; excepting likewiſe ſuch
" adherents of thoſe, who ſtood impeach'd in Parliament of Treaſon, as had
" been eminent Perſons, and chief Actors in thoſe Treaſons. And leſt thoſe,
clauſes of exception (which no doubt comprehended all the King's Party,
and if not, They were ſtill to be judges of their own Clemency and Favour
which was all was promiſed to the humbleſt penitent) might invite thoſe,
whom they had no mind to receive on any terms, they vouchſafed a " parti-
" cular exception of the Earl of *Briſtol*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Earl of
" *New-Caſtle*, the Earl of *Rivers*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Carnar-*
" *van*, the Lord *Newark*, and the Lord Viſcount *Falkland* Principal Secretary
" of State to his Majeſty, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. *Endymion Porter*, Mr.
" *Edward Hyde*; againſt not one of whom was there a Charge depending of
any crime, and againſt very few of them ſo much as a Vote, which was no
great matter of Delinquency.

It will be here neceſſary to inſert the Petition, directed to be preſented in ſome ſafe and honourable way to his Majeſty; the rather for that the ſame was, upon the reaſons hereafter mention'd, never preſented; which was after wards objected to his Majeſty as a rejection of Peace on His part, when They deſir'd it. The Petition was in theſe words.

The Petition of both Houſes to the King, ſent to the General to be preſented but never delivered.

" We your Majeſty's Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parlia-
" ment, cannot, without great grief, and tenderneſs of compaſſion, behold
" the preſſing Miſeries, the imminent Dangers, and the devouring Calami-
" ties, which extremely threaten, and have partly ſeiſed upon both your King-
" doms of *England*, and *Ireland*, by the practices of a Party prevailing with
" your Majeſty; who, by many wicked Plots and Conſpiracies have attemp-
" ted the alteration of the true Religion, and the ancient Government of this
" Kingdom, and the introducing of Popiſh Idolatry and Superſtition in the
" Church, and Tyranny and Confuſion in the State; and, for the compaſſing
" thereof, have long corrupted your Majeſty's Counſels, abuſed your Power,
" and by ſuddain and untimely diſſolving of former Parliaments, have often
" hinder'd the Reformation, and Prevention of thoſe Miſchiefs: And being
" now diſabled to avoid the endeavours of this Parliament, by any ſuch means,
" have Trayterouſly attempted to overawe the ſame by Force; and, in proſe-
" cution of their wicked deſigns, have excited, encouraged, and foſter'd an
" unnatural Rebellion in *Ireland*; by which in a moſt cruel and outrageous
" manner, many thouſands of your Majeſty's Subjects there, have been de-
" ſtroy'd; and, by falſe ſlanders upon your Parliament, and malicious and
" unjuſt Accuſations, have endeavour'd to begin the like Maſſacre Here; and
" being, through God's bleſſing, therein diſappointed, have, as the moſt
" miſchievous and bloody deſign of all, drawn your Majeſty to make War
" againſt your Parliament, and good Subjects of this Kingdom, Leading
" in your perſon an Army againſt them, as if you intended, by Conqueſt,
" to eſtabliſh an abſolute and unlimited power over them; and by your
" power, and the countenance of your preſence, have ranſack'd, ſpoil'd, im-
" priſon'd, and murder'd divers of your people; and, for their better aſſiſtance
" in their wicked deſigns, do ſeek to bring over the Rebels of *Ireland*, and o-
" ther Forces, beyond the Seas, to joyn with them.

" AND We, finding our ſelves utterly depriv'd of your Majeſty's pro-
" tection, and the Authors, Counſellors, and Abettors of theſe miſchiefs in
" greateſt power and Favour with your Majeſty, and defended by You againſt
" the Juſtice, and Authority of your High Court of Parliament; whereby
" they are grown to that height and inſolence, as to manifeſt their rage and
" malice againſt thoſe of the Nobility, and others, who are any whit inclina-
" ble to peace, not without great appearance of danger to your own Royal
" Perſon, if you ſhall not in all things concur with their wicked and Tray-
" terous courſes; have, for the juſt and neceſſary defence of the Proteſtant
" Religion, of your Majeſty's perſon, Crown, and Dignity, of the Laws
" and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the privileges and power of Parliament,

" taken

" taken up Arms, and appointed and authorized *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex* " to be Captain General of all the Forces by us raiſed, and to lead and con- " duct the ſame againſt theſe Rebels and Traytors, and them to ſubdue, and " bring to condign puniſhment; and do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty " to withdraw your Royal Preſence and Countenance from thoſe wicked per- " ſons; and, if they ſhall ſtand out in defence of their Rebellious and un- " lawful attempts, that your Majeſty will leave them to be ſuppreſt by that " Power, which We have ſent againſt them; and that your Majeſty will " not mix your own dangers with theirs, but in Peace and Safety, without your " Forces, forthwith return to your Parliament; and by their faithful Coun- " ſel and Advice, compoſe the preſent diſtempers and confuſions abounding " in both your Kingdoms; and provide for the Security and Honour of your " ſelf, and your Royal Poſterity, and the proſperous Eſtate of all your Sub- " jects; wherein if your Majeſty pleaſe to yield to our moſt humble and ear- " neſt deſires, We do, in the preſence of Almighty God, profeſs, that We " will receive your Majeſty with all honour, yield you all due obedience and " ſubjection, and faithfully endeavour to ſecure your perſon and Eſtate " from all dangers; and, to the uttermoſt of our power, to procure and " eſtabliſh to your ſelf, and to your people, all the bleſſings of a Glorious " and Happy Reign.

BESIDES this, that it might appear, they were nothing jealous or ap- prehenſive of the people's defection and revolt from them, whereas before they had made the general deſire of the Kingdom the ground, and argument for whatſoever they had done, and had only invited Men to contribute freely what they thought fit, to the charge in hand, without compelling any who were unwilling; they now took notice not only of thoſe who oppoſed, their proceedings, or privately diſſwaded other Men from concurring with them but of thoſe, who either out of fear, or covetouſneſs, or both, had neglect- ed really to contribute; and therefore they boldly publiſh'd their Votes (which were Laws to the people, or of much more Authority) " That all " ſuch perſons, as ſhould not contribute to the Charge of the Common-wealth, " in that time of eminent neceſſity, ſhould be diſarm'd and ſecur'd; and that this Vote might be the more terrible, they order'd, the ſame day, the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* " To ſearch the Houſes, and ſeize the Arms " belonging to ſome Aldermen, and other principal ſubſtantial Citizens of *London*, whom they named in their Order; " For that it appear'd by the re- " port from their Committee, that they had not contributed, as they ought, " to the charge of the Common wealth.

Votes of both Houſes for raiſing and procuring Money.

BY this means the pooreſt, and loweſt of the people became Informers againſt the richeſt, and moſt ſubſtantial; and the reſult of ſearching the Hou- ſes and ſeiſing the Arms was the taking away Plate, and things of the greateſt Value, and very frequently plundering whatſoever was worth the keeping. They farther appointed, " That the Fines, Rents and profits, of Arch-Biſhops, " Biſhops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, and of all Delinquents, who had " taken up Arms againſt the Parliament; or had been active in the Commiſ- " ſion of Array, ſhould be Sequeſter'd for the uſe and benefit of the Com- " mon-wealth. And that the King might not fare better than his Adherents, they directed " All his Revenue, ariſing out of Rents, Fines in Courts of Ju- " ſtice, Compoſition for Wards, and the like, and all other his Revenue ſhould " be brought into the ſeveral Courts, and other places, where they ought to be " paid in, and not iſſued forth, or paid forth, until farther Order ſhould be " taken by both Houſes of Parliament, without ſo much as aſſigning him any part of his Own, towards the ſupport of his own perſon.

THIS ſtout invaſion of the people's property, and compelling them to part with what was moſt precious to them, any part of their Eſtates, was thought by many an unpopular Act, in the Morning of their Soveraignty, and that it would wonderfully have irreconciled their new Subjects to them. But the Conductors well underſtood, that their Empire already depended more on the Fear, than Love of the people; and that as they could carry on the War only by having Money enough to pay the Soldiers, ſo, that whilſt they had That, probably they ſhould not want Men to recruit their Armies upon any miſadventure,

IT cannot be imagin'd, how great advantages the King receiv'd by the Parliament's rejecting the King's Meſſages for Peace, and their manner in doing it. All Men's mouths were open'd againſt them, the Meſſages and Anſwers being read in all Churches; they who could not ſerve him in their perſons, contriv'd ways to ſupply him with Money. Some eminent Governours in the Univerſities, gave him Notice that all the Colleges were very plentifully ſupplied with Plate, which would amount to a good Value, and lay uſeleſs in their Treaſuries, there being enough beſides for their Common Uſe; and there was not the leaſt doubt, but that whenſoever his Majeſty ſhould think fit to require that Treaſure, it would all be ſent to him. Of this the King had long thought, and, when he was at *Nottingham*, in that Melancholick ſeaſon, two Gentlemen were diſpatch'd away to *Oxford* and to *Cambridge* (Two to each) with Letters to the ſeveral Vice-Chancellors, that they ſhould move the Heads, and Principals of the ſeveral Colleges and Halls, that they would ſend their Plate to the King; private advertiſements being firſt ſent to ſome Truſty perſons to prepare, and diſpoſe thoſe, without whoſe conſent the Service could not be perform'd.

The two Univerſities contributed their Money and Plate to the King.

THIS whole Affair was tranſacted with ſo great ſecrecy, and diſcretion, that the Meſſengers return'd from the two Univerſities, in as ſhort a time as ſuch a Journey could well be made; and brought with them all, or very near all their Plate, and a conſiderable Sum of Money, which was ſent as a preſent to his Majeſty from ſeveral of the Heads of Colleges, out of their own particular Stores; ſome Scholars coming with it, and helping to procu e Horſes and Carts for the Service; all which came ſafe to *Nottingham*, at the time when there appear'd no more expectation of a Treaty, and contributed much to raiſing the dejected Spirits of the place. The Plate was preſently weighed out, and deliver'd to the ſeveral Officers, who were entruſted to make Levies of Horſe and Foot, and who receiv'd it as Money, the reſt was carefully preſerv'd to be carried with the King, when he ſhould remove from thence; ſecret Orders being ſent to the Officers of the Mint, to be ready to come to his Majeſty aſſoon as he ſhould require them, which he meant to do, aſſoon as he ſhould find himſelf in a place convenient. There was now no more complaining or murmuring. Some Gentlemen undertook to make Levies upon their Credit, and Intereſt, and others ſent Money to the King upon their own Inclinations.

THERE was a pleaſant Story, then much ſpoken of in the Court, which adminiſter'd ſome Mirth. There were two great Men who liv'd near *Nottingham*, both Men of great Fortunes and of great Parſimony, and known to have much Money lying by them. To the former the Lord *Capel* was ſent, to the latter, *John Aſhburnham* of the Bed Chamber, and of entire Confidence with his Maſter; each of them with a Letter, all written with the King's hand, to borrow of each ten or five thouſand pounds. *Capel* was very civilly receiv'd by One, and entertain'd as well as the ill Accomodations in his Houſe, and his manner of living would admit. He expreſs'd with wonderful civil profeſſions of Duty, "The great trouble he ſuſtain'd, in not be-"ing able to comply with his Majeſty's Commands: He ſaid, "All Men "knew that he neither had, nor could have money, becauſe he had every "year, of ten or a dozen which were paſt, purchaſed a thouſand pounds "Land a year; and therefore he could not be imagin'd to have any money "lying by him, which he never lov'd to have. But, he ſaid, he had a Neigh-"bour, who liv'd within few Miles of him, who was good for nothing, and "liv'd like a Hog, not allowing himſelf Neceſſaries, and who could not have "ſo little as twenty thouſand pounds in the Scurvy Houſe in which he liv'd; "and adviſed, "He might be ſent to, who could not deny the having of "money; and concluded with great duty to the King, and deteſtation of the Parliament, and as if he meant to conſider farther of the thing, and to endeavour to get ſome money for him, which though he did not remember to ſend, his affections were good, and he was afterwards kill'd in the King's Service.

ASHBURNHAM got no more money, nor half ſo many good words. That Lord had ſo little Correſpondence with the Court, that he had never heard his Name, and when he had read the King's Letter, he ask'd from whom it was; and when he told him, "He ſaw it was from the King, he replied, "That

" That he was not ſuch a fool as to believe it. That he had receiv'd Letters " both from the King and his Father; and haſtily running out of the Room, return'd with half a dozen Letters in his hand; ſaying, " That thoſe were all " the King's Letters, and that they always began with *Right Truſty and* " *Well beloved*, and the King's Name was ever at the Top; but this Letter be- " gun with his own Name, and ended with your loving Friend *C. R.* which " he ſaid, he was ſure could not be the King's hand. His other treatment was according to this, and after an ill Supper he was ſhew'd an indifferent Bed; the Lord telling him, " That he would confer more of the matter in " the morning; he having ſent a Servant with a Letter to the Lord *Falkland*, who was his Wifes Nephew, and who had ſcarce ever ſeen his Uncle. The Man came to *Nottingham* about Midnight, and found my Lord *Falkland* in his Bed. The Letter was to tell him, " That one *Aſhburnham* " was with " him, who brought him a Letter, which he ſaid was from the King; but " he knew, that could not be; and therefore he deſir'd to know, who this Man " was, whom he kept in his Houſe till the Meſſenger ſhould return. In ſpight of the Laughter, which could not be forborne, the Lord *Falkland* made haſte to inform him of the Condition and Quality of the Perſon, and that the Letter was writ with the King's own hand, which he ſeldom vouchſafed to do. And the Meſſenger returning early the next morning, his Lordſhip treated Mr. *Aſhburnham* with ſo different a reſpect, that he, who knew nothing of the cauſe, believ'd, that he ſhould return with all the Money that was deſir'd, but it was not long before he was undeceiv'd. The Lord with as chearful a Countenance as His could be, for he had a very unuſual and unpleaſant Face, told him, " That though he had no Money Himſelf, but was in extreme " want of it, he would tell him where he might have Money enough; that " he had a Neighbour, who liv'd within four or five Miles, that never did " good to any body, and lov'd no body but himſelf, who had a world of Mo- " ney, and could furniſh the King with as much as he had need of, and if he " ſhould deny that he had Money when the King ſent to him, he knew " where he had one Trunk full, and would diſcover it; and that he was ſo " ill belov'd, and had ſo few Friends, that no body would care how the King " uſed him. This good Counſel was all Mr. *Aſhburnham* could make of him: and yet this wretched Man was ſo far from wiſhing well to the Parliament, that when they had prevail'd and were poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdom, as well as of *Nottingham-ſhire*, he would not give them one penny; nor compound for his Delinquency, as they made the having liv'd in the King's Quarters to be; but ſuffer'd his whole Eſtate to be Sequeſter'd and liv'd in a very miſerable faſhion, only by what he could raviſh from his Tenants; who, though they paid their Rents to the Parliament, were forced by his rage and threats to part with ſo much as kept him, till he died, in that Condition he choſe to live in: His Conſcience being powerful enough to deny Himſelf, though it could not diſpoſe him to grant to the King. And thus the two Meſſengers return'd to the King, ſo near the ſame time, that he who came firſt, had not given his account to the King, before the other enter'd in to his Preſence.

THE ſame day, a Gentleman in thoſe parts, known to be very rich, being preſſed to lend the King five hundred pounds, ſent him a preſent of one hundred pieces in Gold; which, he ſaid, " He had procur'd with great diffi- " culty; and proteſted, with many execrable imprecations, that he had never " in his life ſeen five hundred pounds of his own together; when, within one Month after the King's departure, the Parliament Troops, which borrow'd in another ſtyle, took five thouſand pounds from him, which was lodg'd with him, in the Chamber in which he lay. Which is therefore mention'd in this place, that upon this occaſion it may be ſeen, that the unthrifty retention of their Money, which poſſeſſed the Spirits of thoſe, who did really wiſh the King all the ſucceſs he wiſh'd for himſelf, was one unhappy cauſe of all his misfortunes: and if they had, in the beginning, but lent the King the fifth part of what, after infinite loſſes, they found neceſſary to ſacrifice to his Enemies, in the Concluſion, to preſerve themſelves from total ruin, his Majeſty had been able, with God's bleſſing, to have preſerv'd Them, and to have deſtroy'd all his Enemies.

THE News of the important advantage before *Worceſter* found the King at *Cheſter*, whither his Majeſty thought neceſſary to make a Journey himſelf, aſſoon as he came to *Shrewsbury*, both to aſſure that City to his Service, which was the Key to *Ireland*, and to countenance the Lord *Strange* (who, by the death of his Father, became Earl of *Derby*) againſt ſome oppoſition he met with, on the behalf of the Parliament. Here *Crane*, ſent by Prince *Rupert*, gave his Majeſty an Account of that Action; and preſented him with the Enſigns, which had been taken; and inform'd him of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s being in *Worceſter*; which made the King return ſooner to *Shrewsbury* than he intended, and before the Earl of *Derby* was poſſeſſed of that Power, which a little longer ſtay would have given him.

PRINCE *Rupert* the ſame Night, after his Victory, finding the groſs of the Rebels Army to be within five or ſix Miles, againſt which that City was in no degree Tenable, though all the King's Foot had been there, retir'd from *Worceſter* on the *Welſh* ſide of the River, without any diſturbance, into his Quarters near *Shrewsbury*, and with all his Priſoners, Colonel *Sandys* only excepted, whom he left to dye of his wounds there; the Earl of *Eſſex* being ſo much ſtartled with this late Defeat, that he advanced not in two days after; and then being ſurely inform'd, that he ſhould find no reſiſtance, he enter'd with his Army into *Worceſter*; uſing great ſeverity to thoſe Citizens, who had been Eminently inclin'd to the King's Service, and ſending the principal of them Priſoners to *London*.

The King comes to Shrewsbury.

UPON the King's coming to *Shrewsbury*, there was a very great conflux of the Gentry there, and the Neighbouring Counties which were generally well affected, and made great profeſſions of Duty to his Majeſty: ſome of them undertook to make Levies of Horſe and Foot, and perform'd it at their own Charge. The Town was very Commodious in all reſpects, ſtrong in it's Situation; and in reſpect of it's Neighbourhood to North *Wales*, and the uſe of the *Severn*, yielded excellent Proviſions of all kinds; ſo that both Court and Army were very well Accommodated, only the incurable diſeaſe of want of Money could not be aſſwaged in either. Yet whilſt they ſat ſtill, it was not very ſenſible, much leſs importunate. The Soldiers behaved themſelves orderly, and the People were not inclin'd, or provoked to complain of their new Gueſts; and the remainder of the Plate, which was brought from the Univerſities, together with the ſmall preſents in Money, which were made to the King by many particular Perſons, ſupplied the preſent neceſſary Expences very conveniently. But it was eaſily diſcern'd, that, when the Army ſhould move, which the King reſolv'd it ſhould do with all poſſible Expedition, the neceſſity of Mony would be very great, and the Train of Artillery, which is commonly a Spunge that can hardly be filled, was deſtitute of all things neceſſary for motion. Nor was there any hope that it could march, till a good Sum of Money were aſſign'd to it; ſome Carriage-Horſes, and Waggons, which were prepared for the Service of *Ireland*, and lay ready at *Cheſter*, to be tranſported with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lieutenant of that Kingdom, were brought to *Shrewsbury*, by his Majeſty's Order, for his own Train: And the Earl's paſſionate labouring to prevent, or remedy that Application, with ſome other reaſons, hinder'd the Earl himſelf from purſuing that Journey; and in the end, depriv'd him of that Province. But this ſeaſonable addition to the Train encreaſed the neceſſity of Money, there being more uſe of it thereby.

Two Expedients were found to make ſuch a competent proviſion for all wants, that they were at laſt broken through. Some Perſon of that inclination had inſinuated to the King, that, "If the Roman Catholicks, which "that, and the adjacent Counties were well inhabited by, were ſecretly treat-"ed with, a conſiderable Sum of Money might be raiſed among them; but "it muſt be carried with great privacy, that no notice might be taken of it, "the Parialment having declared ſo great Animoſities againſt them; nor did it in that conjuncture concern the King leſs that it ſhould be very ſecret, to avoid the ſcandal of a cloſe conjunction with the Papiſts, which was every day imputed to Him. Upon many Conſultations how, and in what method to carry on this Deſign, the King was inform'd, "That if he would "depute a Perſon much truſted by Him, to that Service, the Roman Catho-"licks would truſt him, and aſſign one or two of their Body to confer with

" with him, and by this means the work might be carried on. Hereupon the King ſent for that Perſon, and told him this whole matter, as is here ſet down, and required him to conſult with ſuch a Perſon, whom he would ſend to him the next Morning. The next Morning a Perſon of Quality very much truſted by all that Party, came to him to confer upon that Subject; and ſhewed a liſt of the Names of all the Gentlemen of Quality and Fortune of that Religion, who were all Convict Recuſants, and liv'd within thoſe Counties of *Shrop-ſhire* and *Stafford*. They appear'd to be a good Number of very valuable Men, on whoſe behalf he had only Authority to conclude, though he believ'd that the method, they agreed on there, would be ſubmitted to, and confirm'd by that Party in all other places. He ſaid "They " would by no means hearken to any motion of the Loan of Money, for " which they had paid ſo dear, upon their ſerving the King in that manner, " in his firſt Expedition againſt the *Scots*. It was in the end agreed upon, that the King ſhould write to every one of them to pay him an advance of two, or three Years of ſuch Rent, as they were every Year oblig'd to pay him, upon the compoſition they had made with him for their Eſtates; which would amount to a conſiderable Sum of Money. And theſe Letters were accordingly writ, and within ten or twelve days, between four and five thouſand pounds were return'd to his Majeſty; which was a ſeaſonable ſupply for his Affairs.

AT his return to *Shrewsbury*, the King found as much done towards his March, as he expected. And then the other Expedient (which was hinted before) for money offer'd it ſelf. There was a Gentleman of a very good Extraction, and of the beſt Eſtate of any Gentleman of that Country who liv'd within four or five miles of *Shrewsbury*, and was look'd upon as a very prudent Man, and had a very powerful Influence upon that People, and was of undoubted Affections and Loyalty to the King, and to the Government, both in Church, and State: his eldeſt Son was a young Gentleman of great expectation, and of excellent Parts, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who had behaved himſelf there very well. This Gentleman intimated to a friend " of his, "That, if his Father might be made a Baron, he did believe he " might be prevail'd with, to preſent his Majeſty with a good Sum of Money. It was propoſed to the King, who had no mind to embrace the propoſition, his Majeſty taking occaſion often to ſpeak againſt making Merchandize " of Honour; how much the Crown ſuffer'd at preſent by the Licence of " that kind, which had been uſed during the Favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and that he had not taken a firmer Reſolution againſt many things, " than againſt this particular Expedient for raiſing Money. However, after he return'd from *Cheſter*, and found by the increaſe of his Levies, and the good diſpoſition all things were in, that he might in a ſhort time be able to March, and in ſo good a Condition, that he ſhould rather ſeek the Rebels, than decline meeting with them, if the indiſpenſable want of Money did not make his motion impoſſible; the Merit and Ability of the Perſon, and the fair expectation from his Poſterity, he having two Sons, both very hopeful, prevail'd with his Majeſty to reſume the ſame overture; and in few days it was perfected, and the Gentleman was made a Baron; who preſented the Sum of Six thouſand pounds to his Majeſty; whereupon all preparations for the Army were proſecuted with effect.

ASSOON as the King came to *Shrewsbury*, he had diſpatched his Letters and Agents into *Wales*, *Cheſhire*, and *Lancaſhire*, to quicken the Levies of Men which were making there, and return'd from *Cheſter* through the North part of *Wales* (where he found the People Cordial to him, and Arming themſelves for him) to *Shrewsbury*. The King's cuſtom was in all Counties, through which he paſſed, to cauſe the High Sheriff to draw all the Gentlemen, and the moſt ſubſtantial Inhabitants of thoſe parts together, to whom (beſides his careſſing the principal Gentlemen ſeverally, familiarly, and very obligingly) he always ſpoke ſomething publickly (which was afterwards Printed) telling them.

The ſubſtance of the King's Speeches to the Gentry and Commonalty of the ſeveral Counties through which he paſſed.

"THAT it was a benefit to him from the Inſolencies and Misfortunes, " which had driven him about, that they had brought him to ſo good a " part of his Kingdom, and to ſo faithful a part of his People. He hoped, " neither They, nor He ſhould repent their coming together. He would do His part,

" part, that they might not; and of Them he was confident before he came. " He told them, " The Reſidence of an Army was not uſually pleaſant " to any place; and His might carry more fear with it, ſince it might be " thought (being robbed and ſpoiled of all his own, and ſuch Terror uſed to " fright and keep all Men from ſupplying him) he muſt only live upon the " Aid and Relief of his People. But he bid them not be afraid; and ſaid, " He wiſhed to God, his poor Subjects ſuffer'd no more by the Inſolence, " and Violence of that Army raiſed againſt him, though they had made them- " ſelves wanton with Plenty, than they ſhould do by His; and yet he fear- " ed he ſhould not be able to prevent all Diſorders; he would do his beſt; " and promiſed them, no Man ſhould be a loſer by him if he could help " it. He ſaid " He had ſent for a Mint, and would melt down all his own " Plate, and expoſe all his Land to ſale, or mortgage, that he might bring " the leaſt preſſure upon them. However, he invited them. " To do that for " him, and themſelves, for the maintenance of their Religion, and the Law " of the Land (by which they enjoyed all that they had) which other *Men* " did againſt them; he deſired them " not to ſuffer ſo good a Cauſe to be " loſt, for want of ſupplying him with that, which would be taken from " them, by thoſe who purſued his *Majeſty* with that Violence. And whilſt " thoſe ill Men ſacrificed their Money, Plate, and utmoſt Induſtry, to deſtroy " the Common-wealth, They would be no leſs liberal to preſerve it. He " bid them aſſure themſelves, if it pleaſed God to bleſs him with Succeſs, he " would remember the Aſſiſtance every particular Man gave him to his ad- " vantage. However it would hereafter (how furiouſly ſoever the minds of " ſome *Men* were now poſſeſſed) be Honour and Comfort to them, that with " ſome charge and trouble to themſelves, they had done Their part to Support " their King and Preſerve the Kingdom.

HIS *Majeſty* always took notice of any particular reports, which, either with reference to the publick, or their private concerns, might make impreſſion upon that People, and gave clear Anſwers to them. With this gracious and Princely demeanour, it is hardly credible how much he won upon the People; ſo that not only his Army daily increaſed by Voluntiers (for there was not a Man preſſed) but ſuch proportions of Plate, and Money, were voluntarily brought in, that the Army was fully and conſtantly paid: the King having erected a Mint at *Shrewsbury*, more for reputation than uſe. (For for want of Work men, and Inſtruments, they could not Coyn a thouſand pounds a week) and cauſing all his own Plate, for the Service of his Houſhold, to be deliver'd there, made other Men think, theirs was the leſs worth the preſerving.

SHORTLY after the Earl of *Eſſex* came to *Worceſter*, he ſent a Gentleman (*Fleetwood*, the ſame who had afterwards ſo great power in the Army, but then a Trooper in his Guards) to *Shrewsbury*, without a Trumpet, or any other ceremony than a Letter to the Earl of *Dorſet*; in which he ſaid, " He " was appointed by the Parliament, to cauſe a Petition, then in has hands to " be preſented to his Majeſty; and therefore deſired his Lordſhip to know his " Majeſty's pleaſure, when he would be pleaſed to receive it from ſuch Per- " ſons, as he ſhould ſend over with it. The Earl of *Dorſet* (by his Majeſty's command, after it had been debated in Council what Anſwer to return) ſent him word in writing, " That the King had always been, and would be ſtill " ready to receive any Petition from his two Houſes of Parliament; and if " the Earl had any ſuch to be preſented, if he ſent it by any Perſons, who " ſtood not Perſonally accuſed by his Majeſty of High-Treaſon, and except- " ed ſpecially in all offers of Pardon made by him, the Perſons who brought " it ſhould be welcome; and the King would return ſuch an Anſwer to it, " as ſhould be agreeable to Honour, and Juſtice. Whether this limitation as to Meſſengers diſpleaſed them (as it was afterwards ſaid, that the Meſſengers appointed to have delivered it were the Lord *Mandevil*, and Mr. *Hambden*, who, they thought, would have skill to make infuſions into many Perſons then about his Majeſty, and the hopes of that acceſs being barred by that limitation, and exception, they would not ſend any other) or what other reaſon ſoever there was, the King heard no more of this Petition, nor any addreſs of that Nature, till he found, by ſome new Printed Votes, and Declarations, " That

" he

" he was guilty of another breach of the Privilege of Parliament, for ha-
" ving refuſed to receive their Petition, except it were preſented in ſuch a
" manner as he preſcribed: Whereas they alone were Judges in what man-
" ner, and by what Perſons their own Petitions ſhould be deliver'd, and
" he ought ſo to receive them. So that Petition which is before ſet down in the very terms it paſs'd both Houſes, was never deliver'd to his Majeſty.

The ſtrength of the Kings Army at Shrewſbury.

THERE cannot be too often mention of the wonderful Providence of God, that from that low deſpiſed condition the King was in at *Nottingham*, after the ſetting up his Standard, he ſhould be able to get Men, Money, or Arms, ſo that, within twenty days after his coming to *Shrewsbury*, he reſolv'd, to march, in deſpight of the Enemy, even towards *London*; his Foot by this time, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand; and his Horſe of two thouſand; his Train in very good Order, commanded by Sr *John Heydon*. And though this ſtrength was much inferior to the Enemy, yet as it was greater than any Man thought poſſible to be raiſed, ſo all thought it ſufficient to encounter the Rebels. Beſides that it was confidently believ'd (and not without ſome grounds, upon correſpondence with ſome Officers in the other Army) that, as ſoon as the Armies came within any reaſonable diſtance of each other, very many Soldiers would leave their Colours, and come to the King; which expectation was confirm'd by divers Soldiers, who every day dropped in from thoſe Forces; and to make themſelves welcome, told many Stories of their Fellow's reſolutions whom they had left behind.

AND this muſt be confeſs'd, that either by the care and diligence of the Officers, or by the good inclinations, and temper of the Soldiers themſelves, the Army was in ſo good order and diſcipline, that, during the King's ſtay at *Shrewsbury*, there was not any remarkable diſorder; the Country being very kind to the Soldiers, and the Soldiers juſt, and regardful to the Country. And by the free Loans and Contributions of the Gentlemen, and Subſtantial Inhabitants, but eſpecially by the aſſiſtance of the Nobility, who attended, the Army was ſo well paid, that there was not the leaſt mutiny or diſcontent for want of pay; nor was there any cauſe; for they ſeldom failed every week, never went above a fortnight unpaid.

THE greateſt difficulty was to provide Arms; of which indeed there was a wonderful ſcarcity, the King being exceedingly diſappointed in his expectation of Arms from *Holland*; a Veſſel or two having been taken by his own Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; ſo that, except eight hundred Muſquets, five hundred pair of Piſtols, and two hundred Swords, which came with the Powder, landed in *York-ſhire*, as is before mention'd, the King had none in his Magazine; ſo that he was compell'd to begin at *Nottingham*, and ſo in all places as he paſſed, to borrow the Arms from the Train'd-bands; which was done with ſo much warineſs and caution (albeit it was known that thoſe Arms would, being left in thoſe hands, be imployed againſt him, or at leaſt be of no uſe to him) that it was done rather with their conſent, than by any conſtraint, and always with the full approbation of their Commanders. And therefore in *York-ſhire*, and *Shrop-ſhire*, where the Gentlemen very unskilfully, though with good meaning, deſired that the Arms might ſtill be left in the Countrymen's Hands, there was none of that kind of borrowing. But, in all places, the Noblemen, and Gentlemen of Quality, ſent the King ſuch ſupplies of Arms, out of their own Armories (which were very mean) ſo that by all thoſe means together, the Foot, all but three or four hundred, who marched without any Weapon but a Cudgel, were Arm'd with Muſquets, and Bags for their Powder, and Pikes; but, in the whole Body, there was not a Pikeman, had a Corſlet, and very few Muſqueteers who had Swords. Among the Horſe, the Officers had their full deſire, if they were able to procure old Backs, and Breaſts, and Pots with Piſtols, or Carbines, for their two or three firſt Ranks, and Swords for the reſt; themſelves (and ſome Soldiers by their examples) having gotten, beſides their Piſtols and Swords, a ſhort Pole-ax.

THE Foot were divided into three Brigades; the firſt commanded by Sir *Nicholas Byron*, the ſecond by Colonel *Harry Wentworth*, the third by Colonel *Richard Fielding*, Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, being Major General, and commanding the Foot immediately under the General. For, though General *Ruthen*, who came to the King ſome few days before he left *Shrewsbury*, was made Field Marſhal, yet he kept wholly with the Horſe to aſſiſt Prince *Rupert*: and Sir *Arthur Aſton*, of whoſe Soldiery there was a very great eſteem, was made Colonel General of the Dragoons; which at that time, though conſiſting of two or three Regiments, were not above eight hundred, or a thouſand at the moſt. Moſt of the Perſons of Quality, except thoſe whoſe attendance was near the King's own Perſon, put themſelves into the King's Troop of Guards, commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stewart*; and made indeed ſo gallant a Body, that, upon very modeſt computation, the Eſtate, and Revenue of that ſingle Troop, it was thought, might juſtly be valued at leaſt equal to all theirs, who then Voted in both Houſes, under the Name of the Lords and Commons of Parliament, which made and maintain'd that War. Their Servants, under the command of Sir *William Killigrew*, made another full Troop, and always marched with their Lords and Maſters.

The King having form'd an Army, marches from Shrewſbury *towards* London.

IN this equipage the King marched from *Shrewsbury* on the 12th of *October* to *Bridgenorth*, never leſs baggage attending a Royal Army, there being not one Tent, and very few Waggons belonging to the whole Train; having in his whole Army not one Officer of the Field who was a Papiſt, except Sir *Arthur Aſton*, if he were one; and very few common Soldiers of that Religion. However the Parliament, in all their Declarations, and their Clergy much more in their Sermons, aſſured the People, "That the "King's Army conſiſted only of Papiſts, whilſt themſelves entertain'd all of that Religion, that they could get; and very many, both Officers and Soldiers, of that Religion engaged with them; whether it was that they really believ'd, that That Army did deſire Liberty of Conſcience for all Religions, as ſome of the chief of them pretended, or that they deſired to divide themſeves for Communication of Intelligence, and Intereſt. And here it is not fit to forget one particular, that when the Committee of Parliament appointed to advance the ſervice upon the Propoſition for Plate, and Horſes, in the County of *Suffolk*, ſent word to the Houſe of Commons, "That ſome Papiſts offer'd to lend Money upon thoſe Propoſitions, "and deſired advice whether they ſhould accept of it; it was Anſwer'd, "That if they offer'd any conſiderable Sum, whereby it might be conceiv'd "to proceed from a real affection to the Parliament, and not out of Poli-"cy to bring themſelves within their Protection, and ſo to excuſe their "Delinquency, it ſhould be accepted of,

WHEN the King was ready for his march, there was ſome difference of opinion which way he ſhould take: many were of opinion that he ſhould march towards *Worceſter*, where the Earl of *Eſſex* ſtill remain'd; thoſe Countries were thought well affected to the King; where his Army would be ſupplied with proviſions, and encreaſed in Numbers; and that no time ſhould be loſt in coming to a Battle; becauſe the longer it was deferred, the ſtronger the Earl would grow, by the ſupplies which were every day ſent to him from *London*; and he had ſtore of Arms with him to ſupply all defects of that kind. However it was thought more counſellable to march directly towards *London*, it being morally ſure, that the Earl of *Eſſex* would put himſelf in their way. The King had much confidence in his Horſe (his Nephew Prince *Rupert* being in the head of them) which were fluſh'd by their ſucceſs at *Worceſter*; and if he had made his march that way, he would have been entangled in the incloſures, where his Horſe would have been leſs uſeful; whereas there were many open grounds near the other way, much fitter for an Engagement. And ſo, about the middle of *October*, the King march'd from *Shrewsbury*, and quarter'd that night at *Bridgenorth*, ten Miles from the other place, where there was a Rendezvous of the whole Army, which appear'd very chearful; and thence to *Wolverhampton*, *Bromicham* and *Killingworth*, a Houſe of the King's, and a very noble Seat, where the King reſted one day; where the Lord Chief Juſtice *Heath*, who was made Chief

Chief Juſtice for that purpoſe (*Bramſton*, a Man of great Learning and Integrity, being, without any purpoſe of diſfavour, removed from that Office, becauſe he ſtood bound by Recognizance to attend the Parliament, upon an accuſation depending there againſt him) begun to ſit upon a Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, to attaint the Earl of *Eſſex*, and many other Perſons who were in Rebellion, of High-Treaſon.

SOME days had paſſed without any notice of that Army; ſome reporting that it remain'd ſtill at *Worceſter*, others, that they were march'd the direct way from thence towards *London*. But intelligence came from *London*, "That very many Officers of Name, and Command in the Parliament Army, had undergone that ſervice with a full reſolution to come to the King, "as ſoon as they were within any diſtance; and it was wiſh'd, that the "King would ſend a Proclamation into the Army it ſelf, and to offer pardon "to all who would return to their obedience. A Proclamation was prepared accordingly, and all circumſtances reſolv'd upon, that a Herald ſhould be ſent to proclaim it in the Head of the Earl's Army, when it ſhould be drawn up in Battle. But, that and many other particulars, prepared and reſolved upon, were forgotten, or omitted at the time appointed, which would not admit any of thoſe formalities.

WHEN the whole Army marched together, there was quickly diſcover'd an unhappy jealouſy, and diviſion between the principal Officers, which grew quickly into a perfect Faction between the Foot and the Horſe. The Earl of *Lindſey* was General of the whole Army by his Commiſſion, and thought very equal to it. But when Prince *Rupert* came to the King, which was after the Standard was ſet up, and receiv'd a Commiſſion to be General of the Horſe, which, all Men knew, was deſign'd for him, there was a clauſe inſerted into it, exempting him from receiving Orders from any Body but from the King himſelf; which, upon the matter, ſeparated all the Horſe from any dependence upon the General, and had other ill conſequences in it: for when the King at Midnight, being in his Bed, and receiving Intelligence of the Enemies motion commanded the Lord *Falkland*, his principal Secretary of State, to direct Prince *Rupert*, what he ſhould do, his Highneſs took it very ill, and expoſtulated with the Lord *Falkland*, for giving him Orders. He could not have directed his paſſion againſt any Man, who would feel or regard it leſs. He told him, "That it was his Office to ſignify what the "King bid him; which he ſhould always do; and that his Highneſs, in "neglecting it, neglected the King; who did neither the Prince, nor his own Service any good, by complying in the beginning with his rough Nature. But the King was ſo indulgent to him that he took his advice in all things relating to the Army, and upon the deliberation of their march, and the figure of the Battle they reſolv'd to fight in with the Enemy, he concurr'd entirely with Prince *Rupert*'s advice, rejecting the opinion of the General, who preferr'd the Order he had learned under Prince *Maurice*, and Prince *Harry*, with whom he had ſerv'd at the ſame time, when the Earl of *Eſſex* and he, both of them, had Regiments. The reſervedneſs of the Prince's Nature, and the little Education he then had in Courts, made him unapt to make acquaintance with any of the Lords, who were thereby likewiſe diſcouraged from applying themſelves to Him; whilſt ſome Officers of the Horſe were well pleaſed to obſerve that ſtrangeneſs, and fomented it; believing their Credit would be the greater with the Prince, and deſiring that no other Perſon ſhould have any Credit with the King. So the War was ſcarce begun when there appear'd ſuch Faction and Deſigns in the Army, which Wiſe Men look'd upon as a very evil Preſage; and the inconveniencies, which flow'd from thence, gave the King great trouble in a ſhort time after.

Faction begun in the King's Army.

WITHIN two days after the King march'd from *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Eſſex* moved from *Worceſter* to attend him, with an Army far Superior in Number to the King's; the Horſe and Foot being compleatly Arm'd, and the Men very well Exerciſed, and the whole Equipage (being ſupplied out of the King's Magazines) ſuitable to an Army ſet forth at the charge of a Kingdom. The Earl of *Bedford* had the Name of General of the Horſe, though that Command principally depended upon Sir *William Balfour*. Of the

The Earl of Eſſex *marches after the King.*

Nobility he had with him the Lords *Kimbolton*, *Saint-John*, *Wharton*, *Roberts*, and the Lords *Rochford*, and *Fielding* (whoſe Fathers, the Earls of *Dover*, and *Denbigh*, charg'd as Voluntiers in the King's Guard of Horſe) and many Gentlemen of Quality; but his Train was ſo very great, that he could move but in ſlow marches. So that the two Armies, though they were but twenty Miles aſunder, when they firſt ſet forth, and both march'd the ſame way, gave not the leaſt diſquiet in ten days march to each other; and in truth, as it appear'd afterwards, neither Army knew where the other was.

THE King by quick marches, having ſeldom reſted a day in any Place, came, on *Saturday* the 22d of *October*, to *Edgcot* a Village in *Northampton-ſhire*, within four Miles of *Banbury*, in which the Rebels had a Garriſon. Aſſoon as he came thither he call'd a Council of War, and having no Intelligence that the Earl of *Eſſex* was within any diſtance, it was reſolv'd "the King "and the Army ſhould reſt in thoſe Quarters the next day, only that Sir "*Nicholas Byron* ſhould march with his Brigade, and attempt the taking in of "*Banbury*. With this Reſolution the Council broke up, and all Men went to their Quarters, which were at a great diſtance, without any apprehenſion of an Enemy. But that night, about twelve of the Clock, Prince *Rupert* ſent the King word, "That the Body of the Rebel's Army was within ſeven "or eight Miles, and that the head Quarter was at a Village call'd *Keinton* "on the Edge of *Warwick-ſhire*; and that it would be in his Majeſty's power, "if he thought fit, to fight a Battle the next day; which his Majeſty liked well, and therefore immediately diſpatch'd Orders to croſs the deſign for *Banbury*, "And that the whole Army ſhould draw to a Rendezvous on the top "of *Edge-Hill*; which was a high Hill about two Miles from *Keinton*, where the head Quarter of the Earl was, which had a clear proſpect of all that Valley.

The Battle of Keinton *or* Edge-hill.

IN the morning being *Sunday* the 23d of *October*, when the Rebels were beginning their March (for they ſuſpected not the King's Forces to be near) they perceiv'd a fair Body of Horſe on the top of that Hill, and eaſily concluded their *March* was not then to be far. It is certain they were exceedingly ſurpriſed, having never had any other Confidence of their Men, than by the diſparity they concluded would be ſtill between their Numbers, and the King's, the which they found themſelves now deceiv'd in. For two of their ſtrongeſt and beſt Regiments of Foot, and one Regiment of Horſe, was a days march behind with their Ammunition. So that, though they were ſtill ſuperior in Number, yet that difference was not ſo great as they promiſed themſelves. However it cannot be denied that the Earl, with great dexterity, perform'd whatſoever could be expected from a Wiſe General. He choſe that ground which beſt liked him. There was between the Hill and the Town a fair Campaign, ſave that near the Town it was narrower, and on the right hand ſome Hedges, and Incloſures; ſo that there he placed Muſqueteers, and not above two Regiments of Horſe, where the ground was narroweſt; but on his left Wing he placed a Body of a thouſand Horſe, Commanded by one *Ramſey* a *Scots*-man; the Reſerve of Horſe, which was a good one, was Commanded by the Earl of *Bedford*, General of their Horſe, and Sir *William Balfour* with him. The General Himſelf was with the Foot, which were order'd as much to advantage as might be. And in this poſture they ſtood from eight of the Clock in the morning.

ON the other ſide, though Prince *Rupert* was early in the morning with the greateſt part of the Horſe on the top of the Hill, which gave the Enemy the firſt Alarm of the neceſſity of fighting, yet the Foot were quarter'd at ſo great a diſtance, that many Regiments march'd ſeven or eight Miles to the Rendezvous, ſo that it was paſt one of the Clock, before the King's Forces march'd down the Hill; the General himſelf alighted at the head of his own Regiment of Foot, his Son the Lord *Willoughby* being next to him, with the King's Regiment of Guards, in which was the King's Standard carried by Sir *Edmond Verney* Knight Marſhal. The King's right Wing of Horſe was Commanded by Prince *Rupert*, the left Wing by Mr. *Wilmot*, Commiſſary General of the Horſe, who was aſſiſted by Sir *Arthur Aſton* with moſt of the Dragoons, becauſe that left Wing was oppoſed to the Enemies right, which had the ſhelter of ſome Hedges lin'd with Muſqueteers; and the Reſerve was com-

mitted to Sir *John Byron*, and consisted indeed only of his own Regiment. At the entrance into the Field, the King's Troop of Guards, either provoked by some unseasonable Scoffs among the Soldiery, or out of desire of Glory, or both, besought the King, "That he would give "them leave to be absent that day from his Person, and to Charge in "the Front among the Horse, the which his Majesty consented to. They desir'd Prince *Rupert* "to give them that Honour which belonged to them; who accordingly assign'd them the first place; which, though they perform'd their parts with admirable Courage, may well be reckon'd among the oversights of that day.

It was near three of the Clock in the afternoon, before the Battle begun; which, at that time of the year, was so late, that some were of opinion, "That the business should be deferr'd till the next day. But against that there were many objections, "The King's Numbers could not encrease, the E-"nemies might; for they had not only their Garrisons *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Banbury* within distance, but all that Country so devoted to them, that they had all Provisions brought to them, without the least trouble; whereas, on the other side, the People were so disaffected to the King's Party, that they had carried away, or hid all their Provisions, insomuch as there was neither Meat for Man, or Horse; and the very Smiths hid themselves, that they might not be compelled to shoe Horses, of which in those stony ways there was great need. This proceeded not from any radical Malice, or disaffection to the King's Cause, or his Person, tho' it is true, that circuit in which this battle was fought, being very much in the Interest of the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brooke*, was the most eminently corrupted of any County in *England*; but by the Reports, and Infusions, which the other very diligent Party had wrought into the people's Belief; "That the Cavaliers were of a Fierce, "Bloody, and Licentious disposition; and that they committed all manner of "Cruelty upon the Inhabitants of those places where they came, of which, "Robbery was the least: So that the poor People thought there was no other way to preserve their Goods, than by hiding them out of the way; which was confessed by them, when they found how much that Information had wronged them, by making them so injurious to their Friends. And therefore where the Army rested a day, they found much better Entertainment at parting, than when they came; for it will not be denied, that there was no Person of Honour or Quality, who paid not punctually and exactly for what they had; and there was not the least violence or disorder among the common Soldiers in their March, which scaped exemplary punishment; so that at *Bromicham*, a Town so generally wicked, that it had risen upon small Parties of the King's, and kill'd, or taken them Prisoners, and sent them to *Coventry*, declaring a more peremptory Malice to his Majesty than any other place, two Soldiers were executed, for having taken some small trifle of no value out of a House, whose owner was at that time in the Rebel's Army. So strict was the discipline in this Army; when the other, without controul, practised all the dissoluteness imaginable. But the March was so fast, that the leaving a good Reputation behind them, was no Harbinger to provide for their better Reception in the next Quarters. So that their wants were so great, at the time when they came to *Edge-Hill*, that there were very many Companies of the Common Soldiers, who had scerce eaten Bread in eight and forty Hours before. The only way to cure this was a Victory; and therefore the King gave the Word, though it was late, the Enemy keeping their ground, to receive him without Advancing at all.

In this hurry, there was an omission of somewhat, which the King intended to have executed before the beginning of the Battle. He had caused many Proclamations to be Printed of Pardon to all those Soldiers who would lay down their Arms, which he resolv'd, as is said before, to have sent by a Herald to the Earl of *Essex*, and to have found ways to have scatter'd, and dispersed them in that Army, assoon as he understood they were within any distance of him. But all Men were now so much otherwise busied, that it was not soon enough remember'd; and when it was, the Proclamations were not at hand; which, by that which follows, might probably have produced a good effect. For as the right Wing of the King's Horse ad-

vanced to Charge the left Wing, which was the groſs of the Enemy's Horſe, Sir *Faithful Foterſcue* (who having his Fortune and Intereſt in *Ireland*, was come out of that Kingdom to haſten ſupplies thither, and had a Troop of Horſe raiſed for him for that Service, but as many other of thoſe Forces were, ſo his Troop was likewiſe diſpoſed into that Army, and he was now Major to Sir *William Waller*; He) with his whole Troop advanced from the groſs of their Horſe, and diſcharging all their Piſtols on the ground, within little more than Carabine ſhot of his own Body, preſented Himſelf, and his Troop to Prince *Rupert*; and immediately, with his Highneſs, charg'd the Enemy. Whether this ſuddain Accident, as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the ſame mind, each Man looking upon his Companion with the ſame apprehenſion as upon the Enemy, or whether the terror of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horſe, or all together, with their own evil Conſciences, wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole Wing, having unskilfully diſcharg'd their Carabines and Piſtols into the Air, wheel'd about, the King's Horſe charging in the flank and rear, and having thus abſolutely routed them, purſued them flying; and had the execution of them above two Miles.

The left Wing, Commanded by Mr. *Wilmot*, had as good ſucceſs, though they were to charge in worſe ground, among hedges, and through gaps and ditches, which were lin'd with Muſqueteers. But Sir *Arthur Aſton*, with great Courage and Dexterity, beat off thoſe Muſqueteers with his Dragoons; and then the right Wing of their Horſe was as eaſily routed and diſperſed as their left, and thoſe follow'd the Chaſe as furiouſly as the other. The Reſerve ſeeing none of the Enemy's Horſe left, thought there was nothing more to be done, but to purſue thoſe that fled; and could not be contain'd by their Commanders; but with Spurs and looſe Reins follow'd the Chaſe, which their left Wing had led them. And by this means, whilſt moſt Men thought the Victory unqueſtionable, the King was in danger of the ſame Fate which his Predeceſſor *Henry* the Third had at the Battle of *Lewes* againſt his Barons; when his Son the Prince, having routed their Horſe, follow'd the Chaſe ſo far, that, before his return to the Field, his Father was taken Priſoner; and ſo his Victory ſerv'd only to make the misfortunes of that day the more intolerable. For all the King's Horſe having thus left the Field, many of them only following the Execution, others intending the Spoil in the Town of *Keinton*, where all the Baggage was, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s own Coach, which was taken, and brought away; their Reſerve, Commanded by Sir *William Balfour*, moved up and down the Field in good Order, and marching towards the King's Foot pretended to be Friends, till obſerving no Horſe to be in readineſs to charge them, they brake in upon the Foot, and did great Execution. Then was the General the Earl of *Lindſey*, in the head of his Regiment, being on Foot, ſhot in the Thigh; with which he fell, and was preſently encompaſs'd with the Enemy; and his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, piouſly endeavouring the Reſcue of his Father, taken Priſoner with him. Then was the Standard taken (Sir *Edmond Verney*, who bore it, being kill'd) but Reſcued again by Captain *John Smith*, an Officer of the Lord *Grandiſon*'s Regiment of Horſe, and by him brought off. And if thoſe Horſe had beſtirr'd themſelves, they might with little difficulty have deſtroy'd, or taken Priſoner the King Himſelf, and his two Sons, the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, being with fewer than one hundred Horſe, and thoſe without Officer or Command, within half Muſquet ſhot of that Body, before he ſuſpected them to be Enemies.

When Prince *Rupert* return'd from the Chaſe, he found this great alteration in the Field, and his Majeſty himſelf with few Noblemen, and a ſmall Retinue about him, and the hope of ſo Glorious a Day quite vaniſh'd. For though moſt of the Officers of Horſe were return'd, and that part of the Field cover'd again with the looſe Troops, yet they could not be perſwaded, or drawn to charge either the Enemies Reſerve of Horſe, which alone kept the Field, or the Body of their Foot, which only kept their ground. The Officers pretending, "That their Soldiers were ſo diſperſed, that there "were not ten of any Troop together; and the Soldiers, that their Horſes "were ſo tired, that they could not charge. But the truth is, where many

Soldiers

Soldiers of one Troop or Regiment were rallied together, there the Officers were wanting; and where the Officers were ready, there the Soldiers were not together; and neither Officers, nor Soldiers desired to move without those who properly belonged to them. Things had now so ill an aspect, that many were of an opinion, that the King should leave the Field, though it was not easy to advise whither he should have gone; which if he had done, he had left an absolute Victory to those, who even at this time thought themselves overcome. But the King was positive against this advice, well knowing, that as that Army was raised by his Person and Presence only, so it could by no other means be kept together; and he thought it Unprincely, to forsake them who had forsaken all they had to serve him: besides, he observ'd the other side looked not as if they thought themselves Conquerers; for that Reserve, which did so much mischief before, since the return of his Horse, betook themselves to a fixt station between their Foot, which at best could but be thought to stand their ground, which two Brigades of the King's did with equal Courage, and gave equal Vollies; and therefore he try'd all possible ways to get the Horse to charge again; easily discerning, by some little attempts which were made, what a notable impression a brisk one would have made upon the Enemy. And when he saw it was not to be done, he was content with their only standing still. Without doubt, if either Party had known the Constitution of the other, they had not parted so fairly; and, very probably, which soever had made a bold offer, had compass'd his end upon his Enemy. This made many believe, though the Horse vaunted themselves aloud to have done their part, that the good Fortune of the first part of the Day, which well managed would have secured the rest, was to be imputed rather to the Enemy's want of Courage, than to their own Virtue (which after so great a Victory, could not so soon have forsaken them) and to the suddain and unexpected revolt of Sir *Faithful Fortescue* with a whole Troop, no doubt much to the Consternation of those he left; though they had not so good Fortune as they deserv'd; for by the negligence of not throwing away their Orange Tawny Scarfs, which they all wore as the Earl of *Essex*'s Colours, and being immediately engaged in the charge, many of them, not fewer than seventeen or eighteen, were suddainly kill'd by those to whom they joyn'd themselves.

In this doubt of all sides, the Night, the common Friend to weary'd and dismay'd Armies, parted them; and then the King caused his Cannon, which were neares the Enemies, to be drawn off; and with his whole Forces himself spent the Night in the Field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood, and bushes which grew thereabouts, unresolv'd what to do the next Morning; many reporting, "That the Enemy was gone; but when the Day appear'd, the contrary was discover'd: for then they were seen standing in the same posture and place in which they fought, from whence the Earl of *Essex*, wisely, never suffer'd them to stir all that Night; presuming reasonably, that if they were drawn off never so little from that place, their Numbers would lessen, and that many would run away; and therefore he caused all manner of Provisions, with which the Country supplied him plentifully, to be brought thither to them for their Refreshment, and reposed himself with them in the place; besides, that Night he receiv'd a great Addition of Strength, not only by Rallying those Horse, and Foot: which had run out of the Field in the Battle, but by the arrival of Colonel *Hambden*, and Colonel *Grantham*, with two thousand fresh Foot (which were reckon'd among the best of the Army) and five hundred Horse, which marched a Day behind the Army for the Guard of their Ammunition, and a great part of their Train, not supposing there would have been any Action that would have requir'd their presence. All the Advantage this seasonable Recruit brought them, was to give their old Men so much Courage as to keep the Field, which it was otherwise believ'd, they would hardly have been perswaded to have done. In the other Army, after a very cold Night spent in the Field, without any Refreshment of Victual, or Provision for the Soldiers (for the Country was so disaffected, that it not only not sent in Provisions, but Soldiers, who straggled into the Villages for Relief, were knocked in the Head by the common People.) The King found his Troops very

thin; for though by Conference with the Officers, he might reaſonably conclude, that there were not many ſlain in the Battle, yet a third part of his Foot were not upon the place, and of the Horſe many miſſing; and they that were in the Field were ſo tired with Duty, and weaken'd with want of Meat, and ſhrunk up with the cruel Cold of the Night (for it was a terrible Froſt, and there was no ſhelter of either Tree or Hedge) that though they had reaſon to believe, by the ſtanding ſtill of the Enemy, whilſt a ſmall Party of the King's Horſe, in the morning, took away four Pieces of their Cannon very near them, that any offer towards a charge, or but marching towards them, would have made a notable impreſſion in them, yet there was ſo viſible an averſeneſs from it in moſt Officers as well as Soldiers, that the King thought not fit to make the attempt; but contented himſelf to keep his Men in Order, the Body of Horſe facing the Enemy upon the Field where they had fought.

Towards Noon the King Reſolv'd to try that expedient, which was prepared for the day before; and ſent Sir *William le Neve* Clarencieux King at Arms, to the Enemy, with his Proclamation of Pardon to ſuch as would lay down Arms; believing though he expected then little benefit by the Proclamation, that he ſhould, by that means, receive ſome advertiſement of the condition of the Army, and what Priſoners they had taken (for many Perſons of Command and Quality were wanting) giving him order likewiſe to deſire to ſpeak with the Earl of *Lindſey*, who was known to be in their hands. Before Sir *William* came to the Army, he was receiv'd by the out Guards, and Conducted, with ſtrictneſs (that he might ſay, or publiſh nothing among the Soldiers) to the Earl of *Eſſex*; who, when he offer'd to read the Proclamation aloud, and to deliver the effect of it, that he might be heard by thoſe who were preſent, rebuked him, with ſome roughneſs, and charged him, "As he lov'd his life, not to preſume to ſpeak a word to "the Soldiers; and after ſome few queſtions, ſent him preſently back well guarded through the Army, without any anſwer at all. At his return he had ſo great and feeling a ſenſe of the danger he had paſſed that he made little Obſervation of the Poſture or numbers of the Enemy. Only he ſeem'd to have ſeen, or apprehended ſo much trouble and diſorder in the faces of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Principal Officers about him, and ſo much dejection in the Common Soldiers, that they looked like Men who had no farther Ambition, than to keep what they had left. He brought word of the death of the Earl of *Lindſey*; who, being carried out of the Field a Priſoner, into a Barn of the next Village, for want of a Surgeon, and ſuch Accommodations as were neceſſary, within few hours died with the loſs of blood, his wound not being otherwiſe Mortal or dangerous. This was imputed to the Inhumanity of the Earl of *Eſſex*, as if he had purpoſely neglected, or inhibited the performing any neceſſary Offices to him, out of the Inſolence of his Nature, and in Revenge of ſome former unkindneſſes, which had paſs'd between them. But, I preſume, it may be with more juſtice attributed to the hurry, and diſtraction of that ſeaſon, when, being ſo unſecure of their Friends, they had no thoughts vacant for their Enemies. For it is not to be deny'd at the time when the Earl of *Lindſey* was taken Priſoner, the Earl of *Eſſex* thought himſelf in more danger; and among his faults, want of Civility and Courteſy was none.

The Number of the ſlain, by the Teſtimony of the Miniſters, and others of the next Pariſh, who took, care of the Burying of the Dead, and which was the only Computation that could be made, amounted to above five thouſand; whereof two parts were conceiv'd to be of thoſe of the Parliament Party, and not above a third part of the King's. Indeed the loſs of both ſides was ſo great, and ſo little of Triumph appear'd in either, that the Victory could ſcarce be imputed to the One or the Other. Yet the King's keeping the Field, and having the Spoil of it, by which many Perſons of Quality, who had lain wounded in the Field were preſerv'd, his purſuing afterwards the ſame deſign he had when he was diverted to the Battle, and ſucceeding in it (which ſhall be touch'd anon) were greater Enſigns of Victory on that ſide, than taking the General Priſoner, and the taking the Standard, which was likewiſe recover'd, were on the Other.

Of

Of the King's the principal Perſons, who were loſt, were the Earl of *Lindſey*, General of the Army, the Lord *Stewart*, Lord *Aubigney* Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, and Brother to the then Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Sir *Edmund Verney*, Knight Marſhal of the King's Horſe, and Standard Bearer, and ſome others of leſs Name, though of great Virtue, and good Quality.

A Character of the Earl of Lindſey *the King's General.*

The Earl of *Lindſey* was a Man of very noble Extraction, and Inherited a great Fortune from his Anceſtors; which though he did not manage with ſo great care, as if he deſired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair Condition to his Family, which more intended the encreaſe of it. He was a Man of great Honour, and ſpent his Youth and Vigour of his Age in Military Actions and Commands abroad: and albeit he indulged to himſelf great liberties of Life, yet he ſtill preſerv'd a very good Reputation with all Men, and a very great Intereſt in his Country, as appear'd by the Supplies he, and his Son, brought to the King's Army; the ſeveral Companies of his own Regiment of Foot, being Commanded by the principal Knights and Gentlemen of *Lincoln-ſhire*, who engaged themſelves in the Service, principally out of their Perſonal Affection to Him. He was of a very generous Nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that reſtriction ſo heavily, which was put upon him by the Commiſſion granted to Prince *Rupert*, and by the King's preferring the Prince's Opinion, in all matters relating to the War, before His. Nor did he conceal his Reſentment: the day before the Battle, he ſaid to ſome Friends, with whom he had uſed freedom, "That he did not look upon himſelf as Gene-"ral; and therefore he was reſolv'd, when the day of Battle ſhould come, "that he would be in the head of his Regiment as a private Colonel, where "he would dye. He was carried out of the Field to the next Village, and if he could then have procured Surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved mortal. And as ſoon as the other Army was compoſed by the coming on of the Night, the Earl of *Eſſex*, about midnight, ſent Sir *William Balfour*, and ſome other Officers to ſee him, and to offer him all Offices, and meant himſelf to have viſited him. They found him upon a little ſtraw in a poor Houſe, where they had laid him in his Blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no Surgeon having been yet with him, only he had great vivacity in his looks; and told them, "He was ſorry to ſee ſo many "Gentlemen, ſome whereof were his old Friends, engaged in ſo foul a Rebellion; and principally directed his diſcourſe to Sir *William Balfour*, whom he put in mind of "The great obligations he had to the King; how much his "Majeſty had diſobliged the whole *Engliſh* Nation by putting him into the "Command of the Tower; and that it was the moſt odious ingratitude in Him "to make him that return. He wiſh'd them to tell my Lord *Eſſex*, "That "he ought to caſt himſelf at the King's feet to beg his pardon, which if he "did not ſpeedily do, his Memory would be odious to the Nation; and continued this kind of diſcourſe with ſo much vehemence, that the Officers by degrees withdrew themſelves, and prevented the Viſit the Earl of *Eſſex* intended him, who only ſent the beſt Surgeons to him; but in the very opening of his wounds he dyed before the morning, only upon the loſs of Blood. He had very many Friends, and very few Enemies; and died generally lamented.

The Lord *Aubigney* was a Gentleman of great hopes, of a gentle and winning diſpoſition, and of very clear Courage: he was kill'd in the firſt charge with the Horſe; where, there being ſo little reſiſtance, gave occaſion to ſuſpect that it was done by his own Lieutenant, who was a *Dutch*-man, and had not been ſo punctual in his duty, but that he receiv'd ſome reprehenſion from his Captain, which he murmur'd at. His Body was brought off, and buried at *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*; his two younger Brothers, the Lord *John* and the Lord *Bernard Stewart*, were in the ſame Battle, and were afterwards both kill'd in the War, and his only Son is now Duke of *Richmond*, Sir *Edmond Verney* hath been mention'd before; he was a Perſon of great Honour and Courage, and loſt his Life in that charge, when *Balfour*, with that Reſerve of Horſe, which had been ſo long undiſcern'd, broke into thoſe Regiments; but his body was not found.

On the Parliament Party that periſhed, the Lord *Saint-John* of *Bletnezo*, and *Charles Eſſex*, were of the beſt Quality. The laſt had been bred up a Page under the Earl of *Eſſex*, who afterwards, at his charge, preferr'd him to a Command in *Holland*; where he liv'd with very good reputation, and preſerv'd the credit of his decay'd Family; and as ſoon as the Earl unfortunately accepted this Command, he thought his gratitude oblieged him to run the fortune of his Patron, and out of pure kindneſs to the Perſon of the Earl, as many other Gentlemen did, engaged himſelf againſt the King without any Malice or Rebellion in his heart towards the Crown. He had the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and was eſteem'd the beſt and moſt expert Officer of the Army, and was kill'd by a Muſquet ſhot in the beginning of the Battle. The Lord *Saint-John* was eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Bullingbroke*, and got himſelf ſo well belov'd by the reputation of his Courteſy and Civility, which he expreſs'd towards all Men, that though his parts of underſtanding were very ordinary at beſt, and his courſe of life licentious and very much deprav'd, he got credit enough, by engaging the principal Gentlemen of *Bedford-ſhire* and *Hertford-ſhire* to be bound for him, to contract a debt of fifty or threeſcore thouſand pounds; for the payment whereof the fortune of the Family was not engaged, nor in his power to engage. So that the clamour of his debts growing importunate, ſome years before the Rebellion, he left the Kingdom and fled into *France*; leaving his vaſt debt to be paid by his Sureties, to the utter ruin of many Families, and the notable impairing of others. In the beginning of the Parliament, the King was prevailed with to call him to the Houſe of Peers, his Father being then alive, upon an aſſurance, "That "by his preſence and liberty, which could by no other way be ſecured, "means would be found out to pay his debts, and free ſo many worthy "Perſons from their engagements: Beſides that the times being like to be trou-"bleſome, the King might be ſure of a faithful Servant, who would always "advance his ſervice in that Houſe. But the King had very ill fortune in conferring thoſe graces, nor was his ſervice more paſſionately, and inſolently oppoſed by any Men in that Houſe, than by thoſe, who upon thoſe profeſſions were advanced by him from the condition of Commoners. And this Gentleman, from the firſt hour of his ſitting in that Houſe by the King's ſo extraordinary grace, was never known to concur in any one Vote for the King's Service, that receiv'd any oppoſition: and, as ſoon as it was in his power, he receiv'd a Commiſſion with the firſt to Command a Troop of Horſe againſt him, in which he behaved himſelf ſo ill, that he receiv'd ſome wounds in running, away; and being taken Priſoner died before the next morning, without any other ſigns of repentance, than the canting words, "That he did "not intend to be againſt the King, but wiſh'd him all happineſs: ſo great an influence the firſt ſeeds of his birth had upon his Nature, that how long ſoever they were conceal'd, and ſeem'd even buried in a very different breeding and converſation, they ſprung up, and bore the ſame fruit upon the firſt occaſion. And it was an obſervation of that time, that the Men of moſt licentious lives, who appear'd to be without any ſenſe of Religion, or reverence to virtue, and the moſt unreſtrain'd by any obligations of conſcience, betook themſelves to that Party, and pretended an impulſe of Religion out of fear of Popery; and on the other ſide, very many Perſons of Quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, who had ſuffer'd under the imputation of Puritaniſm, and did very much diſlike the proceedings of the Court, and oppoſed them upon all occaſions, were yet ſo much ſcandalized at the very approaches to Rebellion, that they renounced all their old Friends, and applied themſelves with great Reſolution, Courage, and Conſtancy to the King's Service, and continued in it to the end, with all the diſadvantages it was liable to.

Priſoners taken by the Enemy were, the Lord *Willoughby*, haſtily and piouſly endeavouring the reſcue of his Father; Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, and Sir *Edward Stradling*, both Colonels; and Sir *William Vavaſour*, who commanded the King's Regiment of Guards under the Lord *Willoughby*; and ſome other inferior Commanders. There were hurt, Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, and Sir *Nicholas Byron*, and more dangerouſly Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, who, being ſhot in the Thigh, was brought off the Field without any hopes of Life but recover'd to act a great part afterwards in the War; Sir *George Strode*, and ſome

other

other Gentlemen who ſerv'd among the Foot ; for of the Horſe there was not an Officer of Name, who receiv'd a Wound, the Lord *Aubigney* only excepted ; ſo little reſiſtance did that part of the Enemy make. Of the Rebels there were ſlain, beſides the Lord *Saint-John*, Colonel *Charles Eſſex*, the Soldier of whom they had the beſt opinion, and who had always, till this laſt Action, preſerved a good reputation in the world, which was now the Worſe, over and above the Guilt of Rebellion, by his having ſworn to the Queen of *Bohemia*, by whoſe interceſſion he procured leave from the Prince of *Orange* to go into *England*, " That he would never ſerve againſt the King: And many other of obſcure Names, though Officers of good Command. There were a good Number of their Officers, eſpecially of Horſe, taken Priſoners, but (ſave that ſome of them were Parliament Men) of mean Quality in the world, except only Sir *William Eſſex* the Father of the Colonel, whoſe wants, from having waſted a very great Fortune, and his Son's invitation, led him into that Company ; where he was a private Captain of his Regiment.

When the Armies had thus only look'd one upon another, the whole day, and it being diſcern'd that the Enemy had drawn off his Carriages, the King directed all his Army to retire into their old Quarters, preſuming (as it prov'd) that many of thoſe who were wanting would be found there. And ſo himſelf with his two Sons went to *Edgecot*, where he lay the night before the Battle, reſolving to reſt the next day, both for the refreſhing his wearied and even tired Men, and to be inform'd of the motion and condition of the Enemy, upon which ſome Troops of the King's Horſe attended. The Earl of *Eſſex* retired with His to *Warwick*-Caſtle, whither he had ſent all his Priſoners ; ſo that, on the *Tueſday* morning, the King was inform'd, that theEnemy was gone, and that ſome of his Horſe had attended the rear of the Enemy almoſt to *Warwick*, and that they had left many of their Carriages, and very many of their wounded Soldiers at the Village next to the Field ; by which it appear'd that their remove was in haſte, and not without apprehenſion.

After the Horſe had march'd almoſt to *Warwick*, and found the Coaſt clear from the Enemy, they return'd to the Field to view the dead Bodies, many going to enquire after their Friends who were miſſing, where they found many not yet dead of their wounds, but lying ſtripp'd among the dead ; among whom, with others, young Mr. *Scroop* brought off his Father, Sir *Gervas Scroop* ; who, being an old Gentleman of great fortune, in *Lincoln-ſhire* ; had raiſed a Foot Company among his Tenants, and brought them in to the Earl of *Lindſey*'s Regiment, out of devotion and reſpect to his Lordſhip, as well as duty to the King ; and had, about the time that the General was taken, fall'n with ſixteen wounds in his body and head ; and had lain ſtripp'd among the dead, from that time, which was about three in the afternoon on *Sunday*, all that cold night, all *Monday*, and *Monday* night, and till *Tueſday* evening, for it was ſo late before his Son found him ; whom with great piety he carried to a warm Lodging, and afterwards to *Oxford*, where he wonderfully recover'd. The next morning after, being *Wedneſday*, there was another Gentleman one *Bellingham*, of an ancient extraction, and the only Son of his Father, found among the dead, and brought off by his Friends, with twenty wounds ; who, after ten days, died at *Oxford*, by the negligence of his Surgeons, who left a wound in his thigh, of it ſelf not dangerous, undiſcern'd, and ſo by feſtering deſtroyed a body very hopefully recover'd of thoſe which were only thought Mortal. The Surgeons were of opinion, that both theſe Gentlemen owed their lives to the inhumanity of thoſe who ſtripp'd them, and to the coldneſs of the nights, which ſtopp'd their blood better than all their skill, and Medicaments could have done, and that if they had been brought off within any reaſonable diſtance of time after their wounds, they had undoubtedly periſhed.

On *Wedneſday* Morning, the King drew his Army to a Rendezvous, where he found his Numbers greater than he expected; for, in the night after the Battle, very many of the Common Soldiers out of cold, and hunger, had found their old Quarters, So that it was really believ'd upon this view, when this little reſt had recover'd a ſtrange chearfulneſs into all Men, that there were not in that Battle loſt above three hundred Men at moſt. There the King declar'd General *Ruthen* General of his Army in the place of the Earl

of *Lindſey*; and then marched to *Ayno*, a little Village two Miles diſtant from *Banbury*, of which his Majeſty that day took a View, and meant to attempt it the next day following. There was at that time in *Banbury* Caſtle a Regiment of eight hundred Foot, and a Troop of Horſe, which, with Spirits proportionable, had been enough to have kept ſo ſtrong a place from an Army better prepar'd to have aſſaulted it, than the King's then was, and at a ſeaſon of the year more commodious for a Siege. And therefore many were of opinion, that the King ſhould have march'd by it, without taking notice of it, and that the engaging before it, might prove very prejudicial to him. That which prevail'd with him to ſtay there, beſides the Courage of his Soldiers, who had again recover'd their Appetite to Action, was, that he could not well reſolve whither to go; for till he was informed what the Earl of *Eſſex* did, he knew not how to direct his march; and if the Enemy advanced upon him, he could not Fight in a place of more advantage. And therefore, having ſent a Trumpet to ſummon the Caſtle, and having firſt taken the Lord *Say*'s Houſe at *Broughton*, where there was ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, and in it a Troop of Horſe, and ſome good Arms, the Cannon were planted againſt the Caſtle, and the Army drawn out before it; but, upon the firſt ſhot made, the Caſtle ſent to treat, and upon leave to go away without their Arms, they fairly and kindly deliver'd the place; and half the Common Soldiers at the leaſt readily took Conditions, and put themſelves into the King's Army, the reſt of the Arms came very ſeaſonably to ſupply many Soldiers of every Regiment, who either never had any before, or had loſt them in the Battle.

Banbury Caſtle ſurrender'd to the King.

This laſt ſucceſs declared where the Victory was before at *Edge-Hill*; for though the routing of their Horſe, the having kill'd more upon the place, and taken more Priſoners, the number of the Colours won from the Enemy (which were near forty in number) without the loſs of above three or four, and laſtly the taking four pieces of their Cannon the next morning after the Battle, were ſo many Arguments that the Victory inclined to the King: On the other ſide, the loſs of the General himſelf, and ſo many Men of Name either kill'd or taken Priſoners, who were generally known over the Kingdom (whereas, beſides the Lord *Saint-John*, and Colonel *Eſſex*, the names of the reſt of that Party were ſo obſcure, that neither the one ſide ſeem'd to be gainers by having taken or kill'd them, nor the other ſide to be loſers by being without them) the having kept the Field laſt, were ſufficient teſtimonies at the leaſt that they were not overcome. But now the taking of *Banbury*, which was the more ſignal, by the circumſtances of that part of the Armies being, before the Battle, deſign'd for that Service, then recall'd to the Field, and after that Field fought, and the Retreat of the Enemy, the readvancing upon it, and taking it, was ſo undeniable an Argument that the Earl of *Eſſex* was more broken and ſcatter'd than at firſt he appear'd to be, that the King's Army was look'd upon as Victorious. A Garriſon was put into *Banbury*, and the Command thereof committed to the Earl of *Northampton*, and then the King march'd to his own Houſe at *Woodſtock*; and the next day with the whole Army to *Oxford*, which was the only City of *England* that he could ſay was entirely at his devotion; where he was receiv'd by the Univerſity, to whom the Integrity and Fidelity of that Place is to be imputed, with all joy and acclamation.

The condition of the Earl of Eſſex's *Army after the Fight.*

The Earl of *Eſſex* continued ſtill at *Warwick*, repairing his broken Regiments and Troops, which every day leſſen'd and impair'd; for the number of his ſlain Men was greater than it was reported to be, there being very many kill'd in the Chaſe, and many who died of their wounds after they were carried off, and, of thoſe, who run away in the beginning, more ſtaid away than return'd; and which was more, they who run fartheſt and faſteſt told ſuch lamentable Stories of the defeat, and many of them ſhew'd ſuch hurts, that the terror thereof was even ready to make the People revolt to their Allegiance in all places. Many of thoſe who had ſtood their ground, and behav'd themſelves well in the Battle, either with remorſe of Conſcience, horror of what they had done, and ſeen, or wearineſs of the Duty and Danger, withdrew themſelves from their Colours, and ſome from their Commands. And it is certain many engaged themſelves firſt in that Service, out of an opinion, that an Army would

would procure a Peace without Fighting; others out of a deſire to ſerve the King, and reſolving to go away themſelves, and to carry others with them, aſſoon as they ſhould find themſelves within a ſecure diſtance to do it; both theſe being, contrary to their expectation, brought to Fight, the latter not knowing how to get to the King's Army in the Battle, diſcharged themſelves of the Service aſſoon as they came to *Warwick*; ſome with leave, and ſome without. But that which no doubt moſt troubled his Excellency, was the Temper and Conſtitutions of his new Maſters; who, he knew, expected no leſs from him than a Victory compleat, by his bringing the Perſon of the King alive or dead to them; and would conſider what was now fallen out, as it was ſo much leſs than they look'd for, not as it was more than any body elſe could have done for them. However, he gave them a glorious account of what had paſſed, and made as if his ſtay at *Warwick* were rather to receive new Orders and Commands from them, than out of any weakneſs or inability to purſue the old, and that he attended the King's motion as well as if he had been within ſeven Miles of him.

It is certain the conſternation was very great at *London*, and in the two Houſes, from the time that they heard, that the King march'd from *Shrewsbury* with a form'd Army, and that he was reſolv'd to Fight, aſſoon as he could meet with Theirs. However, they endeavour'd to keep up confidently the ridiculous opinion among the Common People, that the King did not Command, but was carried about in that Army of the Cavaliers, and was deſirous to eſcape from them; which they hoped the Earl of *Eſſex* would give Him opportunity to do. The firſt news they heard of the Armies being engaged, was by thoſe who fled upon the firſt Charge; who made marvellous haſte from the place of danger, and thought not themſelves ſafe, till they were gotten out of any poſſible diſtance of being purſued. It is certain, though it was paſt two of the Clock before the Battle begun, many of the Soldiers, and ſome Commanders of no mean Name, were at *St. Albans*, which was near thirty Miles from the Field, before it was dark. Theſe Men, as all Runaways do for their own excuſe, reported all for loſt, and the King's Army to be ſo terrible, that it could not be encounter'd. Some of them, that they might not be thought to come away before there was cauſe, or whilſt there was any hope, reported the progreſs of the Battle, and preſented all thoſe lamentable things, and the circumſtances by which every part of the Army was defeated, which their terrified fancies had ſuggeſted to them whilſt they run away; ſome had ſeen the Earl of *Eſſex* ſlain, and heard his dying words; "That every one ſhould ſhift for himſelf, for all reſiſtance "was to no purpoſe: So that the whole City was, the *Monday*, full of the defeat; and though there was an Expreſs, from the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, of the contrary, there was not Courage enough left to believe it, and every hour produced ſomewhat to contradict the reports of the laſt. *Monday* in the afternoon, the Earl of *Holland* produced a Letter in the Houſe of Peers, which was written the night before by the Earl of *Eſſex*, in which all particulars of the day were ſet down, and "The impreſſion which had in the begin-"ning been made upon his Horſe, but that the concluſion was proſperous. "Whilſt this was reading, and every Man greedily digeſted the good news, the Lord *Haſtings*, who had a command of Horſe in the Service, enter'd the Houſe with frighted and ghaſtly looks, and poſitively declar'd all to be loſt, "againſt whatſoever they belive'd or flatter'd themſelves with. And though "it was evident enough that he had run away from the beginning, and only loſt his way thither, moſt Men look'd upon him as the the laſt Meſſenger, and even ſhut their Ears againſt any poſſible comfort; ſo that without doubt very many, in the horror and conſternation of eight and forty hours, paid and underwent a full penance and mortification for the hopes, and inſolence of three Months before. At the laſt, on *Wedneſday* morning the Lord *Wharton*, and Mr *William Strode*, the one a Member of the Houſe of Lords, the other of the Commons, arriv'd from the Army, and made ſo full a relation of the Battle, "Of the great Numbers ſlain on the King's part, without any conſidera-"ble loſs on their ſide, of the miſerable and weak Condition the King's Army "was in, and of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Reſolution to purſue him, That they were not now content to be Savers, but Voted, "That their Army had the Victo-

ry; and appointed a day for a Solemn Thanksgiving to God for the ſame; and that ſo great a Joy might not be enjoy'd only within thoſe Walls, they appointed thoſe two truſty Meſſengers to communicate the whole relation with all circumſtances to the City; which was conven'd together at the *Guild-Hall* to receive the ſame. But by this time, ſo many Perſons, who were preſent at the Action, came to the Town on both ſides (for there was yet a free intercourſe with all Quarters) and ſome diſcourſes were publiſh'd how little either of theſe two Meſſengers had ſeen themſelves of that days buſineſs, that the City ſeem'd not ſo much exalted at their Relations, as the Houſes had been; the King's taking *Banbury*, and marching afterwards to *Oxford*, and the reports from thoſe parts of his Power, with the Earl of *Eſſex*'s lying ſtill at *Warwick*, gave great Argument of diſcourſe; which grew the greater by the commitment of ſeveral Perſons, for reporting, "That the King had the better of the Field; which Men thought would not have been, if the ſucceſs had been contrary; and therefore there was nothing ſo generally ſpoken of, or wiſh'd for, as Peace.

They who were really well affected to the King, and from the beginning oppoſed all the extravagances, for of ſuch there were many in both Houſes, who could not yet find in their Hearts to leave the Company, ſpake now aloud "That an humble Addreſs to the King for the removal of all miſun-"derſtandings, was both in Duty neceſſary, and in Policy convenient. The half-hearted, and half-witted People, which made much the Major part of both Houſes, plainly diſcern'd there muſt be a War, and that the King at leaſt would be able to make reſiſtance, which they had been promiſed he could not do, and ſo were equally paſſionate to make any Overtures for Accommodation. They only who had contriv'd the miſchief, and already had digeſted a full change and alteration of Government, and knew well, that all their Arts would be diſcover'd, and their Perſons odious, though they might be ſecured, violently oppoſed all motions of this kind. Theſe Men preſs'd earneſtly "To ſend an Expreſs to their Brethren of *Scotland*, to invite, "and conjure them to come to their Aſſiſtance, and to leave no way unthought "of, for ſuppreſſing, and totally deſtroying all thoſe who had preſum'd to "ſide with the King. This overture of calling the *Scots* in again was as Unpopular a thing, as could be mention'd; beſides that it implied a great and abſolute diffidence in their own ſtrength, and an acknowledgment that the People of *England* ſtood not ſo generally affected to their deſires, which they had hitherto publiſh'd, and urged, as the beſt Argument to juſtify thoſe deſires. Therefore the wiſe Managers of that Party, by whoſe conduct they had been principally govern'd, ſeem'd fully to concur with thoſe who deſir'd Peace, "And to ſend an humble Addreſs to the King, which they con-"feſſed to be due from them as Subjects, and the only way to procure hap-"pineſs for the Kingdom. And having hereby render'd themſelves gracious, and gained credit, they adviſed them "So to endeavour Peace, that they "might not be diſappointed of it, and wiſh'd them "To conſider that the "King's Party were high upon the ſucceſs of having an Army (of which they "had reaſonably before deſpair'd) though not upon any thing that Army "had yet done. That it was apparent, the King had Miniſters ſtirring "for him in the North, and in the Weſt, though hitherto with little ef-"fect; and therefore if they ſhould make ſuch an Application for Peace, as "might imply the giving over the thoughts of War, they muſt expect "ſuch a Peace, as the mercy of thoſe whom they had provoked would con-"ſent to. But if they would ſteddily purſue thoſe Counſels as would make "their ſtrength formidable, they might then expect ſuch moderate Conditi-"ons as they might, with their Own, and the Kingdom's Safety, ſecurely "ſubmit to. That Therefore the Propoſition of ſending into *Scotland* was "very ſeaſonable; not that it could be hoped, or was deſir'd, that they ſhould "bring an Army into *England* of which there was not like to be any need; "but that That Kingdom might make ſuch a declaration of their Affecti-"ons, and readineſs to aſſiſt the Parliament, that the King might look upon "them with the more conſideration, as a Body not eaſily to be oppreſſed, "if he ſhould inſiſt upon too high Conditions.

By

By this Artifice, whilſt they who preſſed a Treaty thought, that That being once conſented to, a Peace would inevitably be concluded, the ſame day that a Committee was appointed "To prepare heads of an humble Addreſs "unto his Majeſty, for compoſing the preſent Differences, and Diſtractions, "and ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom (which was a great condeſcenſion) they made no ſcruple to declare "That the preparations of Forces, and all "other neceſſary means for Defence, ſhould be proſecuted with all Vigour; and thereupon requir'd "All thoſe Officers and Soldiers, who had left "their General, of which the Town was then full, upon pain of Death, to "return to him; and for his better Recruit, ſolemnly declar'd, "That in "ſuch times of Common Danger and neceſſity, the Intereſt of private Per-"ſons, ought to give way to the publick; and therefore they ordain'd, that "ſuch Apprentices, as would be Liſted to ſerve as Soldiers for the Defence "of the Kingdom, the Parliament, and City (with their other uſual ex-"preſſions of Religion, and the King's Perſon) their Sureties, and ſuch as ſtood "engaged for them, ſhould be ſecured againſt their Maſters; and that their "Maſters ſhould receive them again at the end the of their Service, without "imputing any loſs of time to them, but the ſame ſhould be reckon'd as well "ſpent, according to their Indentures, as if they had been ſtill in their "Shops. And by this means many Children were engaged in that Service, not only againſt the Conſent, but againſt the Perſons of their Fathers, and the Earl receiv'd a notable ſupply thereby.

Apprentices invited by the Parliament to take Arms.

Then, in return for their Conſent that a formal and perfunctory Meſſage ſhould be ſent to his Majeſty, thereby they thought a Treaty would be enter'd upon, they procur'd at the ſame time, and as an Expedient for Peace, this material and full Declaration of both Houſes to the Subjects of *Scotland*, which they caus'd with all expedition to be ſent into that Kingdom.

The two Houſes Declaration to the Subjects of Scotland.

"We the Lords and Commons, aſſembled in the Parliament of *England*, "conſidering with what Wiſdom and publick Affection, Our Brethren of the "Kingdom of *Scotland* did concur with the endeavours of this Parliament, "and the deſires of the whole Kingdom in procuring, and eſtabliſhing a "firm Peace and Amity between the two Nations, and how lovingly they "have ſince invited Us to a nearer, and higher degree of Union in mat-"ters concerning Religion, and Church Government, which We have "moſt willingly and affectionately embraced, and intend to purſue, cannot "doubt but they will, with as much forwardneſs and affection, concur with "Us in ſettling Peace in this Kingdom, and preſerving it in their Own; "that ſo We may mutually reap the benefit of that Amity and Alliance, ſo "happily made, and ſtrongly confirm'd betwixt the two Nations. Where-"fore, as We did about a year ſince, in the firſt Appearance of Trouble "then beginning among them, actually declare, that in our Senſe and Ap-"prehenſion of the National Alliance betwixt Us, We were thereby "bound to apply the Authority of Parliament, and Power of this King-"dom to the preſervation, and maintenance of their Peace: And ſeeing "now that the Troubles of this Kingdom are grown to a greater height "and the ſubtle practices of the common Enemies of the Religion, and Li-"berty of both Nations, do appear with more evident ſtrength, and dan-"ger than they did at that time, We hold it neceſſary to declare, that, in "Our Judgment, the ſame Obligation lies upon Our Brethren, by the afore-"mention'd Act, with the Power and Force of that Kingdom, to aſſiſt Us "in repreſſing thoſe among Us, who are now in Arms, and make War, not "only without conſent of Parliament, but even againſt the Parliament, and "for the Deſtruction thereof.

"Wherefore We have thought good to make known unto Our Brethren, "that his Majeſty hath given Commiſſion to divers eminent and known Pa-"piſts, to raiſe Forces, and to compoſe an Army in the North, and other "parts of this Kingdom, which is to join with divers Foreign Forces, in-"tended to be Tranſported from beyond the Seas, for the Deſtruction of this "Parliament, and of the Religion, and Liberty of the Kingdom: and that "the principal part of the Clergy and their Adherents, have likewiſe in-"vited his Majeſty to raiſe another Army, which in his own Perſon, he "doth conduct againſt the Parliament, and the City of *London*, plundering

" and robbing ſundry well affected Towns within their power, and in pro-
" ſecution of their Malice, they were ſo preſumptious, and predominent
" of his Majeſty's Reſolutions, that they forbear not thoſe Outrages in
" places to which his Majeſty hath given his Royal Word and Protection;
" a great cauſe and incentive of which Malice, proceeds from the Deſign
" they have to hinder the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Government in
" this Kingdom, ſo much longed for by all the true Lovers of the Prote-
" ſtant Religion.

" And hereupon We farther deſire Our Brethren of the Nation of *Scotland*,
" to raiſe ſuch Forces as they ſhall think ſufficient for ſecuring the Peace
" of their own Borders, againſt the ill affected Perſons there, and likewiſe to
" aſſiſt Us in ſuppreſſing the Army of Papiſts, and Forreigners; which, as
" We expect, will ſhortly be on foot here, and if they be not timely prevent-
" ed, may prove as miſchievous, and deſtructive to that Kingdom, as to
" our ſelves. And though We ſeek nothing from his Majeſty that may dimi-
" niſh his juſt Authority or Honour, and have by many humble Petitions, en-
" deavour'd to put an end to this unnatural War and Combuſtion in the
" Kingdom, and to procure his Majeſty's Protection, and Security for our
" Religion, Liberty, and Perſons (according to that great Truſt which his
" Majeſty is bound to by the Laws of the Land) and ſhall ſtill continue
" to renew our Petitions in that kind; yet, to our great grief, We ſee the
" Papiſtical and Malignant Council ſo prevalent with his Majeſty, and his
" Perſon ſo engaged to their power, that We have little hope of better ſucceſs
" of our Petitions than We formerly had; and are thereby neceſſitated to
" ſtand upon our juſt Defence, and to ſeek this ſpeedy and powerful Aſſiſt-
" ance of our Brethren of *Scotland*, according to that Act agreed upon in
" the Parliament of both Kingdoms, the Common Duty of Chriſtianity, and
" the particular Intereſts of their own Kingdom: To which We hope God
" will give ſuch a bleſſing, that it may produce the preſervation of Re-
" ligion the Honour, Safety, and Peace of his Majeſty, and all his Subjects,
" and a more ſtrict conjunction of the Counſels, Deſigns, and Endeavours of
" both Nations, for the comfort and relief of the Reform'd Churches be-
" yond Sea.

The condition, and inclinations of the Kingdom of Scotland *at that time.*

It will not be here unſeaſonable to take ſome ſhort Survey of the Affections and Inclinations of *Scotland*; the ordering and well diſpoſing whereof, either ſide ſufficiently underſtood, would be of moment, and extraordinary importance in the growing Contention. From the time of the King's being laſt there, when he had ſo fully comply'd with all they had deſir'd, both for the publick Government, and their private Advancements, that Kingdom within it ſelf enjoyed as much Quiet and Tranquility as they could deſire; having the convenience of diburdening themſelves of their late Army into *Ireland*, whither their old General *Leſlie*, then made Earl of *Leven*, was imploy'd in his full Command by the King and the two Houſes, at the charge of *England*. So that many believ'd they had been ſo abundantly ſatisfied with what they had already gotten from *England*, that they had no farther projects upon this Kingdom, but meant to make their Fortunes by a new Conqueſt in *Ireland*, where they had a very great part of the Province of *Ulſter* planted by their own Nation. So that, according to their rules of good Husbandry, they might expect whatſoever they got from the Rebels to keep for themſelves. And the King himſelf was ſo confident that the Affections of that People could not be ſo corrupted towards him, as to make a farther attempt upon him, that he believ'd them, to a degree, ſenſible of their former breach of Duty, and willing to repair it by any Service. *Leſlie* himſelf had made great acknowledgments, and great profeſſions to him, and had told him, " That it was nothing to promiſe him, that he would never more bear
" Arms againſt him, but he promiſed he would ſerve his Majeſty upon any
" Summons without asking the cauſe. The Earl of *Lowden*, and all the reſt, who had miſled the People, were poſſeſs'd of whatſoever they could deſire, and the future Fortune of that Nation ſeem'd to depend wholly upon the keeping up the King's full Power in This.

His Majeſty had, from time to time, given his Council of that Kingdom full Relations of all his Differences with his Parliament, and had carefully

ſent

ſent them the Declarations, and publick Paſſages of both ſides, and they had always return'd very ample Expreſſions of their Affections and Duty, and expreſs'd a great Senſe of the Parliaments proceedings towards him. And ſince the time of his being at *York*, the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, in whoſe Integrity and Loyalty he was leaſt ſecure, had been with him; and ſeem'd ſo well ſatisfied with the Juſtice and Honour of his Majeſty's carriage towards the Parliament, that he writ to the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners at *London*, in the name, and as by the direction of the Lords of the Secret Council of that Kingdom, " That they ſhould preſent to the two Houſes the deep ſenſe they had " of the Injuries and Indignities, which were offer'd to the King, whoſe juſt " Rights they were bound to defend; and that they ſhould conjure them, to " bind up thoſe wounds which were made, and not to widen them by ſharp- " neſs of Language; and to give his Majeſty ſuch real ſecurity for his Safe- " ty among them, by an effectual declaring againſt Tumults, and ſuch other " Actions as were juſtly offenſive to his Majeſty, that he might be induced " to reſide nearer to them, and comply with them in ſuch Propoſitions as " ſhould be reaſonably made; with many ſuch Expreſſions, as together with his return into *Scotland* without coming to *London*, where he was expected, gave them ſo much offence and jealouſy, that they never communicated that Letter to the Houſes, and took all poſſible care to conceal it from the People.

The Marquis *Hamilton* had been likewiſe with his Majeſty at *York*, and finding the Eyes of all Men directed towards him with more than ordinary jealouſy, he offer'd the King to go into *Scotland*, with many Aſſurances and Undertakings, confident " That he would at leaſt keep that People from " doing any thing, that might ſeem to Countenance the carriage of the Par- " liament. Upon which promiſes, and to be rid of him at *York*, where he was by all Men look'd upon with marvellous prejudice, the King ſuffer'd him to go, with full Aſſurance that he would, and he was ſure he could, do him very good Service there; as, on the other ſide, in his own Court he was ſo great an Offence, that the whole Gentry of *Yorkſhire*, who no doubt had Infuſions to that purpoſe from others, had a Deſign to have petition'd the King, that the Marquis might be ſequeſter'd from all Councils, and preſence at Court, as a Man too much truſted by them who would not truſt his Majeſty.

Laſtly, the King had many of the Nobility of *Scotland* then attending, and among thoſe the Earl of *Calander*, who had been Lieutenant General of the *Scotiſh* Army, when it Invaded *England*, and had freely confeſs'd to his Majeſty, upon what Errors and Miſtakes he had been corrupted, and by whom, and pretended ſo deep a ſenſe of what he had done amiſs, that it was believ'd, he would have taken Command in the King's Army; which he declin'd, as if it might have been penal to him in *Scotland* by ſome Clauſe in the Act of the Pacification, but eſpecially upon pretence it would diſable him from doing him greater Service in that Kingdom; whither, ſhortly after the Standard was ſet up, he repair'd, with all ſolemn Vows of aſſerting, and improving his Majeſty's Intereſt in thoſe parts.

The Parliament on the other hand aſſur'd themſelves, that That Nation was entirely Theirs, having their Commiſſioners reſiding with them at *London*; and the chief Managers and Governours in the firſt War, by their late Intercourſe, and Communication of Guilt, having a firm Correſpondence with the Marquis of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Lowden*, and that Party, who being not able to excuſe themſelves, thought the King could never in his Heart forgive them, when it ſhould be in his Power to bring them to Juſtice. And they undertook that when there ſhould be need of that Nation (which the other thought there would never be) they ſhould be as forward to ſecond them as they had been; in the mean time return'd as fair, and reſpective Anſwers to all their Meſſages, and upon their Declarations, which were conſtantly ſent to them, as they did to the King; aſſiſting them in their Deſign againſt the Church, which was not yet grown Popular even in the two Houſes, by declaring " That the People of that Nation could never be engaged on " any other Ground, than the Reformation of Religion. And therefore, about the beginning of *Auguſt*, the Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland* publiſh'd a Declaration; " How exceedingly griev'd they were and made heavy,

" that in ſo long a time, againſt the profeſſions both of King and Parliament,
" and contrary to the joynt deſires and prayers of the Godly in both King-
" doms, to whom it was more dear and precious, than what was deareſt to
" them in the world, the Reformation of Religion had moved ſo ſlowly, and
" ſuffer'd ſo great interruption.

The ground of which reproach was this; in the late Treaty of Peace, the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* had expreſs'd a deſire or wiſh warily couched in words, rather than a Propoſition, " That there were ſuch an Unity of Reli-
" on, and Uniformity of Church Government agreed on, as might be a
" ſpecial means for conſerving of Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms: To which there had been a general inclination to return a rough Anſwer, and reproof for their intermedling in any thing that related to the Laws of *England*. But, by the extraordinary induſtry, and ſubtlety of thoſe, who ſaw that buſineſs was not yet ripe, and who alledg'd, that it was only wiſh'd, not propoſed, and therefore that a ſharp reply was not merited, this gentle Anſwer, againſt the minds of very many was return'd,

" That his Majeſty with the advice of both Houſes of Parliament, did
" approve of the Affection of his Subjects of *Scotland*, in their deſire of ha-
" ving Conformity of Church-Government between the two Nations; and
" as the Parliament had already taken into conſideration the Reformation
" of Church Government, ſo they would proceed therein in due time, as
" ſhould beſt conduce to the glory of God, the Peace of the Church, and of
" both Kingdoms.

Which was conſented to by moſt, as a civil Anſwer, ſignifying, or concluding nothing; by others, becauſe it admitted an interpretation of reducing the Government of the Church in *Scotland* to this of *England*, as much as the contrary. But it might have been well diſcern'd, that thoſe Men asked nothing without a farther deſign than the words naturally imported, nor ever reſted ſatisfied with a general formal Anſwer, except they found, that they ſhould hereafter make uſe, and receive benefit by ſuch Anſwer. So they now urged the matter of this Anſwer, as a ſufficient Title to demand the extirpation of Prelacy in *England*, and demoliſhing the whole Fabrick of that glorious Church; urging his Majeſty's late practice, while he was in Perſon in *Scotland*, in reſorting frequently to their exerciſes of publick Worſhip; and his Royal Actions, in eſtabliſhing the Worſhip and Government of that Kirk in Parliament. And therefore they deſired the Parliament
" To begin their work of Reformation at the Uniformity of Kirk Govern-
" ment; for that there could be no hope of Unity in Religion, of one Con-
" feſſion of Faith, one Form of Worſhip, and one Catechiſm, till there were
" firſt one Form of Church Government; and that the Kingdom, and Kirk
" of *Scotland*, could have no hope of a firm and durable Peace, till Prelacy,
" which had been the main cauſe of their miſeries and troubles, firſt and
" laſt, were pluck'd up root and branch, as a plant which God had not
" planted, and from which no better fruits could be expected, than ſuch ſour
" Grapes, as at that day ſet on edge the Kingdom of *England*.

Which Declaration the Lords of the ſecret Council, finding, as they ſaid,
" The reaſons therein expreſs'd to be very pregnant, and the particulars de-
" ſired, much to conduce the to glory of God, the advancement of the
" true Chriſtian Faith, his Majeſty's Honour, and the Peace, and Union of
" his Dominions, well approv'd of; and concurred in their earneſt deſires to the two Houſes of Parliament, " To take to their ſerious conſiderations thoſe
" particulars, and to give favourable hearing to ſuch deſires and overtures,
" as ſhould be found moſt conducible to the promoting ſo great, and ſo good
" a work.

This being ſent to the Parliament at the time they were forming their Army, and when the King was preparing for his defence, they who, from the beginning, had principally intended this confuſion in the Church, inſinuated " How neceſſary it was, ſpeedily to return a very affectionate, and
" ſatisfactory reply to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; not only to preſerve the re-
" putation of unity, and conſent between them, which at that time, was very uſeful to them, but to hinder the operations of the diſaffected in that Kingdom; who, upon infuſions that the Parliament only aim'd at taking his

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" Majeſty's Regal rights from him, to the prejudice of Monarchique Go-
" vernment without any thought of reforming Religion, endeavour'd to per-
" vert the Affections of that People towards the Parliament. Whereas if
" they were once aſſured there was a purpoſe to reform Religion, they
" ſhould be ſure to have their Hearts; and, if occaſion required, their Hands
" too; which poſſibly might be ſeduced for the King, if that purpoſe were
" not manifeſted. Therefore, for the preſent, they ſhould do well to return
" their hearty thanks for, and their Brotherly acceptance and approbation
" of the deſires, and advice of that Chriſtian Aſſembly, and of the Lords of
" the Council; and that though, for the preſent, by reaſon of the King's
" diſtance from the Parliament they could not ſettle any Concluſion in that
" matter, yet for Their parts they were reſolv'd to endeavour it.

By this Artifice and Invention, they procured a Declaration from the two Houſes of Parliament, of wonderful kindneſs, and Confeſſion of many inconveniences, and miſchiefs the Kingdom had ſuſtain'd by Biſhops; and therefore they declared, " That That Hierarchical Government was evil, and
" juſtly offenſive, and burdenſome to the Kingdom; a great impediment to
" Reformation and growth of Religion; very prejudicial to the State and
" Government of the Kingdom; and that they were reſolv'd that the ſame
" ſhould be taken away; and that their purpoſe was to conſult with Godly,
" and Learned Divines, that they might not only remove That, but ſettle
" ſuch a Government, as might be moſt agreeable to God's holy Word; moſt
" apt to procure, and conſerve the Peace of the Church at Home, and hap-
" py Union with the Church of *Scotland*, and other Reform'd Churches a-
" broad; and to eſtabliſh the ſame by a Law, which they intended to frame
" for that purpoſe, to be preſented to his Majeſty for his Royal Aſſent; and
" in the mean time to beſeech him, that a Bill for the Aſſembly might be
" paſſed in time convenient for their meeting; the two Houſes having extra-judicially and extravagantly nominated their own Divines to that purpoſe, as is before remember'd.

It was then believ'd by many, and the King was perſwaded to believe the ſame, that all thoſe Importunities from *Scotland* concerning the Government of the Church, were uſed only to preſerve themſelves from being preſſed by the Parliament, to joyn with them againſt the King; imagining that this Kingdom would never have conſented to ſuch an Alteration; and they again pretending, that no other Obligation could unite that People in their Service. But it is moſt certain, this laſt Declaration was procured by perſwading Men, " That it was for the preſent neceſſary, and that it was
" only an Engagement to do their beſt to perſwade his Majeſty, who they
" concluded would be inexorable in the point (which they ſeem'd not to be ſorry for) " And that a receding from ſuch a Concluſion would be a means
" to gratify his Majeſty in a Treaty. At worſt, they all knew, that there would be room enough, when any Bill ſhould be brought in, to oppoſe what they had, for this Reaſon of State, ſeem'd generally to conſent to. And ſo by theſe Stratagems, thinking to be too hard for each other, they grew all ſo entangled, that they ſtill wound themſelves deeper into thoſe Labyrinths, in which the Major part meant not to be involv'd. And what effect that Declaration of the two Houſes, after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which is mention'd before, wrought, will very ſhortly appear.

The King at Oxford *recruits his Army.*

The King found himſelf in good eaſe at *Oxford*, where Care was taken for providing for the ſick, and wounded Soldiers, and for the Accommodation of the Army, which was, in a ſhort time recruited there in a good Meaſure; and the ſeveral Colleges preſented his Majeſty with all the Money they had in their Treaſuries, which amounted to a good Summ, and was a very ſeaſonable ſupply, as they had formerly ſent him all their Plate. It had been very happy, if the King had continued his Reſolution of ſitting ſtill during the Winter without making farther attempts; for his Reputation was now great, and his Army believ'd to be much greater than it was, by the Victory they had obtain'd, and the Parliament grew more divided into Factions, and diſlike of what they had done, and the City appear'd fuller of diſcontent, and leſs inclin'd to be impos'd upon than they had been: ſo that on all hands nothing was preſs'd, but that ſome addreſs might be made to the King for

an accommodation; which temper and diſpoſition might have been cultivated, as many Men thought, to great effects if no farther approaches had been made to *London*, to ſhew them how little cauſe they had for their great fear. But the Weather growing fair again, as it often is about *Allhollantide*, and a good party of Horſe having been ſent out from *Abingdon*, where the head Quarter of the Horſe was, they advanced farther than they had order to do, and upon their approach to *Reading*, where *Harry Martin* was Governour for the Parliament, there was a great terror ſeiſed upon them, inſomuch as Governour and Garriſon fled to *London*, and left the place to the party of Horſe; which gave advertiſement to the King, "That all fled before them; "that the Earl of *Eſſex* remain'd ſtill at *Warwick*, having no Army to March; "and that there was ſo great diviſions in the Parliament, that, upon his Ma- "jeſty's approach, they would all fly; and that nothing could interrupt him "from going to *White-Hall* However *Reading* it ſelf was ſo good a Poſt, that "if the King ſhould find it neceſſary to make his own Reſidence in Ox- "*ford*, it would be much the better by having a Garriſon at *Reading*.

The Garriſon of the Parliament at Reading *quitting it, the King marches thither.*

Upon theſe and other motives, beſides the natural credulity in Men, in believing all they wiſh'd to be true, the King was prevail'd with to march with his Army to *Reading*. This Alarm quickly came to *London* and was receiv'd with the deepeſt horror: they now unbeliev'd all which had been told them from their own Army; that Army which, they were told, was well beaten, and ſcatter'd, was now advanced within thirty Miles of *London*; and the Earl of *Eſſex*, who pretended to the Victory, and who they ſuppoſed was watching the King, that he might not eſcape from him, could not be heard of, and continued ſtill at *Warwick*. Whilſt the King was at *Nottingham* and *Shrewsbury*, they gave orders Magiſterially for the War, but now it was come to their own doors, they took not that delight in it.

Before they were reſolv'd what to ſay, they diſpatch'd a Meſſenger, who found the King at *Reading*, only to deſire A ſafe conduct from his "Maieſty for a Committee of Lords and Commons, to attend his Majeſty "with an humble Petition from his Parliament. The King preſently re- "turn'd his Anſwer, "That he had always been, and was ſtill ready to "receive any Petition from them; that their Committee ſhould be Wel- "come, provided it conſiſted of Perſons, who had not been by name de- "clar'd Traytors by his Majeſty, and excepted as ſuch in his Declarati- "ons, or Proclamations. The cauſe of this limitation was as well the former Rule his Majeſty had ſet down at *Shrewſbury* (from whence he thought not fit now to recede, after a Battle) as that he might prevent the Lord *Say*'s being ſent to him, from whom he could expect no entire, and upright dealing.

The next day another Letter came from the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers to the Lord *Falkland*, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries, to deſire "A ſafe conduct for the Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Pembroke*, and "four Members of the Houſe of Commons, to attend his Majeſty with "their Petition; which ſafe conduct was immediately ſign'd by his Maje- "ſty, excepting only for Sir *John Evelyn*, who was by name excepted in his Majeſty's Proclamation of Pardon to the County of *Wilts*; which Proclamation was then ſent to them with a ſignification, "That if they would ſend any other Perſon in his place, not ſubject to the ſame exception, he ſhould "be receiv'd as if his name were in the ſafe conduct. Though this was no more than they had cauſe to look for, yet it gave them opportunity for a time to lay aſide the thought of Petitioning, as if his Majeſty had rejected all overtures of Peace: For he might every day proclaim as many of their Members Traytors, and except them from Pardon, as he pleaſed, "and therefore it was to no purpoſe to prepare Petitions, and appoint "Meſſengers to preſent them, when it was poſſible thoſe Meſſengers might, "the hour before, be proclaim'd Traytors: that to ſubmit to ſuch a limi- "tation of the King's was, upon the matter, to conſent to, and approve "the higheſt breach of Privilege, that had been yet offer'd to them.

So that for ſome days, all diſcourſe of Peace was waved, and all poſſible preparations for defence and reſiſtance made; for which they had a ſtronger Argument than either of the other, the advancing of their General,

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the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was now on his march towards *London*; and a great fame came before him of the Strength and Courage of his Army; though in truth it was not anſwerable to the Report: However, it ſerv'd to encourage and enflame thoſe whoſe fear only inclin'd them to Peace, and to awe the reſt. The King, who had every night an Account of what was tranſacted in the Houſes all Day (what the cloſe Committee did, who guided all private Deſigns, was not ſo ſoon known) reſolv'd to quicken them; and advanc'd with his whole Army to *Colebrook*. This indeed exalted their Appetite to Peace; for the clamour of the People was importunate, and ſomewhat humbled their Style; for at *Colebrook*, the 11th of *November*, his Majeſty was met by the two Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Pembroke*, with thoſe three of the Houſe of Commons whoſe Names were in the ſafe Conduct; they ſatisfying themſelves, that the leaving Sir *John Evelyn* behind them, without bringing another in his room, was no Submiſſion to the King's Exception: And this Petition was by them preſented to him.

The King advances to Colebrook.

A Petition preſented to the King from both Houſes.

" We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in " Parliament aſſembled, being affected with a deep and piercing ſenſe of " the Miſeries of this Kingdom, and of the Dangers to your Majeſty's Per- " ſon, as the preſent Affairs now ſtand; and much quicken'd therein with the " ſad Conſideration of the great Effuſion of Blood at the late Battle, and of " the Loſs of ſo many eminent Perſons; and farther weighing the Addition " of Loſs, Miſery, and Danger to your Majeſty, and your Kingdom, which " muſt enſue, if both Armies ſhould again joyn in another Battle, as without " God's eſpecial Bleſſing, and your Majeſty's Concurrence with Your Houſes " of Parliament will not probably be avoided: We cannot but believe that " a ſuitable Impreſſion of Tenderneſs, and Compaſſion, is wrought in your " Majeſty's Royal Heart, being your ſelf an Eye Witneſs of the bloody and " ſorrowful Deſtruction of ſo many of your Subjects; and that your Maje- " ſty doth apprehend what Diminution of your own Power and Greatneſs " will follow, and that all your Kingdoms will thereby be ſo weaken'd as to " become ſubject to the Attempts of any ill affected to this State.

" In all which reſpects We aſſure our ſelves, that your Majeſty will be in- " clined graciouſly to accept this our humble Petition; that the Miſery, and " Deſolation of this Kingdom may be ſpeedily remov'd, and prevented. For " the effecting whereof, We humbly beſeech your Majeſty to appoint ſome " convenient place, not far from the City of *London*, where your Majeſty will " be pleaſed to reſide, until Committees of both Houſes of Parliament " may attend your Majeſty with ſome Propoſitions for the removal of theſe " bloody Diſtempers and Diſtractions, and ſettling the State of the Kingdom " in ſuch a manner as may conduce to the preſervation of God's true Reli- " gion, your Majeſty's Honour, Safety, and Proſperity; and to the Peace, " Comfort, and Security of all your People.

The King, within two or three Hours after the Receipt of this Petition, deliver'd to the ſame Meſſengers, this enſuing Anſwer, with which they return'd the ſame Night to *London*.

The King's Anſwer.

" We take God to Witneſs, how deeply We are affected with the miſe- " ries of this Kingdom, which heretofore We have ſtroven, as much as in " Us lay to prevent; it being ſufficiently known to all the World that, as " We were not the firſt that took up Arms, ſo, We have ſhewed Our readi- " neſs of compoſing all things in a fair way, by our ſeveral offers of Treaty, " and ſhall be glad now at length to find any ſuch Inclinations in others. The " ſame Tenderneſs to avoid the Deſtruction of our Subjects (whom we know " to be our greateſt ſtrength) which would always make our greateſt Victo- " ries bitter to us, ſhall make us willingly hearken to ſuch Propoſitions, " whereby theſe bloody Diſtempers may be ſtopp'd, and the great Diſtrac- " tions of this Kingdom ſettled to God's Glory, Our Honour, and the Wel- " fare, and Flouriſhing of Our People: And to that end ſhall reſide at our " own Caſtle at *Windſor* (if the Forces there ſhall be remov'd) till Committees " may have time to attend us with the ſame (which, to prevent the Incon-

" veniences that will intervene, We wiſh be haſten'd) and ſhall be ready
" there. or, if that be refus'd us, at any place where We ſhall be, to receive
" ſuch Propoſitions as aforeſaid, from both our Houſes of Parliament. Do
" you Your Duty, We will not be wanting in Ours. God of his Mercy give
" a bleſſing.

It was then believ'd by many, that if the King had, as ſoon as the Meſſengers return'd to *London*, retir'd with his Army to *Reading*. and there expected the Parliament's Anſwer, they would immediately have withdrawn their Garriſon from *Windſor*, and deliver'd that Caſtle to his Majeſty for his Accommodation to have treated in: And without doubt thoſe Lords who had been with the Petition, and ſome others who thought themſelves as much over-ſhadow'd by the greatneſs of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Chief Officers of the Army, as they could be by the glory of any Favourite, or Power of any Counſellors, were reſolv'd to Merit as much as they could of the King, by advancing an honourable Peace; and had it in their purpoſe to endeavour the giving up of *Windſor* to the King; but whether they would have been able to have prevail'd that ſo conſiderable a ſtrength, in ſo conſiderable a place, ſhould have been quitted, whilſt there was only hope of a Peace, I much doubt. But certainly the King's Army carried great terror with it; and all thoſe Reports, which publiſh'd the weakneſs of it, grew to be peremptorily disbeliev'd. For, beſides that every days Experience diſprov'd ſomewhat which was ſo confidently reported, and it was evident great Induſtry was us'd to apply ſuch Intelligence to the People as was moſt like to make Impreſſion upon the Paſſions, and Affections of the Vulgar ſpirited, it could not be believ'd that a handful of Men could have given Battle to their formidable Army, and after taking two or three of their Garriſons, preſume to march within fifteen Miles of *London*; ſo that, if from thence the King had drawn back again to *Reading*, relying upon a Treaty for the reſt, it is probable his Power would have been more valued, and conſequently his Grace the more magnified. And ſure the King reſolv'd to have done ſo, or at leaſt to have ſtayed at *Colebrook* till he heard again from the Parliament. But Prince *Rupert*, exalted with the Terror he heard his Name gave to the Enemy, truſting too much to the Vulgar Intelligence every Man receiv'd from his Friends at *London*, who according to their own Paſſions and the Affections of thoſe with whom they correſponded, concluded that the King had ſo great a Party in *London*, that, if his Army drew near, no Reſiſtance would be made; without any Direction from the King, the very next Morning after the Committee return'd to *London*, advanced with the Horſe and Dragoons to *Hownſlow*, and then ſent to the King to deſire him that the Army might march after; which was, in that Caſe, of abſolute neceſſity; for the Earl of *Eſſex* had a part of his Army at *Brentford*, and the reſt at *Acton* and *Kingſton*. So that if the King had not advanced with his Body, thoſe who were before might very eaſily have been compaſs'd in, and their Retreat made very difficult.

The King marches towards Brentford.

So the King march'd with his whole Army towards *Brentford*, where were Two Regiments of their beſt Foot (for ſo they were accounted, being thoſe who had eminently behav'd themſelves at *Edge-hill*) having Barricadoed the narrow Avenues to the Town, and caſt up ſome little Breaſt Works at the moſt convenient places. Here a *Welſh* Regiment of the King's, which had been faulty at *Edge-hill*, recover'd its Honour, and aſſaulted the Works, and forced the Barricadoes well defended by the Enemy. Then the King's Forces enter'd the Town after a very warm Service, the chief Officers, and many Soldiers of the other Side being kill'd; and they took there above five hundred Priſoners, eleven Colours, and fifteen Pieces of Cannon, and good ſtore of Ammunition. But this Victory (for conſidering the place it might well be called ſo) prov'd not at all fortunate to his Majeſty.

The two Houſes were ſo well ſatisfied with the Anſwer their Committee had brought from the King, and with the Report they made of his Majeſty's Clemency, and gracious Reception of them, that they had ſent Order to their Forces, " That they ſhould not exerciſe any Act of Hoſtility to-
" wards the King's Forces; and, at the ſame time, diſpatch'd a Meſſenger, to ac-

acquaint his Majeſty therewith, and to deſire "That there might be the like "forbearance on His part. The Meſſenger found both Parties engaged at *Brentford*, and ſo return'd without attending his Majeſty, who had no apprehenſion that they intended any Ceſſation; ſince thoſe Forces were advanced to *Brentford*, *Acton*, and *Kingſton*, after their Committee were ſent to *Colebrook*. However they look'd upon this entring of *Brentford* as a ſurpriſe contrary to Faith, and the betraying their Forces to a Maſſacre, under the ſpecious pretence of a Treaty for Peace. The Alarm came to *London*, with the ſame Terror as if the Army were enter'd their Gates, and the King accuſed "Of Treachery, Perfidy, and Blood; and that he had given the Spoil and "Wealth of the City as Pillage to his Army, which advanced with no "other purpoſe.

The Earl of Eſſex's Army, and the City Train'd bands oppoſed againſt them.

They who believ'd nothing of thoſe Calumnies, were not yet willing the King ſhould enter the City with an Army, which, they knew, would not be Govern'd in ſo Rich Quarters; and therefore, with unſpeakable Expedition, the Army under the Earl of *Eſſex* was not only drawn together, but all the Train'd-bands of *London* led out in their brighteſt Equipage upon the Heath next *Brentford*; where they had indeed a full Army of Horſe and Foot, fit to have decided the Title of a Crown with an equal Adverſary. The View and Proſpect of this ſtrength, which nothing but that ſuddain Exigent could have brought together, extremely puffed them up; not only as it was an ample Security againſt the preſent Danger, but as it look'd like a Safe Power to encounter any other. They had now before their Eyes the King's little handful of Men, and then begun to wonder and bluſh at their own Fears; and all this might be without exceſs of Courage; for without doubt their numbers then, without the advantage of Equipage (which to Soldiers is a great addition of Mettle) were five times greater than the King's Harraſſed, Weather-beaten, and Half-ſtarv'd Troops.

I Have heard many knowing Men, and ſome who were then in the City Regiments, ſay, "That if the King had Advanced and Charged that Maſ-"ſive Body, it had preſently given ground; and that the King had ſo great "a Party in every Regiment, that they would have made no reſiſtance. But it had been madneſs, which no ſucceſs could have vindicated, to have made that attempt: and the King eaſily diſcern'd that He had brought himſelf into ſtreights and difficulties, which would be hardly maſter'd; and expoſed his Victorious Army to view, at too near a diſtance off his two Enemies, the Parliament and the City. Yet he ſtood all that day in Battalia to receive them, who only play'd upon him with their Cannon, to the loſs only of four or five Horſes, and not one Man. The conſtitution of their Forces, where there were very many not at all affected to the Company they were in, being a good argument to Them not to Charge the King, which had been an ill one to Him to Charge Them.

The King's Army drawn off to Kingſton:

When the Evening drew on, and it appear'd that great Body ſtood only for the defence of the City, the King appointed his Army to draw off to *Kingſton*, which the Rebels had kindly quitted; which they did without the loſs of a Man; and himſelf went to his own Houſe at *Hampton-Court*; where he reſted the next day, as well to refreſh his Army, even tir'd with Watching and Faſting, as to expect ſome Propoſitions from the Houſes. For, upon his advance to *Brentford*, he had ſent a Servant of his own, one Mr. *White*, with a Meſſage to the Parliament, containing the reaſons of that motion (there being no Ceſſation offer'd on Their part) and deſiring "The Propoſitions might be diſpatch'd to him with all ſpeed. But his Meſſenger being carried to the Earl of *Eſſex*, was by him uſed very roughly, and by the Houſes committed to the Gate-Houſe, not without the motion of ſome Men, "That he might be executed as a Spy.

After a days ſtay at *Hampton Court*, the King remov'd himſelf to his Houſe at *Oatlands*, leaving the groſs of his Army ſtill at *Kingſton*, and thereabouts; but being then inform'd of the high imputations they had laid upon him; "Of breach of Faith, by his march to *Brentford*; and that "the City was really inflamed with an opinion, that he meant to have ſur-"priſed them, and to have ſack'd the Town; that they were ſo poſſeſs'd with "that fear, and apprehenſion, that their care and preparation for their Safety

" would at leaſt keep off all Propoſitions for Peace, whilſt the Army lay ſo
Thence to Reading. " near *London*: He gave Direction for all his Forces to retire to *Reading*, firſt diſcharging all the Common Soldiers, who had been taken Priſoners at *Brentford* (except ſuch who voluntarily offer'd to ſerve Him) upon their Oaths that they would no more bear Arms againſt his Majeſty.

The King ſends a Meſſage to the Houſes. The King then ſent a Meſſage to the Houſes, in which He took notice of " thoſe unjuſt and unreaſonable Imputations raiſed on him; told them a- " gain of the Reaſons and Circumſtances of his motion towards *Brentford*; " of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s drawing out his Forces towards him, and poſſeſſing " thoſe Quarters about him, and almoſt hemming him in, after the time " that the Commiſſioners were ſent to him with the Petition; that he had ne- " ver heard of the leaſt Overture of the forbearing all Acts of Hoſtility, but " ſaw the contrary practiced by them by that Advance; that he had not " the leaſt Thought or Intention of maſtering the City by Force, or carry- " ing his Army thither: That he wonder'd to hear his Soldiers charged " with thirſting after Blood, when they took above five hundred Priſon- " ers in the very heat of the Fight. He told them ſuch were moſt apt, and " likely to maintain their Power by Blood and Rapine, who had only got " it by Oppreſſion and Injuſtice; that his was veſted in him by the Law, " and by that only (if the deſtructive Councils of others did not hinder " ſuch a Peace, in which that might once again be the univerſal Rule, and " in which only Religion and Juſtice could flouriſh) he deſir'd to maintain " it: That he intended to march to ſuch a diſtance from his City of *London*, " as might take away all pretence of Apprehenſion from his Army, that " might hinder them from preparing their Propoſitions, in all ſecurity, to be " preſented to him; and there he would be ready to receive them, or, if that " expedient pleaſed them not, to end the Preſſures and Miſeries, which his " Subjects, to his great Grief, ſuffer'd through this War, by a preſent Battle.

But as the Army's being ſo near *London* was an Argument againſt a preſent Treaty, ſo its remove to *Reading* was a greater with very many not to deſire any. The Danger which they had brought themſelves for ſome days together to look upon at their Gatee, was now to be contemn'd at the diſtance of thirty Miles; and this Retreat imputed only to the fear of the Power, not to the inclinations to Peace. And therefore they, who during the time that the Major part did really deſire a good Peace, and whilſt Overtures were preparing to that purpoſe, had the skill to intermingle Acts more deſtructive to it, than any Propoſitions could be contributary (as the inviting the *Scots* to their Aſſiſtance by that Declaration, which is before mention'd; and the publiſhing a Declaration at the ſame time, which had lain long by them, in reply to one ſet forth by the King long before in Anſwer to theirs of the 26th of *May*, in which they uſed both his Perſon and his Power with more irreverence than they had ever done before) now only inſiſted on the ſurpriſe, as they call'd it, of *Brentford*; and publiſh'd, by the Authority of both Houſes, a relation of the carriage of the King's Soldiers in that Town after their Victory (which they fram'd upon the diſcourſes of the Country People, who poſſibly, as it could not be otherwiſe, had receiv'd damage by their Licence then) to make the King and his Army odious to the Kingdom; " As affecting nothing but Blood and Rapine; and concluding " that there could not be reaſonably expected any Good Conditions of a " tollerable Peace from the King, whilſt he was in ſuch Company; and there- " fore that all particular Propoſitions were to be reſolv'd into that one, of in- " viting his Majeſty to come to them; and got a Vote from the Major part of both Houſes, " That no other meaſure for Accommodation or Treaty " ſhould be thought on.

Their Truſty Lord Mayor of *London*, *Iſaac Pennington*, who was again choſen to ſerve another year, ſo beſtir'd himſelf, having to aſſiſt him two Sheriffs, *Langham* and *Andrews*, as they could wiſh, that there was not only no more importunity or interpoſition from the City for Peace; but, inſtead thereof, an Overture and Declaration from divers, under the ſtyle of well affected Perſons, " That they would advance a conſiderable number of Soldi- " ers, for the ſupply and recruit of the Parliament Forces; and would Arm, " Maintain, and Pay them for ſeveral Months, or during the times of danger,

" and

" and distractions; provided that they might have the publick Faith of " the Kingdom for repayment of all such Sums of Money, which they " should so advance by way of Loan. This wonderful kind of Proposition was presently declar'd To be an acceptable Service to the King, Parliament, and " Kingdom, and necessarily tending to the preservation of them; and therefore an Ordinance, as they call it, was framed and passed both Houses.

An Ordinance for raising Money upon the Publick Faith.

" That all such as should furnish Men, Money, Horse, or Arms for " that Service, should have the same fully repaid again, with Interest for " the forbearance thereof, from the times disbursed. And for the true pay- " ment thereof, they did thereby engage to all, and every such Person, and " Persons, the Publick Faith of the Kingdom. And order'd the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of *London*, by themselves, or such Sub-Committees as they should appoint, to take Subscriptions, and to intend the advancement of that Service. Upon this voluntary, general Proposition, made by a few obscure Men, probably such who were not able to supply much Money, was this Ordinance made; and from this Ordinance the active Mayor, and Sheriffs, appointed a Committee of such Persons whose inclinations they well knew, to press all kind of People, especially those who were not forward, to new Subscriptions; and, by degrees, from this unconsider'd passage, grew the Monthly Tax of six thousand pounds to be set upon the City for the payment of the Army.

As they provided, with this notable circumspection, to raise Men and Money; so they took not less care, nor used less Art, and Industry, to raise their General; and lest he might suppose himself fallen in their good grace, and confidence, by binging an Army back shatter'd, poor, and discomforted, which he had carried out in full Numbers, and glorious Equipage, they used him with greater reverence and submission than ever. They had before appointed another distinct Army to be raised under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, and not subject to the Power of the Earl of *Essex*, and of this, several Regiments and Troops were raised; these they sent to the old Army, and the Earl of *Warwick* gave up his Commission, upon resolution " That there should be only one General, and He, the Earl of *Essex*. Then the two Houses passed and presented, with great solemnity, this Declaration to his Excellency, the same day that their Committee went to the King with their Petition:

A Declaration of both Houses concerning their General's acceptable Service.

" That, as they had, upon mature deliberation, and assur'd confidence " in his Wisdom, Courage, and Fidelity, chosen, and appointed Him their " Captain General; so they did find, that the said Earl had managed that " Service, of so high importance, with so much care, valour, and dexterity, " as well by the extremest hazard of his Life, in a bloody Battle near " *Keinton* in *Warwick-shire*, as by all the Actions of a Most excellent and ex- " pert Commander, in the whole course of that Imployment, as did deserve " their best acknowledgment: And they did therefore declare and pupliſh, " to the lasting Honour of the said Earl, the great and acceptable Service, " which he had therein done to the Common-wealth; and should be willing " and ready, upon all occasions, to express the due sense they had of his " Merits, by assuring and protecting Him, and all others imploy'd under " his Command in that Service, with their Lives and Fortunes, to the " uttermost of their Power: that Testimony and Declaration to remain " upon record, in both Houses of Parliament, for a mark of Honour to his " Person, Name, and Family, and for a Monument of his singular Virtue " to Posterity.

When they had thus composed their Army and their General, they sent this Petition to the King to *Reading*, who stay'd still there in expectation of their Propositions.

The Houses Petition to the King, Nov. 24.

" May it please your, Majesty:

" It is humbly desir'd by both Houses of Parliament, that your Majesty will be pleased to return to your Parliament, with your Royal, not your Martial, Attendance; to the end that Religion, Laws, and Liber-

" ties, may be ſettled and ſecured by their Advice; finding by a ſad, and
" late accident, that your Majeſty is environ'd by ſome ſuch Councils, as do
" rather perſwade a deſperate diviſion, than a joyning and a good agreement
" with your Parliament and People: And We ſhall be ready to give your
" Majeſty Aſſurance of ſuch ſecurity, as may be for your Honour, and the
" Safety of your Royal Perſon.

The Subſtance of the King's Anſwer.

Aſſoon as the King receiv'd this ſtrange Addreſs, he return'd them by the ſame Meſſenger a ſharp Anſwer to this effect; He told them, " He hoped
" all his good Subjects would look upon that Meſſage with Indignation, as
" intended, by the Contrivers thereof, as a ſcorn to him; and thereby de-
" ſign'd by that Malignant Party (of whom he had ſo often complain'd, whoſe
" Safety and Ambition was built upon the Diviſions and Ruins of the King-
" dom, and who had too great an influence upon their Actions) for a
" Wall of ſeparation betwixt his *Majeſty* and his People. He ſaid, he had
" often told them the reaſons, why he departed from *London*; how he
" was chaſed thence, and by whom; and as often complain'd, that the great-
" eſt part of his Peers, and of the *Members* of the Houſe of Commons,
" could not, with ſafety to their Honours and Perſons, continue, and Vote
" freely among them; but by violence, and cunning practices, were debarr'd
" of thoſe Privileges, which their Birth-rights, and the truſt repoſed in them
" by their Countries, gave them: That the whole Kingdom knew that an
" Army was raiſed, under pretence of Orders of both Houſes (an uſurpation ne-
" ver before heard of in any Age) which Army had purſued his *Majeſty* in
" his own Kingdom; given him Battle at *Keinton*; and now, thoſe Rebels,
" being recruited, and poſſeſſed of the City of *London*, he was courteouſly in-
" vited to return to his Parliament there, that is, to the power of that Army.

" That he ſaid, could ſignify nothing but that, ſince the Trayterous en-
" deavours of thoſe deſperate *Men* could not ſnatch the Crown from his
" Head, it being defended by the Providence of God, and the Affections and
" Loyalty of his good Subjects, he ſhould now tamely come up, and give it
" them; and put Himſelf, his Life, and the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes
" of all his good Subjects into their Merciful Hands. He ſaid, he thought
" not fit to give any other Anſwer to that part of their Petition: But as he
" imputed not that affront to both his Houſes of Parliament, nor to the
" Major part of thoſe who were then preſent there, but to that dangerous
" Party his Majeſty and the Kingdom muſt ſtill cry out upon; ſo he would
" not (for his good Subject's ſake, and out of his moſt tender ſenſe of their
" Miſeries, and the general Calamities of the Kingdom, which muſt,
" if the War continued, ſpeedily overwhelm the whole Nation) take advan-
" tage of it: But if they would really purſue the courſe they ſeem'd, by their
" Petition at *Colebrook*, to be inclin'd to, he ſhould make good all he then
" promiſed; whereby the hearts of his diſtreſſed Subjects might be raiſed with
" the hopes of Peace; without which, Religion, the Laws, and Liberties,
" could by no ways be ſettled and ſecured.

" For the late, and ſad Accident they mention'd, if they intended that of
" *Brentford*, he deſir'd them once again to deal ingenuouſly with the People,
" and to let them ſee his laſt Meſſage to them, and his Declaration, concern-
" ing the ſame (both which his Majeſty had ſent to his Preſs at *London*, but were taken away from his Meſſenger, and not ſuffer'd to be publiſh'd) " And
" then he doubted not, but they woold be ſoon undeceiv'd, and eaſily find
" out thoſe Councils, which did rather perſwade a deſperate diviſion, than a
" good agreement betwixt his Majeſty, his two Houſes, and People.

This Anſwer being deliver'd, without any farther conſideration whether the ſame were reaſonable, or not reaſonable, they declar'd " The King had no
" mind to Peace; and thereupon laid aſide all farther Debates to that pur-
poſe; and order'd their General to march to *Windſor* with the Army, to be ſo much nearer the King's Forces; for the better recruiting whereof, two of their moſt Eminent Chaplains, Dr. *Downing* and Mr. *Marſhal*, publickly avow'd, " That the Soldiers lately taken Priſoners at *Brentford*, and diſcharged,
" and releaſed by the King upon their Oaths that they would never again
" bear Arms againſt him, were not obliged by that Oath; but, by

Their

Their Power, abſolv'd them thereof, and ſo engaged again thoſe miſerable Wretches in the ſecond Rebellion.

When the King diſcern'd clearly that the Enemies to Peace had the better of him, and that there was now no farther Thought of preparing Propoſitions to be ſent to him; after he had ſeen a Line drawn about *Reading*, which he reſolv'd to keep as a Garriſon, and the works in a reaſonable forwardneſs, he left Sir *Arthur Aſton*, whom he had lately made Commiſſary General of the Horſe (Mr. *Wilmot* being at the ſame time conſtituted Lieutenant General) Governour thereof, with a Garriſon of above two thouſand Foot, and a good Regiment of Horſe: and Himſelf with the reſt of his Army march'd to *Oxford*, where he reſolv'd to reſt that VVinter, ſettling at the ſame time a good Garriſon at *Wallingford*, a place of great Importance within eight Miles of *Oxford*; another at the *Brill* upon the Edge of *Buckingham-ſhire*; a third being before ſettled at *Banbury*; *Abingdon* being the head Quarters for his Horſe; and by this means he had all *Oxford-ſhire* entire, all *Berk ſhire*, but that barren Diviſion about *Windſor*; and from the *Brill*, and *Banbury*, a good Influence upon *Buckingham-ſhire*, and *Northampton-ſhire*.

The King having garriſon'd Reading *and* Wallingford, *and ſome other Places, marches to* Oxford.

The King was hardly ſettled in his Quarters, when he heard that the Parliament was fixing a Garriſon at *Marlborough* in *Wilt-ſhire*, a Town the moſt notoriouſly diſaffected of all that County; otherwiſe, ſaving the Obſtinacy and Malice of the Inhabitants, in the Scituation of it very unfit for a Garriſon. Thither the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſent one *Ramſey* (a *Scots*-man, as very many of their Officers were of that Nation) to be Governour; who, with the help of the Factious People there, had quickly drawn together five or ſix hundred Men. This place, the King ſaw, would ſoon prove an ill Neighbour to him; not only as it was in the Heart of a Rich County, and ſo would ſtreighten, and even infeſt his Quarters (for it was within twenty Miles of *Oxford*) but as it did cut off his Line of Communication with the Weſt: And therefore, though it was *December*, a Seaſon when his tired, and almoſt naked Soldiers might expect reſt, he ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, under the Command of Mr. *Wilmot* the Lieutenant General of his Horſe, to viſit that Town; who coming thither on a *Saturday*, found the place ſtrongly mann'd: For, beſides the Garriſon, it being Market Day, very many Country People came thither to buy and ſell, and were all compell'd to ſtay and take Arms for the Defence of the Place; which for the moſt part, they were willing to do, and the People peremptory to defend it. Though there was no Line about it, yet there were ſome places of great Advantage, upon which they had raiſed Batteries, and planted Cannon, and ſo Barricadoed all the Avenues, which were through deep narrow Lanes, that the Horſe could do little Service.

Malborough *garriſon'd by the Parliament.*

When the Lieutenant General was, with his Party, near the Town, he apprehended a Fellow, who confeſſed upon Examination, "That he was a "Spy, and ſent by the Governour to bring Intelligence of their Strength and "Motion. When all Men thought, and the poor Fellow himſelf fear'd, he ſhould be executed; the Lieutenant General cauſed his whole Party to be ranged in order in the next convenient place, and bid the Fellow look well upon them, and obſerve them, and then bid him return to the Town, and tell thoſe that ſent him, what he had ſeen, and withal that he ſhould acquaint the Magiſtrates of the Town, "That they ſhould do well to treat with the "Garriſon, to give them leave to ſubmit to the King; that if they did ſo, "the Town ſhould not receive the leaſt prejudice; but if they compell'd him "to make his way, and enter the Town by Force, it would not be in his "Power to keep his Soldiers from taking that which they ſhould win with "their Blood: and ſo diſmiſs'd him. This generous Act prov'd of ſome Advantage; for the Fellow, tranſported with having his Life given him; and the Numbers of the Men he had ſeen, beſides his no Experience in ſuch ſights, being multiplied by his fear, made notable Relations of the Strength, Gallantry, and Reſolution of the Enemy, and of the Impoſſibility of reſiſting them; which, though it prevailed not with thoſe in Authority to yield, yet it ſtrangely abated the Hopes, and Courage of the People. So that when the King's Soldiers fell on, after a Volley or two, in which much Execution was done, they threw down their Arms, and run into the Town; ſo that the Foot had

time to make room for the Horſe, who were now enter'd at both ends of the Town, yet were not ſo near an end as they expected; for the Streets were in many places Barricadoed, which were obſtinately defended by ſome Soldiers and Towns-men, who kill'd many Men out of the Windows of the Houſes; ſo that, it may be, if they had truſted only to their own ſtrength, without compelling the Country Men to encreaſe their Number, and who being firſt frighted, and weary, diſhearten'd their Companions, that place might have coſt more Blood. *Ramſey* the Governour was himſelf retir'd into the Church with ſome Officers, and from thence did ſome hurt; upon this, there being ſo many kill'd out of Windows, fire was put to the next Houſes, ſo that a good part of the Town was burn'd, and then the Soldiers enter'd, doing leſs Execution than could reaſonably be expected; but, what they ſpared in Blood, they took in Pillage, the Soldiers enquiring little who were Friends or Foes.

Marlborough taken by the King's Forces under Lieutenant-General Wilmot.

This was the firſt Garriſon taken on either ſide; for *Farnham* Caſtle in *Surrey*, whither ſome Gentlemen who were willing to appear for the King had repair'd, and were taken with leſs Reſiſtance than was fit, by Sir *William Waller*, ſome few Days before, deſerv'd not the Name of a Garriſon. In this of *Marlborough* were taken, beſides the Governour, and other Officers, who yielded upon Quarter, above one thouſand Priſoners; great ſtores of Arms, four Pieces of Cannon, and a good quantity of Ammunition, with all which the Lieutenant General return'd ſafe to *Oxford*: Though this Succeſs was a little ſhadow'd, by the unfortunate Loſs of a very good Regiment of Horſe within a few Days after; for the Lord *Grandiſon*, by the miſcarriage of Orders, was expoſed, at too great a Diſtance from the Army, with his ſingle Regiment of Horſe, conſiſting of three hundred, and a Regiment of two hundred Dragoons, to the unequal encounter of a Party of the Enemy of five thouſand Horſe and Dragoons; and ſo was Himſelf, after a Retreat made to *Wincheſter*, there taken with all his Party; which was the firſt loſs of that kind the King ſuſtain'd; but without the leaſt fault of the Commander; and the misfortune was much leſſen'd by his making an eſcape himſelf with two or three of his principal Officers, who were very welcome to *Oxford*.

The firſt thing the King apply'd himſelf to conſult upon, after he was ſettled in his Winter Quarters, and deſpair'd of any honeſt Overtures for a Peace, was, how to apply ſome Antidote to that Poyſon, which was ſent into *Scotland*, in that Declaration We mention'd before; the which he had not only ſeen, as an Act communicated abroad and in many hands, but the *Scotiſh* Earl of *Lindſey*, who was then a Commiſſioner Leiger at *London* for *Scotland*, had preſented it to him. And there was every day ſome motion in the Houſe of Commons to preſs the *Scots*, to invade the Kingdom for their aſſiſtance, upon the growth of the Earl of *New-caſtle*'s power in the North. And therefore, after full thoughts, the King writ to his Privy-Council of *Scotland* (who, by the Laws enacted when he was laſt there, had the Abſolute, indeed Regal, Power of that Kingdom) and took notice of that Declaration, which had been ſent to them, earneſtly inviting, and in a manner challenging an Aſſiſtance from that his Native Kingdom of Men and Arms, for making a War againſt him, and making claim to that Aſſiſtance by virtue of the late Act of Pacification.

The Subſtance of the King's Meſſage to the Privy-Council of Scotland, *upon occaſion of the two Houſes Declaration to that Kingdom.*

He told them, "That, as he was at his Soul afflicted, that it had been "in the power of any factious, ambitious, and malicious Perſons, ſo far to "poſſeſs the hearts of many of his Subjects of *England*, as to raiſe this miſera-"ble diſtemper, and diſtraction in this Kingdom againſt all his real en-"deavours and actions to the contrary; ſo he was glad that That "rage and fury had ſo far tranſported them, that they applied themſelves, "in ſo groſs a manner, to his Subjects of *Scotland*; whoſe experience of his "Religion, Juſtice, and Love of his People, would not ſuffer them to be-"lieve thoſe horrid Scandals, laid upon his Majeſty: and their Affection, "Loyalty, and Jealouſy of his Honour, would diſdain to be made Inſtru-"ments to oppreſs their Native Soveraign, by aſſiſting an odious Rebellion. "He remember'd them, "That he had from time to time acquainted his Sub-"jects of that Kingdom with the Accidence, and circumſtances which had

"diſ-

" diſquieted This; how, after all the Acts of Juſtice, Grace, and Favour,
" perform'd on His part, which were or could be deſir'd to make a People
" compleatly happy, he was driven, by the Force and Violence of Rude and
" Tumultuous Aſſemblies, from his City of *London*, and his Houſes of Parlia-
" ment; how attempts had been made to impoſe Laws upon his Subjects,
" without His Conſent, and contrary to the Foundation and Conſtitution of
" the Kingdom; how his Forts, Goods, and Navy, had been ſeized, and taken
" from him by Force, and imploy'd againſt him; his Revenue, and ordinary
" Subſiſtence, wreſted from him: How he had been purſued with ſcandalous
" and reproachful Language; bold, falſe, and ſeditious Paſquils, and Libels,
" publickly allow'd againſt him; and had been told that he might, without
" want of Modeſty and Duty, be depos'd: That after all this, before any force
" raiſed by Him, an Army was rais'd, and a General appointed to lead that
" Army againſt his Majeſty, with a Commiſſion to kill, ſlay, and deſtroy all
" ſuch who ſhould be faithful to him: That when he had been, by theſe
" means, compell'd, with the Aſſiſtance of his good Subjects, to raiſe an Ar-
" my for his neceſſary Defence, he had ſent divers gracious Meſſages, ear-
" neſtly deſiring that the Calamities, and Miſeries of a Civil War might be
" prevented by a Treaty; and ſo he might know the Grounds of that miſun-
" derſtanding: That he was abſolutely refus'd to be treated with, and the
" Army (raiſed, as was pretended, for the Defence of his Perſon) brought
" into the Field againſt him; gave him Battle; and, though it pleas'd God
" God to give his Majeſty the Victory, deſtroyed many of his good Subjects,
" with as eminent Danger to his own Perſon, and his Children, as the skill
" and malice of deſperate Rebels could Contrive.

" Of all which, and the other Indignities, which had been offer'd to him,
" he doubted not the Duty and Affection of his *Scotiſh* Subjects would have
" ſo juſt a Reſentment, that they would expreſs to the World the ſenſe they
" had of His ſufferings: And, He hoped, His good Subjects of *Scotland*
" were not ſo great ſtrangers to the Affairs of this Kingdom, to believe that
" this Misfortune and Diſtraction was begot and brought upon Him by His
" two Houſes of Parliament; though, in truth, no unwarrantable Action a-
" gainſt the Law could be juſtified even by That Authority; but that they
" well knew how the Members of both Houſes had been driven thence, inſo-
" much that, of above five hundred Members of the Houſe of Commons,
" there were not then there above fourſcore; and, of above one hundred of
" the Houſe of *Peers*, not above fifteen or ſixteen; all which were ſo awed
" by a multitude of *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, and other Perſons, deſperate, and
" decayed in their Fortunes, in and about the City of *London*, that in truth,
" their Conſultations, had not the Freedom and Privilege which belong to
" Parliaments.

" Concerning any Commiſſions granted by his Majeſty to Papiſts to raiſe
" Forces, he referred them to a Declaration, lately ſet forth by him upon
" the Occaſion of that Scandal, which he likewiſe then ſent to them. And
" for his own true, and zealous Affection to the Proteſtant Religion, he would
" give no other Inſtance than his own conſtant Practice, on which Malice
" it ſelf could lay no Blemiſh; and thoſe many Proteſtations he had made in
" the ſight of Almighty God, to whom he knew he ſhould be dearly accoun-
" table if he failed in the Obſervation.

" For that ſcandalous Imputation of his Intention of bringing in Foreign
" Forces, as the ſame was raiſed without the leaſt Shadow or Colour of Rea-
" ſon, and ſolemnly diſavow'd by his Majeſty, in many of his Declarations;
" ſo there could not be a clearer Argument to his Subjects of *Scotland* that he
" had no ſuch thought, than that he had hitherto forborn to require the Aſ-
" ſiſtance of that his Native Kingdom; from whoſe Obedience, Duty, and
" Affection, he ſhould confidently expect it, if he thought his own Strength
" here too weak to preſerve him; and of whoſe Courage, and Loyalty, he
" ſhould look to make uſe, before he ſhould think of any Foreign Aid to ſuc-
" cour him. And he knew no Reaſonable or Underſtanding Man could ſup-
" poſe that they were oblig'd, or enabled, by the late Act of Parliament in
" both Kingdoms, to obey the Invitation that was made to them by that
" pretended Declaration, when it was ſo evidently provided for by that Act,

" that as the Kingdom of *England* ſhould not War againſt the Kingdom of " *Scotland*, without Conſent of the Parliament of *England*, ſo the Kingdom of " *Scotland* ſhould not make War againſt the Kingdom of *England*, without the " Conſent of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

He told them, " if the grave Counſel and Advice, which they had given, " and derived to the Houſes of Parliament here, by their Act of the 22d of " *April* laſt, had been follow'd in a Tender Care of his Royal Perſon, and " of his Princely Greatneſs and Authority, there would not that face of " Confuſion have appear'd, which now threaten'd this Kingdom: And " therefore he requir'd them to Communicate what he then writ to all his " Subjects of that Kingdom, and to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to inform " them of the truth of his Conditions; and that they ſuffer'd not the Scan- " dals and Imputations laid on his Majeſty by the Malice and Treaſon of " ſome Men, to make any Impreſſion in the Minds of his People, to the leſ- " ſening or corrupting their Affections and Loyalty to him; but that they " aſſured them all, that the hardneſs he then underwent, and the Arms he had been " compell'd to take up, were for the Defence of his Perſon and ſafety of his Life; " for the Maintainance of the true Proteſtant Religion, for the Preſervation " of the Laws, Liberties, and Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and for the " juſt Priviledges of Parliament; and that he looked no longer for a Bleſ- " ſing from Heaven, than he endeavour'd the Defence and Advancement of " all theſe: And, He could not doubt, a dutiful Concurrence in his Subjects " of *Scotland*, in the care of his Honour, and juſt Rights, would draw down " a bleſſing upon that Nation too.

Though his Majeſty well knew all the Perſons, to whom he directed this Letter, to be thoſe who were only able and willing to do him all poſſible diſſervice, yet he was ſure by other Inſtruments, if they neglected, which, for that Reaſon, they were not like to do, to publiſh it to the People there; which he believ'd might ſo far Operate upon them, as the others would not be able to procure them to invade *England*; and other Fruit of their Allegiance he expected not, than that they ſhould not Rebel.

What means the King then us'd to raiſe Money.

His Majeſty's next care was the procuring Money for the payment of his Army; that the narrow circuit which contain'd his Quarters, might not be ſo intollerably oppreſſed with that whole burden. This was a very difficult matter; for the Soldiery already grew very high, and would obey no Orders or Rules but of their own making; and Prince *Rupert* conſider'd only the Subſiſtence, and advance of the Horſe, as His Province, and indeed as if it had been a Province apart from the Army; and therefore would by no means endure that the great Contributions, which the Counties within command willingly ſubmitted to, ſhould be aſſign'd to any other uſe than the ſupport of the Horſe, and to be immediately collected, and receiv'd by the Officers. So that the ſeveral Garriſons, and all the Body of Foot, were to be conſtantly paid, and his Majeſty's weekly Expence for his Houſe born out of ſuch Monies as could be borrow'd. For, of all his own Revenue, he had not yet the receiving a penny within his Power; neither did he think fit to compel any one, even ſuch who were known to have contributed freely to the Parliament, to ſupply him: Only by Letters, and all other gentle ways, he invited thoſe who were able, to conſider how much their own Security and Proſperity was concern'd, and depended upon the preſervation of his Rights; and offer'd to ſell any of his Lands, or to give any *Perſonal* Security for whatſoever Money would be lent to him at Intereſt: for he had directed a Grant to be prepar'd of ſeveral *Parks*, and Forreſts, and other Crown Lands, to many *Perſons* of Honour and great Fortune about him, whoſe Eſtates and Reputation were well known; who were ready to be Perſonally bound for whatſoever Sums could be borrow'd.

The Affection of the Univerſity of *Oxford* was moſt eminent: For, as they had before, when the Troubles firſt broke out, ſent the King above ten thouſand pounds out of the ſeveral Stocks of the Colleges, and the *Purſes* of particular *Perſons*, many whereof lent him all they had; ſo they now again made him a new Preſent. By theſe means, and the Loan of particular *Perſons*, eſpecially from *London* (for from thence, notwithſtanding all the ſtrict watch to the contrary, conſiderable Sums were drawn) The King, even

above

above his hopes, was able to pay his Foot, albeit it amounted to above three thouſand pounds weekly, in ſuch manner, that, during the whole Winter, there was not the leaſt diſorder for want of pay. And then he us'd all poſſible care to encourage and countenance new Levies of Horſe and Foot, for the recruiting his Army againſt the next Spring.

The Parliament's Army being now about *London*, the Officers of it who were Members of Parliament, attended that Council diligently, upon which that Army alone depended: and, though they ſtill ſeem'd very deſirous of Peace, they very ſolemnly and ſeverely proſecuted all thoſe who really endeavour'd it. Their partiality and injuſtice was ſo notorious, that there was no rule or meaſure of Right in any matter depending before them, but conſideration only of the Affections and Opinions of the Perſons contending; neither could any thing be more properly ſaid of them, than what *Tacitus* once ſpoke of the *Jews*, *Apud Ipſos fides obſtinata, miſericordia in promptu, adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium.* Volumes would not contain the inſtances. But they found the old Arguments of Popery, the Militia, and Delinquents, for the juſtification of the War, grew every day of leſs reverence with the People; and that as the King's own Religion was above any Scandal they could lay upon it, ſo the Regal Power ſeem'd ſo aſſerted by Law, and the King upon all occaſions, cited particular Statutes for the Vindication of his Right, that whilſt they confeſs'd the Soveraign Power to be veſted in him, all Legal Miniſters had that dependence on him, that Their Authority would by degrees grow into Contempt.

The King makes new Sheriffs.

And of this diſadvantage the ſeaſon of the year put them in mind; for the King now, according to courſe, prick'd Sheriffs, and made ſuch choice in all Counties, that they foreſaw the People were not like to be ſo implicitely at their diſpoſal. Therefore, as they had before craftily inſinuated the ſame in ſome particulars, they now barefaced avow, "That the Soveraign "Power was wholely and entirely in Them; and that the King himſelf ſe-"ver'd from Them, had no Regal Power in him. Their Clergy had hitherto been their Champions, and wreſted the Scripture to their ſenſe; Their Lawyers were now to vindicate their Title, and they were not more modeſt in applying Their Profeſſion to their Service. As all places of Scripture, or in the Fathers, which were ſpoken of the Church of Chriſt, are by the Papiſts apply'd to the Church of *Rome*; ſo, whatſoever is written in any of the Books of the Law, or mention'd in the Records, of the Authority and Effects of the Soveraign Power, and of the Dignity and Juriſdiction of Parliament, was by theſe Men, alledged and urged for the Power of the two Houſes, and ſometimes for the ſingle Authority of the Houſe of Commons. Being ſupplied with the Learning of theſe Gentlemen, they declared, "That "the Sheriffs, then conſtituted by the King, were not Legal Sheriffs, nor ought to execute, or be ſubmitted to in that Office; and order'd, "Whomſoever the King made Sheriff in any County, to be ſent for as Delin-"quent; and becauſe it ſeem'd unreaſonable, that the Counties ſhould "be without that Legal Miniſter, to whom the Law had intruſted it's Cuſto-"dy, it was propoſed, "That they might make a new Great Seal, and by "that Authority make Sheriffs, and ſuch other Officers as they ſhould find "neceſſary; but for the preſent that Motion was laid aſide.

The King had appointed ſome of thoſe Priſoners who were taken in the Battle at *Keinton* Field, and others apprehended in the Act of Rebellion, to be Indicted of High Treaſon, upon the Satute of the 25th year of King *Edward* the third, before the Lord Chief Juſtice, and other Learned Judges of the Law, by Virtue of his Majeſty's Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*: The Parliament declared "All ſuch Indictments and all Proceedings thereupon, to "be unjuſt and illegal; and inhibited the judges to proceed farther therein; declaring (which was a ſtronger Argument) "That if any Man were "executed, or ſuffer'd hurt, for any thing he had done by Their Order, "the like puniſhment ſhould be inflicted, by death or otherwiſe, upon "ſuch Priſoners as were, or ſhould be, taken by Their Forces: And, in none of their caſes, ever asked the Judges what the Law was. By the determination of the Statute, and the King's refuſal, which hath been mention'd before, to paſs any new Law to that purpoſe, there was no farther

duty of Tonnage and Poundage due upon Merchandize, and the Statute made this very Parliament involv'd all Men in the guilt and penalty of a Præmunire, who offer'd to receive it. The King publiſh'd a Proclamation upon that Statute, and required all Men to forbear paying "That duty, and forbid all "to receive it. They again declar'd, That no Perſon, who receiv'd thoſe "duties by Virtue of Their Orders, was within the danger of a Pæmunire, or "any other penalty whatſoever; becauſe the intent, and meaning of that "Penal clauſe, was only to reſtrain the Crown from impoſing any duty or Pay-"ment upon the Subjects, without their conſent in Parliament; and was not "intended to extend to any caſe whereunto the Lords and Commons give "their aſſent in Parliament.

And that this Soveraignty might be farther taken notice of than within the Limits of this Kingdom, they ſent, with all formality, Letters of Credence, and inſtructions, and their Agents, into Forreign States and Kingdoms.

The ſubſtance of the Declaration of the Lords and Commons to the States General of the united Provinces.

By their Agent to the united Provinces where the Queen was then reſiding, they had the Courage, in plain terms, to accuſe the Prince of *Orange* "For ſupplying the King with Arms and Ammunition; for Licenſing divers "Commanders, Officers, and Soldiers, to reſort into this Kingdom to his "aid. They remember'd them "of the great help that they had receiv'd "from this Kingdom, when heretofore they lay under the heavy oppreſſion of "their Princes; and how conducible the friendſhip of this Nation had been "to their preſent greatneſs and Power; and therefore they could not "think, that they would be forward to help to make Them Slaves, who had "been ſo uſeful, and Aſſiſtant in making Them Free-men; or that they "would forget, that their troubles and dangers iſſued from the ſame Foun-"tain with their own; and that thoſe who were ſet a work to under-"mine Religion, and Liberty in the Kingdom, were the ſame who by open "force did ſeek to bereave Them of both. They told them, "It could not "be unknown to that wiſe State, that it was the Jeſuitical Faction in this King-"dom, that had corrupted the Counſels of the King, the Conſciences of a great "part of the Clergy; which ſought to deſtroy the Parliament, and had raiſ-"the Rebellion in *Ireland*. They deſir'd them therefore, "Not to ſuffer "any more Ordnance, Armour, or any other Warlike Proviſion to be brought "over ſtrengthen thoſe, who as ſoon as they ſhould prevail againſt the "Parliament, would uſe that ſtrength to the ruin of thoſe from whom they "had it.

They deſir'd them, "They would not ſend over any of their Country-men "to farther Their deſtruction, who were ſent to them for their preſerva-"tion; that they would not anticipate the ſpilling of *Engliſh* Blood, in an "unnatural Civil War, which had been ſo chearfully and plentifully hazarded, "and ſpent, in that juſt and honourable War by which they had been ſo long "preſerv'd, and to which the Blood of thoſe Perſons, and many other Sub-"jects of this Kingdom was ſtill in a manner dedicated; but rather that they "would Caſhire, and Diſcard from their Imployment, thoſe that would pre-"ſume to come over for that purpoſe. They told them, "The queſtion be-"tween his Majeſty and the Parliament, was not whether he ſhould enjoy "the ſame Prerogative, and Power, which had belonged to their former Kings, "his Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſors; but whether that Prerogative, and "Power, ſhould be imploy'd to their defence, or to their ruin: That it could "not be denied by thoſe, who look indifferently on their Proceedings and Af-"fairs, that it would be more honour, and wealth, ſafety and greatneſs to his "Majeſty in concurring with this Parliament, than in the courſe in which "he now is: But ſo unhappy had his Majeſty, and the Kingdom been, in "thoſe who had the greateſt influence upon his Counſels, that they look'd "more upon the prevailing of their own Party, than upon any thoſe great "advantages both to his Crown, and Royal Perſon, which he might obtain by "joyning with his People: and ſo cunning were thoſe Factors for Popery, "in proſecution of their own aims, that they could put on a counterfeit "Viſage of Honour, Peace, and Greatneſs, upon thoſe courſes and coun-"ſels, which had no truth, and reality, but of Weakneſs, Diſhonour, and "Miſeries to his Majeſty, and the whole Kingdom.

They

They ſaid, "They had lately expreſs'd their earneſt inclinations to that Na-
" tional Love and Amity with the United Provinces, which had been
" nouriſh'd and confirm'd by ſo many civil reſpects, and mutual intereſts, as
" made it ſo natural to them, that they had, this Parliament, in their hum-
" ble Petition to his Majeſty, deſired, that they might be joyn'd with that
" State in a more near and ſtreight League, and Union: And they could
" not but expect ſome returns from Them, of the like expreſſions: and that
" they would be ſo far from blowing the fire, which begun to kindle
" among them, that they would rather endeavour to quench it, by ſtrength-
" ning and encouraging them who had no other deſign but not to be de-
" ſtroy'd, and to preſerve their Religion, ſave themſelves, and the other Re-
" form'd Churches of *Chriſtendom*, from the Maſſacres and Extirpations, with
" which the Principles of the Roman Religion did threaten them all; which
" were begun to be acted in *Ireland*, and in the Hopes, and Endeavours, and
" Intentions of that Party, had long ſince been executed upon them,
" if the Mercy, Favour, and Bleſſing of Almighty God, had not ſuper-
" abounded, and prevented the Subtlety and Malignity of cruel, wicked, and
" and blood-thirſty Men.

With this ſpecious diſpatch, in which were many other particulars to render the King's cauſe ungracious and their own very plauſible, their Agent, one *Strickland*, an obſcure Gentleman, was receiv'd by the States; and notwithſtanding the Queen was then there, and the Prince of *Orange* viſibly inclin'd to aſſiſt the King with all his Intereſts, and the Interpoſition of the King's Reſident, did not only hinder the States from giving the leaſt countenance to the King's Cauſe, but really ſo corrupted the *Engliſh* in the Army, and in that Court, that there was nothing deſign'd to advance it by the Prince of *Orange* himſelf (who with great generoſity ſupplied the King with Arms and Ammunition to a very conſiderable value) or by the private Activity and dexterity of particular Perſons, out of their own Fortune, or by the ſale or pawning of Jewels, but intelligence was given ſoon enough to the Parliament, either to get ſtops, and ſeizures upon it, by Order of the State, or to intercept the ſupply by their Navy at Sea. So that much more was in that manner, and by that means, taken and intercepted at Sea, than ever arriv'd at any Port within his Majeſty's obedience: of which at that time he had only one, the Harbour of *New-caſtle*. With the ſame ſucceſs, they ſent another Agent to *Bruſſels*, who prevail'd with *Don Franciſco de Melos*, then Governour of *Flanders*, to diſcountenance always, and ſometimes to prevent the preparations which were there making by the King's Miniſters. And in *France* they had another Agent, one *Aulgier*, a Man long before in the conſtant pay of the Crown; who though he was not receiv'd, and avow'd (to put the better varniſh upon their Profeſſions to the King) by that Crown, did them more Service than either of the other; by how much more that People had an influence upon the diſtempers of the Three Kingdoms.

The Inclinations of Foreign Kings, and States, in this cauſe, between the King and Parliament.

And as the Parliament made all theſe Addreſſes to Foreign States, and Princes, which no Parliament had ever done before, ſo it will be fit here to take notice how other Princes appear'd concern'd on the King's behalf. The *Spaniard* was ſufficiently incenſed by the King's reception of the Embaſſadors of *Portugal*, and, which was more, entering into terms of Amity and League with that Crown, and had therefore contributed notable aſſiſtance to the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and ſent both Arms and Money thither. And, ſince the extravagances of this Parliament, the Embaſſador of *Spain* had made great application to them.

The *French*, according to their Nature, were much more active, and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former commotions in *Scotland* had been raiſed by the ſpecial encouragement, if not contrivance of the Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had carefully kept up, and enlarg'd the old Franchiſes of the *Scots* under that Crown; which made a very ſpecious ſhew of wonderful grace and benefit, at a diſtance, to that Nation, and was of little burden to the *French*; and, in truth, of little advantage to thoſe who were in full poſſeſſion of all thoſe Privileges. Yet, by this means, the *French* have always had a very great influence upon the Affections of that People, and opportunities to work great prejudice to that Crown: As nothing was more viſible

than that, by the Cardinal's Activity, all thoſe late diſtempers in *Scotland* were carried on 'till his death, and by his Rules and Principles, afterwards: The *French* Miniſters always making their correſpondence, with, and relation to thoſe who were taken notice to be of the *Puritan* Party; which was underſtood to be in order, only to the oppoſition of thoſe Counſels, which ſhould at any time be offer'd on the behalf of *Spain*.

Since the beginning of this Parliament, the *French* Embaſſador, Monſieur *la Fertè*, diſſembled not to have notable familiarity with thoſe who govern'd moſt in the two Houſes; diſcover'd to them whatſoever he knew, or could reaſonably deviſe to the prejudice of the King's Counſels and Reſolutions; and took all opportunities to leſſen, and undervalue the King's Regal Power, by applying himſelf on publick occaſions of State, and in his Maſter's Name, and to improve his Intereſt, to the two Houſes of Parliament (which had in no Age before been ever known) as in the buſineſs of Tranſportation of Men out of *Ireland*, before remember'd; in which he cauſed, by the importunity of the two Houſes, his Majeſty's promiſe and engagement to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, to be render'd of no effect. And, after that, he formally exhibited, in writing, a Complaint to the two Houſes againſt Sir *Thomas Rowe*, his Majeſty's extraordinary Embaſſador to the Emperor, and Princes of *Germany*, upon the Treaty of an accommodation on the behalf of the Prince Elector and Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, confidently avowing, "That "Sir *Thomas Rowe* had offer'd, on the King's part, to enter into a League "Offenſive and Defenſive with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to wed all their "Intereſts; and, in plain terms, ask'd them, Whether they had given Sir "*Thomas* inſtructions to that purpoſe? expreſſing a great value his Maſter had of the Affection of the Parliament of *England*; which drew them to a return of much, and unuſual Civility, and to aſſure the *French* King, "That "Sir *Thomas Rowe* had no ſuch Inſtructions from Them; and that they would "examine the truth of it; and would be careful that nothing ſhould be done, "and perfected in that Treaty, which might reflect upon the good of the *French* King. Whereas in truth there was not the leaſt ground, or pretence for that ſuggeſtion; Sir *Thomas Rowe* having never made any ſuch offer, or any thing like it. And when, after his return out of *Germany*, he expoſtulated with the *French* Embaſſador, for ſuch an injurious, cauſleſs information, he anſwer'd, "That his Maſter had receiv'd ſuch advertiſement, and "had given him order to do what he did. So that it eaſily appear'd it was only a fiction of State, whereby they took occaſion to publiſh, that they would take any opportunity to reſort to the two Houſes, and thereby to flatter them in their uſurpation of any Sovereign Authority.

There is not a ſadder Conſideration than this Paſſion, and Injuſtice, in Chriſtian Princes (and I pray God the Almighty Juſtice be not angry, on this account, with the Government of Kings, Princes, and States) that they are ſeldom ſo ſollicitous that the Laws be executed, Juſtice adminiſtred, and Order perform'd within their own Kingdoms, as they are, that all three may be diſturbed, and confounded amongſt their Neighbours. And there is no ſooner a ſpark of Diſſention, a diſcompoſure in Affections, a jealouſy in Underſtandings, diſcern'd to be in a Neighbour Province, or Kingdom, to the hazarding the Peace thereof, but they, though in League and Amity, with their utmoſt Art and Induſtry, make it their buſineſs to kindle that ſpark into a flame, and to contract and ripen all unſettled humours, and jealous apprehenſions, into a peremptory diſcontent, and all diſcontent to Sedition, and all Sedition to open and profeſſed Rebellion. And they have rarely ſo ample ſatisfaction in their own greatneſs, or ſo great a ſenſe and value of God's bleſſing upon them, as when they have been Inſtruments of drawing ſome notorious Calamity upon their Neighbours. As if the Religion of Princes were nothing but Policy, and that they conſider'd nothing more, than to make all other Kingdoms but their own miſerable: and becauſe God hath reſerv'd them to be try'd only within his own Juriſdiction, and before his own Tribunal, that he means to try them too by other Laws, and Rules, than he hath publiſh'd to the World for his Servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to conſider, that God had placed them over his People as Examples, and to give countenance to his Laws by their own ſtrict obſervation of them; and that

as

as their Subjects are to be defended and protected by their Princes, ſo They themſelves are to be aſſiſted and ſupported by one another; the Function of Kings being an Order by it ſelf: And as a Contempt and Breach of every Law is, in the Policy of State, an Offence againſt the Perſon of the King, becauſe there is a kind of Violation offer'd to his Perſon in the Tranſgreſſion of that Rule, without which he cannot Govern; ſo the Rebellion of Subjects againſt their Prince ought to be look'd upon, by all other Kings, as an Aſſault of their own Soveraignty, and, in ſome degree, a deſign againſt Monarchy it ſelf; and conſequently to be ſuppreſſed, and extirpated, in what other Kingdom ſoever it is, with the like Concernment, as if it were in their own Bowels.

Beſides theſe indirect Artifices, and Activity before mention'd in the *French* Embaſſador, very many of the *Hugonots* in *France* (with whom this Crown heretofore, it may be, kept too much Correſpondence) were declar'd Enemies to the King; and, in publick, and in ſecret, gave all poſſible Aſſiſtance to thoſe whoſe Buſineſs was to deſtroy the Church. And as this Animoſity prov'd of unſpeakable Inconvenience and Damage to the King, throughout all theſe Troubles, and of equal Benefit to his Enemies; ſo the Occaſion, from whence thoſe Diſaffections grew, was very unskilfully and imprudently adminiſter'd by the State here. Not to ſpeak of the Buſineſs of *Rochel*, which, though it ſtuck deep in all, yet moſt imputed the Counſels of that time to Men that were dead, and not to a fix'd Deſign of the Court; they had a greater Quarrel, which made them believe, that their very Religion was perſecuted by the Church of *England*.

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than that, by the Cardinal's Activity, all thoſe late diſtempers in *Scotland* were carried on 'till his death, and by his Rules and Principles, afterwards: The *French* Miniſters always making their correſpondence, with, and relation to thoſe who were taken notice to be of the *Puritan* Party; which was underſtood to be in order, only to the oppoſition of thoſe Counſels, which ſhould at any time be offer'd on the behalf of *Spain*.

Since the beginning of this Parliament, the *French* Embaſſador, Monſieur *la Fertè*, diſſembled not to have notable familiarity with thoſe who govern'd moſt in the two Houſes; diſcover'd to them whatſoever he knew, or could reaſonably deviſe to the prejudice of the King's Counſels and Reſolutions; and took all opportunities to leſſen, and undervalue the King's Regal Power, by applying himſelf on publick occaſions of State, and in his Maſter's Name, and to improve his Intereſt, to the two Houſes of Parliament (which had in no Age before been ever known) as in the buſineſs of Tranſportation of Men out of *Ireland*, before remember'd; in which he cauſed, by the importunity of the two Houſes, his Majeſty's promiſe and engagement to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, to be render'd of no effect. And, after that, he formally exhibited, in writing, a Complaint to the two Houſes againſt Sir *Thomas Rowe*, his Majeſty's extraordinary Embaſſador to the Emperor, and Princes of *Germany*, upon the Treaty of an accommodation on the behalf of the Prince Elector and Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, confidently avowing, "That "Sir *Thomas Rowe* had offer'd, on the King's part, to enter into a League "Offenſive and Defenſive with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to wed all their "Intereſts; and, in plain terms, ask'd them, Whether they had given Sir "*Thomas* inſtructions to that purpoſe? expreſſing a great value his Maſter had of the Affection of the Parliament of *England*; which drew them to a return of much, and unuſual Civility, and to aſſure the *French* King, "That "Sir *Thomas Rowe* had no ſuch Inſtructions from Them; and that they would "examine the truth of it; and would be careful that nothing ſhould be done, "and perfected in that Treaty, which might reflect upon the good of the *French* King. Whereas in truth there was not the leaſt ground, or pretence for that ſuggeſtion; Sir *Thomas Rowe* having never made any ſuch offer, or any thing like it. And when, after his return out of *Germany*, he expoſtulated with the *French* Embaſſador, for ſuch an injurious, cauſleſs information, he anſwer'd, "That his Maſter had receiv'd ſuch advertiſement, and "had given him order to do what he did. So that it eaſily appear'd it was only a fiction of State, whereby they took occaſion to publiſh, that they would take any opportunity to reſort to the two Houſes, and thereby to flatter them in their uſurpation of any Sovereign Authority.

There is not a ſadder Conſideration than this Paſſion, and Injuſtice, in Chriſtian Princes (and I pray God the Almighty Juſtice be not angry, on this account, with the Government of Kings, Princes, and States) that they are ſeldom ſo ſollicitous that the Laws be executed, Juſtice adminiſtred, and Order perform'd within their own Kingdoms, as they are, that all three may be diſturbed, and confounded amongſt their Neighbours. And there is no ſooner a ſpark of Diſſention, a diſcompoſure in Affections, a jealouſy in Underſtandings, diſcern'd to be in a Neighbour Province, or Kingdom, to the hazarding the Peace thereof, but they, though in League and Amity, with their utmoſt Art and Induſtry, make it their buſineſs to kindle that ſpark into a flame, and to contract and ripen all unſettled humours, and jealous apprehenſions, into a peremptory diſcontent, and all diſcontent to Sedition, and all Sedition to open and profeſſed Rebellion. And they have rarely ſo ample ſatisfaction in their own greatneſs, or ſo great a ſenſe and value of God's bleſſing upon them, as when they have been Inſtruments of drawing ſome notorious Calamity upon their Neighbours. As if the Religion of Princes were nothing but Policy, and that they conſider'd nothing more, than to make all other Kingdoms but their own miſerable: and becauſe God hath reſerv'd them to be try'd only within his own Juriſdiction, and before his own Tribunal, that he means to try them too by other Laws, and Rules, than he hath publiſh'd to the World for his Servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to conſider, that God had placed them over his People as Examples, and to give countenance to his Laws by their own ſtrict obſervation of them; and that

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might prove of moſt prejudice to them; ſo that, upon pretence that they far exceeded the Liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the Notion of Foreigners, many *Engliſh* ſeparated themſelves from the Church, and joyn'd themſelves to thoſe Congregations (which poſſibly was in part true) the Council Board conniv'd at, or interpoſed not, whilſt the Biſhops did ſome Acts of Reſtraint, with which thoſe Congregations grew generally diſcontented, and thought the Liberty of their Conſciences to be taken from them; which cauſed in *London* much complaining of this kind, but much more in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*; where Dr. *Wren*, the Biſhop there, paſſionately, and warmly proceeded againſt them; ſo that many left the Kingdom, to the leſſening the Wealthy Manufacture there of Kerſeys, and narrow Cloaths, and, which was worſe, tranſporting that Myſtery into Foreign parts.

And that this might be ſure to look like more than what was neceſſary to the Civil policy of the Kingdom, whereas, in all former Times the Embaſſadors, and all Foreign Miniſters of State, imploy'd from *England* into any parts where the Reform'd Religion was exerciſed, frequented their Churches, gave all poſſible Countenance to their profeſſion, and held Correſpondence with the moſt active, and powerful Perſons of that Relation, and particularly, the Embaſſador Leiger at *Paris* had diligently, and conſtantly frequented the Church at *Charenton*, and held a fair Intercourſe with thoſe of that Religion throughout the Kingdom, by which they had ſtill receiv'd Advantage, that people being Induſtrious and Active to get into the ſecrets of the State, and ſo deriving all neceſſary Intelligence to thoſe whom they deſir'd to gratify: The contrary to this was now with great Induſtry practiced, and ſome Advertiſements, if not Inſtructions, given to the Embaſſadors there, "To "forbear any extraordinary Commerce with the Men of that profeſſion. And the Lord *Scudamore*, who was the laſt Ordinary Embaſſador there, before the beginning of this Parliament, whether by the Inclinations of his own Nature, or by Advice from others, not only declin'd going to *Charenton*, but furniſh'd his own Chappel, in his Houſe, with ſuch Ornaments (as Candles upon the Communion Table, and the like) as gave great Offence, and Umbrage to thoſe of the Reformation there, who had not ſeen the like; beſides that he was careful to publiſh, upon all Occaſions, by himſelf, and thoſe who had the neareſt Relation to him, "That the Church of *England* look'd not "on the *Hugonots* as a part of their Communion; which was likewiſe too much, and too induſtriouſly diſcourſed at Home.

They of the Church of *England* who committed the greateſt Errors this Way, had, undoubtedly, not the leaſt Thoughts of making Alterations in it towards the countenancing of *Popery*, as hath been uncharitably conceiv'd: But (having too juſt cauſe given them to diſlike the Paſſion, and Licence, that was taken by ſome Perſons in the Reform'd Churches, under the Notion of Conſcience, and Religion, to the diſturbance of the Peace of Kingdoms) unskillfully believ'd, that the Total declining the Intereſt of that Party, where it exceeded the neceſſary bounds of Reformation, would make this Church of *England* look'd upon with more Reverence; and that thereby the Common Adverſary, the *Papiſt*, would abate ſomewhat of his Arrogance, and Superciliouſneſs; and that both Parties, piouſly conſidering the Charity which Religion ſhould beget, might, if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterneſs, and uncharitableneſs of Contention in matters of Opinion, and agree in the practical Duties of Chriſtians and Subjects. Thus, contracting their conſiderations in too narrow a compaſs, theſe Men contented themſelves with their pious Intentions, without duly weighing Objections, or the circumſtances of policy. And ſome of our own Communion, who differ'd with them in Opinion in this point, though they were in the right, not giving, and, it may be, not knowing the right Reaſons, rather confirm'd than reform'd them in their Inclinations: Neither of them diſcerning the true, and ſubſtantial grounds of that Policy, upon which that good Correſpondence had been founded, which they were now about to change: And ſo the Church of *England*, not giving the ſame Countenance to thoſe of the Religion in Foreign parts, which it had formerly done, no ſooner was diſcern'd to be under a Cloud at home; but thoſe of the Religion abroad, were glad of the Occaſion

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to publiſh their Malice againſt Her, and to enter into the ſame Conſpiracy againſt the Crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the Church.

Now, to return to the courſe of our Hiſtory; after all Diſcourſes and Motions for Peace were, for a time, laid aſide; and new Thoughts of Victory, and utterly ſubduing the King's Party, again entertain'd; they found one trouble falling upon them which they had leaſt ſuſpected, want of Money; all their vaſt Sums collected, upon any former Bills, paſſed by the King for the relief of *Ireland*, and payment of the Debt to the *Scots*, and all their Money upon Subſcriptions of Plate, and Loans upon the Publick Faith, which amounted to incredible proportions, were even quite waſted; and their conſtant Expence was ſo great, that no Ordinary ſupply would ſerve their turn; and they eaſily diſcern'd, that their Money only, and not their Cauſe, procur'd them Soldiers of all kinds; and that they could never ſupport their Power, if their Power was not able to ſupply them. All voluntary Loans were at an end, and the Publick Faith thought a ſecurity not to be rely'd on, and by how much greater the difficulty was, by ſo much the more fatal would the ſinking under it prove; and therefore it was with the more Vigour to be reſiſted. In the end, they reſolv'd upon the thorough Execution of their full Soveraign Power, and to let the People ſee what they might truſt to; in which it is neceſſary to obſerve the Arts, and Degrees of their Motion.

New ways of raiſing Money by the two Houſes.

They firſt Order'd, "That Committees ſhould be named in all Counties, "to take care for Proviſions of Victuals for the Army, and alſo for the taking up of Horſes for Service in the Field, Dragooners and draught Horſes, "and for borrowing of Money and Plate to ſupply the Army: And upon "Certificate from thoſe Committees (who had power to ſet what Value or Rates they pleaſed upon theſe Proviſions of any kind) "The ſame ſhould be "enter'd with their Treaſurer, who ſhould hereafter repay the ſame. It was "then alledg'd, that this would only draw ſupplies from their Friends, and "the well Affected; and that others, who either liked not their proceedings, or lov'd their Money better than the Liberty of their Country, would "not Contribute. Upon this it was Order'd, "That in caſe the Owners refuſed to bring in Money, Proviſions, Plate, and Horſe, upon the publick "Faith, for the uſe of the Army; for the better preventing the ſpoil, and "imbezelling of ſuch Proviſions of Money, Plate, and Horſes, by the diſorder of the Soldiers, and that they may not come into the Hands of the Enemies, that the Committees, or any two of them, ſhould be authoriſed, "and enabled to ſend for ſuch Proviſions, Money, Plate, and Horſes; and "to take the ſame into their Cuſtody, and to ſet indifferent value and rate "upon them; which value they ſhould certifie to the Treaſurers, for the proportions to be repaid at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner as ſhould be order'd by both Houſes of Parliament.

This was done only to ſhew what they meant to do over all *England*, and as a ſtock of credit to them. For at preſent it would neither ſupply their wants; neither was it Seaſonable for them, or indeed poſſible to Endeavour the Execution of it in many Counties. *London* was the place from whence only their preſent help muſt come. To them therefore they declar'd, "That "the King's Army had made divers Aſſeſſments upon ſeveral Counties, and "the Subjects were compell'd, by the Soldiers, to pay the ſame; which Army, if it continued, would ſoon ruin, and waſte the whole Kingdom; "and overthrow Religion, Law, and Liberty: That there was no probable "way, under God, for the ſuppreſſing that Army, and other ill affected Perſons, but by the Army raiſed by the Authority of the Parliament; which "Army could not be maintain'd, without great Sums of Money; and for "raiſing ſuch Sums, there could be no Act of Parliament paſſed with his Majeſty's Aſſent, albeit there was great Juſtice that ſuch Money ſhould be "raiſed: That, hitherto, the Army had been, for the moſt part, maintain'd "by the voluntary Contributions of well affected People, who had freely "contributed according to their Abilities: That there were divers others "within the Cities of *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, and the Suburbs, that had not "contributed at all towards the maintenance of that Army, or if they had, yet "not anſwerable to their Eſtates; who notwithſtanding receiv'd benefit, and

" Protection by the ſame Army, as well as any others; and therefore it was " moſt juſt, that they ſhould, as well as others, be charg'd to contribute to " the maintenance thereof.

Upon theſe grounds, and reaſons, it was ordain'd " By the Authority of " Parliament, that *Iſaac Pennington*, the then Lord Mayor of *London*, and " ſome other Aldermen, and Citizens, or any four of them ſhould have " Power and Authority to Nominate, and Appoint, in every Ward, within " the City of *London*, ſix ſuch Perſons as they ſhould think fit, who ſhould " have power to enquire of all who had not contributed upon the Propoſiti- " ons concerning the raiſing of Money, Plate, *&c.* and of ſuch able Men, " who had contributed, yet not according to their Eſtates, and Abilities; " and thoſe Perſons ſo ſubſtituted, or any four of them, within their ſeveral " Wards and Limits, ſhould have power to Aſſeſs all Perſons of Ability who " had not contributed, and alſo thoſe who had contributed, yet not accord- " ing to their Ability, to pay ſuch Sums of Money, according to their Eſtates, " as the Aſſeſſors, or any four of them ſhould think reaſonable, ſo as the " ſame exceeded not the twentieth part of their Eſtates; and to nominate " fit Perſons for the receipt thereof. And if any Perſon ſo Aſſeſs'd ſhould re- " fuſe to pay the Money ſo Aſſeſs'd upon him, it ſhould be lawful for the As- " ſeſſors, and Collectors, to levy that Sum by way of diſtreſs, and ſale of " the goods of Perſons ſo refuſing. And if any Perſon diſtrain'd ſhould make " reſiſtance, it ſhould be Lawful for the Aſſeſſors, and Collectors, to call to " their Aſſiſtance any of the Train'd-bands of *London*, or any other of his Ma- " jeſty's Subjects; who were requir'd to be aiding, and aſſiſting to them. " The Burgeſſes of *Weſtminſter*, and *Southwark*, and a Committee appointed to " that purpoſe, were to do the ſame within thoſe Limits, as the other in " *London*.

And that there might be no ſtratagem to avoid this Tax (ſo ſtrange and unlook'd for) by a ſecond Ordinance in explanation of the former, They ordain'd, " That, if no ſufficient diſtreſs could be found for the payment of " what ſhould be Aſſeſs'd, the Collectors ſhould have power to enquire of any " Sum of Money due to thoſe Perſons ſo Aſſeſs'd from what Perſons ſoever, " for Rents, Goods, or Debts, or for any other thing, or cauſe whatſo- " ever. And the Collectors had power to receive all ſuch Debts, until the full " Value of the Sums ſo Aſſeſs'd, and the Charges in levying or recovering " the ſame ſhould be ſatisfied: and leſt the diſcovery of thoſe Debts might be " difficult, the ſame Collectors had power to compound for any Rents, Goods, " or Debts, due to ſuch Perſons ſo Aſſeſs'd, with any Perſon by whom the " ſame was due, and to give full diſcharges for the Money ſo compounded " for, which ſhould be good and effectual to all purpoſes. And if the Mo- " ney Aſſeſs'd could not be levied by any of theſe ways, then the Perſons As- " ſeſs'd ſhould be impriſon'd in ſuch places of the Kingdom, and for ſo long " time, as the Committee of the Houſe of Commons for examinations ſhould " appoint, and order; and the Families of all ſuch Perſons ſo impri- " ſon'd ſhould no longer remain within the Cities of *London*, or *Weſtminſter*, " the Suburbs, or the Counties adjacent. And all Aſſeſſors, and Collectors, " ſhould have the protection of both Houſes of Parliament, for their Indem- " nity in that Service, and receive allowance for their pains, and charges. Several additional, and explanatory Orders they made for the better execution of this grand one, by every of which ſome clauſe of ſeverity, and monſtrous irregularity was added, and for the complement of all, they order'd that themſelves, the Members of either Houſe, ſhould not be Aſſeſs'd by any but themſelves.

The truth is, the King was not ſorry to ſee this Ordinance, which he thought ſo prodigious, that he ſhould have been a greater gainer by it than they that made it; ſeeing it was ſo palpable, and clear a demonſtration of the Tyranny the People were to live under, that they would eaſily have diſcern'd the change of their condition: yet he took ſo much pains to awaken his Subjects to a due apprehenſion of it, and to apply the thorough conſideration of it to them, that he publiſh'd a Declaration upon that Ordinance; the which, preſenting many things to them, which have ſince fallen out, may be, in this place, fit to be inſerted in the King's own words, which were theſe:

" It

His Majeſty's Declaration upon occaſion of the former Ordinance.

" It would not be believ'd (at leaſt great pains have been taken that it " might not) that the pretended Ordinance of the Militia (the firſt attempt " that ever was, to make a Law by Ordinance, without Our conſent) or " the keeping Us out of *Hull*, and taking Our Arms and Ammunition " from Us, could any way concern the Intereſt, Property, or Liberty of " the Subject: And it was confeſs'd, by that deſperate Declaration it ſelf of " the 26th of *May*, that if they were found guilty of that charge of deſtroying " the Title and Intereſt of Our Subjects to their Lands, and Goods, it were " indeed a very great crime. But it was a ſtrange fatal Lethargy which had " ſeiſed Our good People, and kept them from diſcerning that the Nobility, " Gentry, and Commonalty of *England*, were not only ſtripp'd of their " Pre-eminences, and Privileges, but of their Liberties, and Eſtates, when " Our juſt Rights were denied Us; and that no Subject could from thence- " forth expect to dwell at home, when We were driven from our Houſes, " and Our Towns. It was not poſſible, that a Commiſſion could be " granted to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to raiſe an Army againſt Us, and, for the " ſafety of Our Perſon, and preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom, to " purſue, kill, and ſlay Us, and all who wiſh well to Us, but that, in a " ſhort time, inferior Commanders, by the ſame Authority, would require " Our good Subjects, for the maintenance of the property of the Subject, to " ſupply them with ſuch Sums of Money as they think fit, upon the penal- " ty of being plunder'd with all extremity of War (as the Title of Sir *Ed-* " *ward Bainton*'s Warrant runs againſt Our poor Subjects in *Wilt-ſhire*) and " by ſuch Rules of unlimited Arbitrary Power as are inconſiſtent with the " leaſt pretence or ſhadow of that property, it would ſeem to defend.

" If there could be yet any Underſtanding ſo unskilful and ſupine to be- " lieve, that theſe Diſturbers of the publick Peace do intend any thing but a " general Confuſion, they have brought them a ſad argument to their own " doors to convince them. After this Ordinance and Declaration, it is " not in any ſober Man's power to believe himſelf to be worth any thing, " or that there is ſuch a thing as Law, Liberty, or Property left in *England*, " under the Juriſdiction of theſe Men. And the ſame power that robs them " now of the twentieth part of their Eſtates, hath, by that, but made a " claim, and intituled it ſelf to the other nineteen, when it ſhall be thought " fit to haſten the general Ruin. Sure, if the minds of all Men be not " ſtubbornly prepar'd for Servitude, they will look on this Ordinance, as the " greateſt Prodigy of Arbitrary Power and Tyranny, that any Age hath brought " forth in any Kingdom. Other Grievances (and the greateſt) have been " conceiv'd intolerable, rather by the Logick and Conſequence, than by the " preſſure it ſelf: This at once ſweeps away all that the Wiſdom, and " Juſtice of Parliaments have provided for them. Is their Property in their " Eſtates (ſo carefully look'd to by their Anceſtors, and ſo amply eſtabliſh'd " by Us, againſt any poſſibility of Invaſion from the Crown) which makes " the meaneſt Subject as much a Lord of his own as the greateſt Peer, to be " valued, or conſider'd? Here is a twentieth part of every Man's Eſtate, or " ſo much as four Men will pleaſe to call the twentieth part, taken away at " once, and yet a power left to take a twentieth ſtill of that which remains: " and this to be levied by ſuch circumſtances of Severity, as no Act of Par- " liament ever conſented to.

" Is their Liberty, which diſtinguiſhes Subjects from Slaves, and in which " this Free-born Nation hath the advantage of all *Chriſtendom*, dear to them? " They ſhall not only be impriſon'd in ſuch places of this Kingdom (a lati- " tude of Judgment no Court can challenge to it ſelf in any Caſes) but " for ſo long time, as the Committee of the Houſe of Commons for exami- " nation ſhall appoint and order: The Houſe of Commons it ſelf having " never aſſum'd, or in the leaſt degree pretended to, a power of Judica- " ture; having no more Authority to adminiſter an Oath, the only way to " diſcover and find out the truth of Facts, than to cut off the Heads of any " of Our Subjects: And this Committee being ſo far from being a part of " the Parliament, that it is deſtructive to the Whole, by uſurping to it ſelf " all the power of King, Lords, and Commons. All who know any thing " of Parliaments, know that a Committee of either Houſe ought not, by

" the Law, to publiſh their own reſults; neither are their concluſions of any " Force, without the confirmation of the Houſe, which hath the ſame " power of controlling them, as if the matter had never been debated. But " that any Committee ſhould be ſo contracted (as this of Examination, a " ſtyle no Committee ever bore before this Parliament) as to exclude the " Members of the Houſe, who are equally truſted by their Country, from " being preſent at their Counſels, is ſo monſtrous to the Privileges of Par- " liament, that it is no more in the power of any Man to give up that Free- " dom, than of himſelf to order, that, from that time, the place for which " he Serves ſhall never more ſend a Knight or Burgeſs to the Parliament; " and in truth is no leſs than to alter the whole frame of Government, to " pull up Parliaments, by the Roots; and to commit the Lives, Liberties, " and Eſtates, of all the People of *England* to the Arbitrary power of a few " unqualified Perſons, who ſhall diſpoſe thereof according to their diſcretion, " without account to any Rule or Authority whatſoever.

" Are their Friends, their Wives, and Children, the greateſt bleſſings of " Peace, and Comforts of Life, precious to them? Would their penury, " and impriſonment be leſs grievous by thoſe Cordials? They ſhall be di- " vorced from them, baniſhed, and ſhall no longer remain within the Ci- " ties of *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, the Suburbs and the Counties adjacent, " and how far thoſe adjacent Counties ſhall extend no Man knows. Is there " now any thing left to enjoy but the Liberty to Rebel, and deſtroy one " another? Are the outward bleſſings only of Peace, Property, and Liberty, " taken and forced from our Subjects? Are their Conſciences free and unaſ- " ſaulted by the Violence of theſe Firebrands? Sure the Liberty and Free- " dom of Conſcience cannot ſuffer by theſe Men. Alas! all theſe puniſh- " ments are impoſed upon them, becauſe they will not ſubmit to actions con- " trary to their natural Loyalty, to their Oaths of Allegiance, and Supre- " macy, and to their late voluntary Proteſtation, which obliges them to the " care of Our Perſon, and Our juſt Rights.

" How many Perſons of Honour, Quality, and Reputation, of the ſeve- " ral Counties of *England*, are now impriſon'd, without any objections againſt " them, but ſuſpicion of their Loyalty? How many of the graveſt, and " moſt ſubſtantial Citizens of *London*, by whom the Government and Diſci- " pline of that City was preſerv'd, are diſgraced, robbed, and impriſon'd, " without any Proceſs of Law, or Colour of Accuſation, but of obedience " to the Law, and Government of the Kingdom? Whilſt *Anabaptiſts*, and " *Browniſts*, with the Aſſiſtance of vicious and debauch'd Perſons of deſpe- " rate Fortunes, take upon them to break up and rifle Houſes, as publick " and avow'd Miniſters of a new-invented Authority. How many Godly, " Pious, and Painful Divines, whoſe Lives and Learning have made them of " Reverend Eſtimation, are now ſlander'd with inclination to Popery, diſ- " countenanc'd, and impriſon'd, for diſcharging their Conſciences, inſtructing " the People in the Chriſtian duty of Religion and Obedience? Whilſt Schiſ- " matical, Illiterate, and Scandalous Preachers, fill the Pulpits and Churches " with Blaſphemy, Irreverence, and Treaſon; and incite their Auditory to " nothing but Murder and Rebellion.

" We paſs over the Vulgar Charm, by which they have captivated ſuch " who have been contented to diſpenſe with their Conſciences for the Pre- " ſervation of their Eſtates, and by which they perſwade Men chearfully to " part with this twentieth part of their Eſtates to the good work in hand. " For whoſoever will give what he hath, may eſcape Robbing. They ſhall " be repaid upon the Publick Faith, as all other Monies lent upon the Propo- " ſitions of both Houſes. It may be ſo. But Men muſt be condemn'd " to a ſtrange unthriftineſs, who will lend upon ſuch Security. The Pub- " lick Faith indeed is as great an earneſt as the State can give, and engages " the Honour, Reputation, and Honeſty of the Nation, and is the Act of " Kingdom. 'Tis the Security of the King, the Lords, and Commons which " can never need an Executor, can never die, never be bankrupt; and there- " fore We willingly conſented to it for the indemnity of Our good Subjects " of *Scotland* (who, We hope, will not think the worſe of it for being " ſo often, and ſo cheaply mention'd ſince.) But that a Vote of One, or

" Both

" Both Houſes, ſhould be an Engagement upon the Publick Faith, is as im-
" poſſible as that the Committee of the Houſe of Commons for Examination
" ſhould be the High Court of Parliament.

" And what is, or can be ſaid, with the leaſt ſhadow of Reaſon, to juſti-
" fy theſe Extravagancies? We have not heard lately of the fundamental
" Laws, which uſed to Warrant the Innovations: Theſe need a refuge even
" below thoſe Foundations. They will ſay, they cannot manage their great
" Undertakings without ſuch extraordinary ways. We think ſo too. But
" that proves only, they have undertaken ſomewhat they ought not to under-
" take, not that it is lawful for them, to do any thing that is convenient for
" thoſe ends. We remember'd them long ago, and We cannot do it too of-
" ten, of that excellent Speech of Mr. *Pym*'s. The Law is that which puts a
" difference betwixt Good and Evil, Juſt and Unjuſt: If you take away the
" Law, all things will be in a Confuſion, every Man will become a Law un-
" to himſelf; which, in the deprav'd Condition of Human Nature, muſt
" needs produce many great Enormities. Luſt will become a Law, and En-
" vy will become a Law, Covetouſneſs and Ambition will become Laws;
" and what dictates, what deciſion ſuch Laws will produce, may eaſily be
" diſcern'd. It may indeed by ſad Inſtances over the whole Kingdom.

" But will Poſterity believe, that, in the ſame Parliament, this Doctrine
" was avow'd with that Acclamation, and theſe Inſtances after produced?
" That, in the ſame Parliament, ſuch care was taken that no Man ſhould be
" committed in what caſe ſoever, without the cauſe of his Impriſonment
" expreſs'd; and that all Men ſhould be immediately Bail'd in all caſes Bail-
" able; and, during the ſame Parliament, that Alderman *Pennington*, or in-
" deed any body elſe, but the ſworn Miniſters of Juſtice, ſhould impriſon
" whom they would, and for what they would, and for as long time as they
" would? That the King ſhould be reproached with breach of Privilege, for
" accuſing Sir *John Hotham* of High Treaſon, when with Force of Arms he
" kept him out of *Hull*, and deſpiſed him to his face, becauſe in no caſe a
" Member of either Houſe might be committed, or accuſed without leave
" of that Houſe of which he is a Member; and yet that during the ſame Par-
" liament, the ſame Alderman ſhall commit the Earl of *Middleſex*, a Peer
" of the Realm, and the Lord *Buckhurſt*, a Member of the Houſe of Com-
" mons, to the Counter, without Reprehenſion? That to be a Traytor
" (which is defin'd, and every Man underſtands) ſhould be no Crime,
" and to be call'd Malignant, which no body knows the meaning of, ſhould
" be ground enough for cloſe Impriſonment? That a Law ſhould be made,
" that whoſoever ſhould preſume to take Tonnage and Poundage without an
" Act of Parliament, ſhould incur the penalty of a Præmunire, and in the
" ſame Parliament, that the ſame impoſition ſhould be laid upon Our Sub-
" jects, and taken by Order of both Houſes, without, and againſt Our con-
" ſent? Laſtly, that, in the ſame Parliament, a Law ſhould be made to de-
" clare the Proceedings, and Judgment upon Ship money to be illegal, and
" void; and during that Parliament, that an Order of both Houſes ſhall, up-
" on pretence of neceſſity, enable four Men to take away the twentieth part
" of their Eſtates from all their Neighbours, according to their Diſcretion.

" But Our good Subjects will no longer look upon theſe and the like re-
" ſults, as upon the Counſels and Concluſions of both our Houſes of Parlia-
" ment (though all the World knows, even That Authority can never juſti-
" fie things unwarrantable by the Law) They well know how few of the
" Perſons truſted by them, are truſted at Their Conſultations, of above five
" hundred of the Commons, not fourſcore; and of the Houſe of Peers, not
" a fifth part: That they who are preſent enjoy not the Privilege and Freedom
" of Parliament, but are beſieged by an Army, and awed by the ſame Tu-
" mults which drove Us, and their fellow Members from thence, to conſent
" to what ſome few Seditious, Schiſmatical Perſons among them do pro-
" poſe. Theſe are the Men, who joyning with the *Annabaptiſts* and *Brow-
" niſts* of *London*, firſt changed the Government and Diſcipline of that Ci-
" ty; and now, by the pride and power of that City, would undo the
" Kingdom: Whilſt their Lord Mayor, a Perſon accuſed and known to be guil-
" ty of High-Treaſon, by a new Legiſlative Power of his own, ſuppreſſes and

" reviles the Book of Common Prayer, robs and impriſons whom he thinks fit;
" and, with the Rabble of his Faction, gives Laws to both Houſes of Parlia-
" ment, and tells them, *They will have no Accommodation*: whilſt the Members
" ſent, and intruſted by their Countries, are expell'd the Houſe, or commit-
" ted, for refuſing to take the Oath of Aſſociation to live and die with
" the Earl of *Eſſex*, as very lately Sir *Sydney Mountague*. Theſe are the Men
" who have preſumed to ſend Embaſſadors, and to enter into Treaties with
" Foreign States in their own behalf, having at this Time an Agent of their
" own with the States of *Holland*, to negotiate for them upon private Inſtru-
" ctions: Theſe are the Men who not thinking they have yet brought Miſ-
" chief enough unto this Kingdom, at this Time invite, and ſollicite our Sub-
" jects of *Scotland*, to enter this Land with an Army againſt Us: In a word,
" theſe are the Men who have made this laſt devouring Ordinance to take a-
" way all Law, Liberty, and Property from our People, and have by it real-
" ly acted that upon our People, which with infinite Malice, and no Colour,
" or Ground, was laboured to be infuſed into them, to have been Our Inten-
" tion by the Commiſſions of Array.

" We have done: What Power and Authority theſe Men have, or will
" have, We know not: For Our ſelf, We challenge none ſuch. We look up-
" on the preſſures and inconveniencies our good Subjects bear, even by Us,
" and Our Army (which the Army firſt raiſed by them enforced Us to raiſe
" in our Defence, and their Refuſal of all offers and deſires of Treaty en-
" forceth Us to keep) with very much ſadneſs of Heart. We are ſo far
" from requiring a twentieth part of their Eſtates, though for their own vi-
" ſible preſervation, that, as We have already ſold or pawn'd our own Jew-
" els, and coin'd our own Plate, ſo We are willing to ſell all our own Lands
" and Houſes for their Relief: Yet We do not doubt but Our good Sub-
" jects will ſeriouſly conſider Our Condition, and their own Duties, and think
" our readineſs to protect them with the utmoſt hazard of our Life, deſerves
" their readineſs to aſſiſt Us with ſome part of Their Fortunes; and, whilſt
" other Men give a twentieth part of Their Eſtates to enable them to forfeit
" the other nineteen, that they will extend themſelves to Us in a liberal,
" and free proportion, for the preſervation of the reſt, and for the mainte-
" nance of God's true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the
" Subject, and the Safety, and very Being of Parliaments, and this King-
" dom: For if all theſe ever were, or can be, in manifeſt Danger, 'tis now
" in this preſent Rebellion againſt Us.

" Laſtly, We will and require all Our Loving Subjects, of what degree
" or quality ſoever, as they will Anſwer it to God, to Us, and to poſterity,
" by their Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy; as they would not be look'd
" upon now, and remember'd hereafter, as Betrayers of the Laws and
" Liberties they were born to; that they in no degree ſubmit to this wild
" pretended Ordinance, and that they preſume not to give any Encourage-
" ment, or Aſſiſtance to the Army now in Rebellion againſt Us; which
" if notwithſtanding they ſhall do, they muſt expect from Us the ſevereſt
" puniſhment the Law can inflict, and a perpetual Infamy with all good Men.

Whatſoever every Man could ſay to another againſt that Ordinance, and whatſoever the King ſaid to them all againſt it, it did bring in a great ſupply of Money, and gave them a ſtock of Credit to borrow more; ſo that the Army was again drawn out, though but to Winter Quarters, twenty Miles from *London*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* fix'd his head Quarters at *Windſor*, to ſtreighten the King's new Garriſon at *Reading*, and ſent ſtrong parties ſtill abroad, which got as much ground as, at that Time of the Year, could reaſonably be expected; that is, brought thoſe adjacent Counties entirely under the obedience of the Parliament, which would at leaſt have kept themſelves Neutral: And ſtill perſwaded the People, " That their work
" was even at an end, and that the King's Forces would be ſwallow'd up in a very
" ſhort time: ſo that there was no Day, in which they did not publiſh them-
ſelves to have obtain'd ſome notable Victory, or taken ſome Town, when in truth each party wiſely abſtain'd from diſturbing the other: Yet the bulk of their

ſup-

ſupply came only from the City of *London*. For though their Ordinance extended over the whole Kingdom, they had power to execute it only there; for it was not yet time to try the Affections of all places within their own Verge, with the ſevere exerciſe of that Authority.

And therefore divers of the Wealthieſt and moſt Subſtantial Citizens of *London*, obſerving liberty to be taken by all Men to Petition the Houſes, and the multitude of the Petitioners to carry great Authority with them, and from thoſe Multitudes and that Authority, the brand to have been laid upon the City, "Of being an Enemy to Peace, met together and prepared a very modeſt and moderate *Petition* to the Houſes; in which they deſir'd "Such "*Propoſitions* and Addreſſes might be made by them to his Majeſty, as he "might with his Honour comply with, and thereby a happy *Peace* enſue; which, being ſign'd by many thouſand hands, was ready to be preſented, but was not receiv'd by the Houſe of Commons, for no other reaſon publickly given, but "That it was prepared by a Multitude; and objections were framed againſt the principal *Promoters* of it, upon other pretences of Delinquency; ſo that they were compell'd to forſake the Town, and that Party were, for the preſent, diſcountenanced.

At the ſame time the Inhabitants of *Weſtminſter*, St. *Martins*, and *Covent-Garden*, who always underwent the Imputation, of being well affected to the King, prepared the like Petition, and met with the ſame reproach, being ſtrictly inhibited to approach the Houſes with more than ſix in Company. This unequal kind of proceeding added nothing to their Reputation, and they eaſily diſcern'd thoſe humors, thus obſtructed, would break out the more violently: therefore they again reſumed all profeſſions of a deſire of *Peace* and appointed a Committee to prepare *Propoſitions* to be ſent to the King to that purpoſe; and becauſe they found that would be a work of time (for the reaſons which will be anon remember'd) and that many Arts were to be apply'd to the ſeveral affections, and to wipe out the imagination that the City deſir'd Peace upon any other Terms than they did, and the diſadvantage that accrew'd to them by ſuch imagination, and alſo to ſtay the appetite of thoſe who were importunate to have any advance made towards *Peace*, having procured, by the Activity of their Agents and Miniſters, to have ſuch a Common Counſel choſen for the City, as would undoubtedly comply with their deſires and deſigns, they under-hand directed their own Mayor to engage that Body in ſuch a *Petition* to his Majeſty, as, carrying the ſenſe and reputation of the whole City, might yet ſignify nothing to the prejudice of the two Houſes; and ſo a *Petition* was framed in theſe words:

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty;

The humble Petition of the Mayor Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London.

"Sheweth,

A Petition of the City to the King.

"That the Petitioners, your Majeſty's moſt humble and Loyal Subjects, being much pierced with the long and great diviſions between your Majeſty "and both your Houſes of Parliament, and with the ſad and bloody effects thereof, both here, and in *Ireland*, are yet more deeply wounded by "the miſapprehenſion, which your Majeſty ſeemeth to entertain of the "Love and Loyalty of this your City, as if there were ſome cauſe of fear, or "ſuſpicion of danger to your Royal Perſon if your Majeſty ſhould return "hither; and that this is made the unhappy bar to that bleſſed Reconciliation with your Great and moſt Faithful Council for preventing that deſolation, and deſtruction, which is now moſt apparently imminent to your "Majeſty, and all your Kingdoms.

"For ſatisfaction therefore of your Majeſty, and clearing of the Petitioners Innocency, they moſt humbly declare, as formerly they have done, "That they are no way conſcious of any diſloyalty, but abhor all thoughts "thereof; and that they are reſolv'd to make good their late ſolemn Proteſtation, and ſacred Vow, made to Almighty God; and, with the laſt drop "of their deareſt bloods, to defend, and maintain the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, and, according to the Duty of their Allegiance, your Ma-

" jeſty's Royal Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate (whatſoever is maliciouſly and
" falſely ſuggeſted to your Majeſty to the contrary) as well as the Power,
" and Privileges of Parliament, and the Lawful Rights and Liberty of the
" Subject: And do hereby engage themſelves, their Eſtates, and all they
" have, to their utmoſt Power, to defend and preſerve your Majeſty, and both
" Houſes of Parliament, from all Tumults, Affronts, and Violence, with as
" much Loyalty, Love, and Duty, as ever Citizens expreſs'd towards your
" Majeſty, or any of your Royal Progenitors in their greateſt Glory.

" The Petitioners therefore, upon their bended Knees, do moſt humbly
" beſeech your Majeſty, to return to your Parliament (accompanied with
" your Royal, not Martial Attendance) to the end that Religion, Laws,
" and Liberties, may be ſettled, and ſecured, and whatſoever is amiſs in
" Church, and Common-wealth, Reform'd by their Advice, according to
" the fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom: And that ſuch a Peace may
" thereby be obtain'd, as ſhall be for the Glory of God, the Honour, and
" Happineſs of your Majeſty, and Poſterity, and Welfare of all your Loyal
" Subjects; who (the Petitioners are fully aſſur'd) whatſoever is given out to
" the contrary, do unanimouſly deſire the Peace herein expreſs'd.

Though this Petition was in effect no other than to deſire the King to disband his Army, and to put himſelf into the abſolute diſpoſal of the Parliament, and therefore all Wiſe Men concluded that no great Progreſs would be made by it towards Peace; yet ſo ſotted and infatuated were the People, that, upon this very Petition, they were prevailed with to ſubmit to another Subſcription for Money, and Plate, for the neceſſary Proviſion of Arms, Ammunition, and Pay of their Army, until their disbanding and return home to their ſeveral Counties: that ſo they might not be occaſion'd, through want of Pay, to Plunder, Rob, or Pillage by the way homewards, after their diſcharge and diſmiſſion. So that Men, were perſwaded that this was now the laſt Tax they ſhould be invited to, though every one of thoſe Ordinances, and Declarations loaded the King with ſome new Calumnies, and Reproaches, that it was plain the Authors of them meant not ſo ſoon to put themſelves under his Subjection.

This Petition was about the tenth of *January* 1642, preſented to the King at *Oxford*, by ſome Aldermen, and others of the Common Council, who were for the moſt part of moderate Inclinations. The King conſider'd ſadly what Anſwer to return; for, albeit it appear'd that the Petition had been craftily framed by thoſe who had no thoughts of Peace, and that there was no Argument in it to hope any good from that People; yet there were to vulgar Underſtanding, very ſpecious and popular Profeſſions of great Piety, and Zeal to his Services, and care of his Security; and he was to be very tender in ſeeming to doubt the Inclinations, and Affections of that City, by whoſe ſtrength chiefly the War was ſupported, and that ſtrength procured by corrupting thoſe Affections: And therefore the King was not ſorry to have this opportunity of ſaying ſomewhat, and communicating himſelf freely to the City, being perſwaded, that the ill they did, proceeded rather from miſinformation than any general, or habitual Malice in them. All his Proclamations, Meſſages, and Declarations, had been with ſo much induſtry ſuppreſs'd there, that they were not in truth generally inform'd of the matter of Fact, and the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe; and therefore he was perſwaded that if he enlarged himſelf, in his Anſwer to this Petition, and expoſed thoſe few Men who were moſt notoriouſly Malignant againſt the Government of the Church and State, and who were generally known to be ſo, to the knowledge of the People, that it would at leaſt leſſen their Power and Ability to do hurt; and ſo he reſolv'd to return an Anſwer to them in theſe words:

" That his Majeſty doth not entertain any miſapprehenſion of the Love,
" and Loyalty of his City of *London*; as he hath always expreſs'd a ſingular
" regard and eſteem of the Affections of that City, and is ſtill deſirous to make
" it his chief place of Reſidence, and to continue, and renew many Marks
" of his Favour to it; ſo he believes, much the better and greater part
" of that his City is full of Love, Duty, and Loyalty to his Majeſty; and
" that

" that the Tumults which heretofore forced his Majeſty, for his ſafety, to leave " that place, though they were contriv'd and encourag'd by ſome principal " Members thereof (who are ſince well known, though they are above the " reach of Juſtice) conſiſted more of deſperate Perſons of the Suburbs, and the " neighbouring Towns (who were miſled too by the cunning and malice of " their Seducers) than of the Inhabitants of that City. He looks on his good " Subjects there as Perſons groaning under the ſame burden which doth op- " preſs his Majeſty, and aw'd by the ſame Perſons who begot thoſe Tumults, " and the ſame Army which gave Battle to his Majeſty: And therefore, as " no good Subject can more deſire from his Soul, a compoſure of the gene- " ral Diſtractions; ſo no good Citizen can more deſire the eſtabliſhment of " the particular Peace, and Proſperity of that place, by his Majeſty's acceſs " thither; than his Majeſty himſelf doth.

" But his Majeſty deſires his good Subjects of *London*, ſeriouſly to conſider, " what confidence his Majeſty can have of ſecurity there, whilſt the Laws " of the Land are ſo notoriouſly deſpiſed, and trampled under foot, and the " wholeſome Government of that City, heretofore ſo famous over all the " World, is now ſubmitted to the Arbitrary Power of a few deſperate Per- " ſons, of no reputation, but for malice and diſloyalty to Him; whilſt Arms " are taken up, not only without, but againſt His Conſent, and expreſs Com- " mand, and Collections publickly made, and Contributions avow'd, for " the maintenance of the Army which hath given him Battle, and therein uſed " all poſſible means, Treaſon and Malice could ſuggeſt to them, to have " taken his Life from him, and to have deſtroy'd his Royal Iſſue, whilſt " ſuch of his Majeſty's Subjects, who out of Duty and Affection to his Majeſty, " and Compaſſion of their bleeding Country, have labour'd for Peace, are " reviled, injur'd, and murder'd, even by the Magiſtrates of that City, or by " their Directions: Laſtly what hopes his Majeſty can have of ſafety there, " whilſt Alderman *Pennington*, their pretended Lord-Mayor, the principal " Author of thoſe Calamities which ſo nearly threaten the ruin of that fa- " mous, City *Ven*, *Foulke*, and *Manwairing*, all Perſons notoriouſly guilty of " Schiſm and High Treaſon, commit ſuch Outrages, in Oppreſſing, Rob- " bing, and Impriſoning, according to their diſcretion, all ſuch his Majeſty's " Loving Subjects, whom they are pleaſed to ſuſpect for, but wiſhing well " to his *Ma*jeſty.

" And his *Ma*jeſty would know whether the Petitioners believe, that the " reviling and ſuppreſſing the Book of Common-Prayer, eſtabliſh'd in this " Church ever ſince the Reformation, the diſcountenancing and impriſoning " godly, learned, and painful Preachers, and the cheriſhing and counte- " nancing of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and all manner of Sectaries, be the way to " defend and maintain the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion? That to com- " ply with and aſſiſt Perſons who have actually attempted to kill his Majeſty, " and to allow, and favour Libels, Paſquils, and Seditious Sermons againſt " his Majeſty, be to defend his Royal Perſon, and Honour, according to the " duty of their Allegiance? Whether to impriſon Mens Perſons, and to plunder " their Houſes, becauſe they will not Rebel againſt his Majeſty, nor aſſiſt " thoſe that do; whether to deſtroy their property by taking away the twen- " tieth part of their Eſtates from them, and by the ſame Arbitrary Power, to " refer to four Standers-by, of their own Faction, to judge what that twentieh " part is, be to defend the Lawful Rights, and Liberties of the Subject? And " if they think theſe Actions to be inſtances of either; whether they do not " know the Perſons before named to be guilty of them all? Or whether they " they think it poſſible that Almighty God can bleſs that City, and preſerve " it from deſtruction, whilſt Perſons of ſuch known guilt, and wickedneſs, " are defended, and juſtified among them, againſt the power of that Law, " by which they can only ſubſiſt.

" His Majeſty is ſo far from ſuffering himſelf to be incenſed againſt the " whole City, by the Actions of theſe ill Men, though they have hitherto " been ſo prevalent, as to make the Affections of the reſt of little uſe to him; " and is ſo willing to be with them, and to protect them, that the Trade, " Wealth, and glory thereof, ſo decayed and eclipſed by theſe publick " diſtractions, may again be the Envy of all Foreign Nations, that he

" doth once more graciously offer his free and general Pardon to all the Inhabitants of that his City of *London*, the Suburbs and City of *Westminster* (except " the Persons formerly excepted by his Majesty) if they shall yet return to " their Duty, Loyalty, and Obedience. And if his good Subjects of that " his City of *London* shall first solemnly declare, that they will defend the " known Laws of the Land, and will submit to, and be govern'd by, no other " Rule; if they shall first manifest, by defending themselves, and maintaining their own Rights, Liberties, and Interests, and suppressing any Force " and Violence unlawfully raised against those and his Majesty, their power " to defend, and preserve him from all Tumults, Affronts, and Violence; " Lastly, if they shall apprehend, and commit to safe custody, the Persons of " those four Men who enrich themselves by the spoil, and oppression of his " Loving Subjects, and the ruin of the City, that his Majesty may proceed " against them by the Course of Law, as guilty of High-Treason; his Majesty " will speedily return to them with his Royal, and without his Martial Attendance, and will use his utmost endeavours, that they may hereafter enjoy " all the blessings of Peace and Plenty; and will no longer expect Obedience from them, than he shall, with all the faculties of his Soul, labour in " the preserving, and advancing the true Reform'd Protestant Religion, the " Laws of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subjects, and the just " Privileges of Parliament.

" If, notwithstanding all this, the Art, and Interest of these Men can prevail " so far, that they involve more Men in their guilt, and draw that his City " to sacrifice its present happiness, and future hopes, to their Pride, Fury, " and Malice, his Majesty shall only give them this warning; That whosoever shall henceforward take up Arms without His consent, contribute " any Money, or Plate, upon what pretence of Authority soever, for maintenance of the Army under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, or any other " Army in Rebellion against him, or shall pay Tonnage and Poundage, till " the same shall be settled by Act of Parliament, every such Person must expect the severest punishment the Law can inflict; and, in the mean time, " his Majesty shall seise upon any part of his Estate within his power, for " the Relief and Support of Him and his Army, raised and maintained " for the defence of his Person, the Laws, and this his Kingdom: And since " he denies to his Majesty the duty and benefit of his Subjection, by giving " Assistance to Rebels, which, by the known Laws of the Land, is High-Treason; his Majesty shall likewise deny Him the benefit of his Protection, " and shall not only signify to all his Foreign Ministers, that such Person " shall receive no advantage by being his Subject, but shall, by all other ways " and means, proceed against him as a publick Enemy to his Majesty, and this " Kingdom.

" Yet his Majesty hopes, and doubts not, but his good Subjects of *London* " will call to mind the Acts of their Predecessors, the Duty, Affection, Loyalty, and Merit towards their Princes, the Renown they have had with " all Posterity for, and the blessing of Heaven which always accompanied, " those Virtues; and will consider the perpetual scorn and infamy which " unavoidably will follow Them and their Children, if infinitely the meaner " part in Quality, and much the lesser part in Number, shall be able to " alter the Government, so admirably establish'd, destroy the Trade so excellently settled, and to waste the Wealth so industriously gotten, of that " flourishing City: And they will easily gather up the Courage and Resolution to joyn with his Majesty in defence of that Religion, Law, and Liberty, " which hitherto hath, and only can, make Themselves, his Majesty, and his " Kingdom, happy.

" For concurring with the Advice of his two Houses of Parliament, which, " with reference to the Common-wealth, may be as well at this distance, as " by being at *White-Hall*, his Majesty doubts not, but his good Subjects " of *London* well know, how far, beyond the example of his Predecessors, " his Majesty hath concurr'd with their Advice, in passing of such Laws, " by which he willingly parted with many of his known Rights, for the benefit of his Subjects; which the fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom did not oblige him to consent unto; and hath used all possible

" means

" means to beget a right underſtanding between them: And will therefore ap-
" ply themſelves to thoſe who by making Juſt, Peaceable, and Honourable
" Propoſitions to his Majeſty can only beget that Concurrence.

This Anſwer the King ſent by a Servant of his own, ſuppoſing, that if he ſent by the Meſſengers who brought the Petition, it might either be ſuppreſs'd, or not communicated in that manner as He deſired. Beſides, the Meſſengers themſelves, after the King had cauſed it to be read to them, were very well contented that it ſhould be deliver'd by other Hands than theirs. So they promiſed his Majeſty, that they would procure a Common Hall (which is the moſt general Aſſembly of the City, the meaneſt Perſon being admitted) to be call'd aſſoon as they return'd; where his Meſſenger might deliver it: And having been graciouſly uſed by the King and the Court, after two days ſtay, they return'd from *Oxford* together with the Gentleman ſent by his Majeſty. When they came to *London*, the contents of the Anſwer were quickly known, though not deliver'd; and the two Houſes made an Order, " That the Lord
" Mayor ſhould not call a Common Hall, till he receiv'd farther Direction
" from Them. So that, though the Gentleman, ſent by the King, often ſollicited the Lord Mayor, " That he would call a Common Hall, at which he
" was to deliver a Meſſage from the King, many days paſſed before any Orders were iſſued to that purpoſe.

At laſt, a day was appointed, and, at the ſame time, a Committee of the Lords and Commons were ſent to be preſent, to ſee that it might not have ſuch a Reception, as might render their Intereſt ſuſpected. As ſoon as the Gentleman ſent by the King had read his Majeſty's Anſwer, the Earl of *Mancheſter* told them, " Of the high value the Parliament had of the City; that they had
" conſider'd of thoſe wounding Aſperſions, which, in that Anſwer, were caſt
" upon Perſons of ſuch eminent Affection in their City, and upon others, of
" great Fidelity and Truſt among them: That they own'd themſelves to be
" equally intereſted in all things that concern'd them, and would ſtand by
" them with their Lives, and Fortunes, for the Preſervation of the City in
" general, and thoſe Perſons in particular who had been Faithful, and deſerv'd
" well both of the Parliament, and Kingdom. And they would purſue all
" means with their Lives and Fortunes, that might be for the preſervation
" of that City, and for the procuring of Safety, Happineſs, and Peace, to
" the whole Kingdom.

" Aſſoon as his Lordſhip had finiſh'd his Oration, which was receiv'd with marvellous Acclamations, Mr. *Pym* enlarged himſelf, in a Speech then printed, upon the ſeveral parts of the King's Anſwer (for it was ſo long before it was deliver'd, that the printed Copies from *Oxford*, which were printed there after the Meſſenger was gone ſo long that all Men concluded it was deliver'd, were publick and in all Hands) and told them the Senſe of the two Houſes of Parliament, upon every part of it. Among the reſt, " That the
" demanding the Lord Mayor, and the other three Citizens, was againſt the
" Privilege of Parliament (two of them being Members of the Houſe of
" Commons) and moſt diſhonourable to the City, that the Lord Mayor of
" *London* ſhould be ſubjected to the violence of every baſe Fellow; and that
" they ſhould be commanded to deliver up their chief Magiſtrates, and ſuch
" eminent *Me*mbers of the City, to the King's pleaſure, only becauſe they
" had done their Duty, in adhering to the Parliament, for the Defence of
" the Kingdom.

He told them, " That, to the Objection that the Government of the
" City had been manag'd by a few deſperate Perſons, and that they did ex-
" erciſe an Arbitrary Power, the two Houſes gave them this Teſtimony, that
" they had, in moſt of the great Occaſions concerning the Government of
" the City, follow'd their Direction: and that Direction which the Parlia-
" ment had given, They had executed; and they muſt, and would maintain
" to be ſuch, as ſtood with their honour in giving it, and the others truſt,
" and fidelity in performing it.

To the Objection, " That the Property of the Subject was deſtroy'd, by
" taking away the twentieth part by an Arbitrary Power, he told them,
" that That Ordinance did not require a twentieth part, but did limit the

" Aſſeſſors that they ſhould not go beyond a twentieth part, and that was done " by a Power deriv'd from both Houſes of Parliament; the Lords, who had " an hereditary Intereſt in making of Laws in this Kingdom; and the Com- " mons, who were elected and choſen to repreſent the whole Body of the Com- " monality, and truſted, for the good of the People, when ever they ſee cauſe, " to charge the Kingdom. He ſaid farther, " That the ſame Law which " did enable the two Houſes of Parliament to raiſe Forces to maintain, and " defend the ſafety of Religion, and of the Kingdom, did likewiſe enable " them to require contributions whereby thoſe Forces might be maintain'd; " or elſe it were a vain power to raiſe Forces, if they had not a power likewiſe " to maintain them in that Service for which they were raiſed. He obſerv'd, " that it was reported, that the King declar'd he would ſend ſome Meſſengers " to obſerve their carriage in the City, and what was done among them: " the Parliment had juſt cauſe to doubt, that thoſe would be Meſſengers of " ſedition, and trouble, and therefore deſir'd them to obſerve and find them " out, that they might know who they were. He concluded with " Com- " mending unto their conſideration, the great danger that they were all in; " and that the danger could not be kept off, in all likelyhood, but by the " Army that was then on foot; and aſſur'd them, " That the Lords and " Commons were ſo far from being frighted by any thing, in that Anſwer, " that they had for Themſelves, and the Members of both Houſes, declar'd " a further contribution, towards the maintenance of that Army; and could " not but hope, and deſire, that the City, which had ſhew'd ſo much good " affection in the former neceſſities of the State, would be ſenſible of their " own, and of the condition of the whole Kingdom, and add to that which " they had already done, ſome farther Contribution, whereby that Army " might be maintain'd for all their ſafeties.

Whether the ſolemnity for the reception of this Meſſage after it was known what the contents were, and the bringing ſo great a Guard of arm'd Men to the place where it was to be deliver'd, frighted the well affected Party of the City from coming thither, or frighted them, when they were there, from expreſſing thoſe Affections, I know not. But it is certain, theſe Speeches and Diſcourſes were receiv'd, and entertain'd with all imaginable applauſe, and that meeting was concluded with a general Acclamation, " That they would " live and die with the Houſes, and other expreſſions of that nature. So that all thoughts of farther Addreſs, or complyance with his Majeſty from the City, were ſo entirely and abſolutely laid aſide, that the Licence of Seditious and Treaſonable diſcourſes daily encreas'd; inſomuch, that complaint being made to the then Lord Mayor, that a certain deſperate Perſon, had ſaid, " That he hop'd ſhortly to waſh his hands in the King's blood, that Miniſter of Juſtice refus'd to ſend any Warrant, or to give any direction to any Officer, for the apprehenſion of him. This was the ſucceſs of that Petition, and Anſwer.

The Houſes now began to ſpeak Themſelves, of ſending Propoſitions to the King for *Peace*. For, how great ſoever the complance ſeem'd with them from the City, or the Country, they well enough diſcern'd that complyance was generally upon the hope and expectation that they would procure a ſpeedy *Peace*. And they had now procured That to paſs both Houſes, which they only wanted, the Bill for the extirpation of Epiſcopacy: in the doing whereof, they uſed marvellous Art, and Induſtry. They who every day did ſomewhat, how little ſoever then taken notice of, to make *Peace* impoſſible, and reſolv'd, that no *Peace* could be ſafe for Them, but ſuch a one as would be unſafe for the King, well enough knew that they ſhould never be able to hold up, and carry on the War againſt the King in *England*, but by the help of an Army out of *Scotland*; which they had no hope to procure but upon the Stock of the Alteration of the Government of the Church; to which that Nation was violently inclin'd. But to compaſs That, was very difficult; very much the Major part, even of thoſe Members who ſtill continued with them, being cordially Affected to the Government eſtabliſh'd, at leaſt not Affected to any Other. To thoſe therefore, who were ſo far engaged as to deſire to have it in Their power to compel the King to conſent to ſuch a *Peace* as they deſired, they repreſented, " The conſequence of getting the *Scots* to declare for " them;

" them; which would more terrify the King, and keep the Northern parts " in Subjection more, than any Forces, they ſhould be able to raiſe: That it " was impoſſible to draw ſuch a Declaration from them, without firſt declaring " themſelves that they would alter the Government by the Biſhops; which " that People pretended to believe the only juſtifiable ground to take up Arms. To others, which was indeed their publick, and avow'd, and current Argument in Debates, they alledg'd, " That they could not expect that any Peace would " be effected by the King's free concurrence to any Meſſage they could ſend " to him, but that it muſt ariſe, and reſult from a Treaty between them, up- " on ſuch Propoſitions as either Party would make upon their own Intereſt: " That it could not be expected that ſuch Propoſitions would be made on ei- " their ſide, as would be pertinaciouſly inſiſted on by them who made them; " it being the courſe, in all Affairs of this Nature, to ask more than was ex- " pected to be conſented to; that it concern'd Them as much, to make de- " mands of great Moment to the King, from which they meant to recede, " as others upon which they muſt inſiſt: That all Men knew the Inclination " and Affection the King had to the Church, and therefore if he ſaw That " in Danger, he would reſcue it at any price, and very probably their depar- " ting from their Propoſition concerning the Church, might be the moſt " powerful Argument to the King, to gratify them with the Militia.

By theſe Artifices, and eſpecially by concluding obſtinately, " That no " Propoſitions ſhould be ſent to the King for Peace, till the Bill for Extirpa- " tion of Biſhops was paſs'd the Lords Houſe (where it would never other- wiſe have been ſubmitted to) they had their deſire, and, about the end of *January*, they ſent the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Holland*, with eight Members of the Commons to *Oxford*, with their Petition and Propoſitions. And here I cannot omit one Stratagem, which, at that time, occaſion'd ſome Mirth. The Common People of *London* were perſwaded, " That there was ſo great Scarcity of Victual and Proviſions at *Oxford*, and " in all the King's Quarters, that they were not without danger of ſtarving; " and that, if all other ways fail'd, That alone would in a ſhort time bring " the King to them. To make good this Report, Proviſions of all kinds, even to Bread, were ſent in Waggons, and on Horſes from *London* to *Oxford*, for the ſupply of this Committee: When without doubt, they found as great plenty of all things where they came, as they had left behind them. The Petition preſented to his Majeſty with the Propoſitions were in theſe Words, at the preſentation, read by the Earl of *Northumberland*.

Commiſſioners ſent to the King with Propoſitions of Peace about the end of January.

The humble deſires, and Propoſitions of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, tender'd to his Majeſty.

" We your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful Subjects, the Lords and " Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, having in our thoughts the glory of " God, your Majeſty's honour, and the proſperity of your People, and be- " ing moſt grievouſly afflicted with the preſſing Miſeries and Calamities, " which have overwhelm'd your two Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, ſince " your Majeſty hath, by the perſwaſion of evil Counſellors, withdrawn your " ſelf from the Parliament, raiſed an Army againſt it, and, by force thereof, " protected Delinquents from the Juſtice of it, conſtraining Us to take Arms " for the Defence of Our Religion, Laws, Liberties, Privileges of Parlia- " ment, and for the ſitting of the Parliament in Safety; which fears and " dangers are continued, and encreaſed, by the raiſing, drawing together, " and arming of great Numbers of *Papiſts*, under the Command of the Earl " of *New-Caſtle*; likewiſe by making the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*, and other " known *Papiſts*, Commanders of great Forces, whereby many grievous Op- " preſſions, Rapines, and Cruelties have been, and are daily exerciſed upon " the Perſons and Eſtates of your People, much innocent Blood hath been " ſpilt, and the *Papiſts* have attain'd means of attempting, with hopes of ef- " fecting their miſchievous deſigns of rooting out the Reform'd Religion, " and deſtroying the profeſſors thereof: In the tender Senſe, and Compaſſi- " on of theſe Evils, under which your People, and Kingdom lie (according " to the Duty, which We owe to God, your Majeſty, and the Kingdom, for

" which we are truſted) do moſt earneſtly deſire, that an end may be put to " theſe great diſtempers and diſtractions, for the preventing of that deſola- " tion which doth threaten all your Majeſty's Dominions. And as We have " render'd, and ſtill are ready to render to your Majeſty that Subjection, " Obedience, and Service, which We owe unto you, ſo We moſt humbly " beſeech your Majeſty, to remove the cauſes of this War, and to vouch- " ſafe Us that Peace and Protection, which We, and Our Anceſtors have " formerly enjoyed under your Majeſty, and your Royal Predeceſſors, and " graciouſly to accept, and grant theſe Our moſt humble Deſires and Pro- " poſitions:

1. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to disband your Armies, as We " likewiſe ſhall be ready to disband all thoſe Forces, which We have raiſed; " and that you will be pleas'd to return to your Parliament.

2. " That you will leave Delinquents to a Legal Tryal, and Judgment " of Parliament.

3. " That the Papiſts may not only be disbanded, but diſarm'd according " to Law.

4. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give your Royal Aſſent unto " the Bill for taking away the ſuperſtitious Innovations; to the Bill for the " utter aboliſhing, and taking away of all Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their " Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, Deans, Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, " Arch-Deacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters, Chancellors, " Treaſurers, Sub-Treaſurers, Succentors, and Sachriſts, and all Vicars- " Choral, Choriſters, old Vicars, and new Vicars of any Cathedral or Col- " legiate Church, and all other their under-Officers, out of the Church of " *England*: to the Bill againſt ſcandalous Miniſters; to the Bill againſt Plu- " ralities; and to the Bill for conſultation to be had with Godly, Religious, " and Learned Divines. That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to promiſe to " paſs ſuch other good Bills for ſettling of Church Government, as upon " Conſultation with the Aſſembly of the ſaid Divines, ſhall be reſolv'd on " by both Houſes of Parliament, and by them preſented to your Majeſty.

5. " That your Majeſty having expreſt, in your Anſwer to the Nineteen " Propoſitions of both Houſes of Parliament, an hearty Affection and Inten- " tion for the rooting out of Popery out of this Kingdom; and that, if both " the Houſes of Parliament can yet find a more effectual courſe to diſable " Jeſuits, *Prieſts*, and *Popiſh* Recuſants, from diſturbing the State, or elu- " ding the Laws, that you would willingly give your conſent unto it; that you " would be graciouſly pleas'd, for the better Diſcovery, and ſpeedier Con- " viction of Recuſants. that an Oath may be eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parlia- " ment, to be adminiſter'd in ſuch manner as by both Houſes ſhall be a- " greed on; wherein they ſhall abjure and renounce the *Pope's* Supremacy, " the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, *Purgatory*, Worſhipping of the Conſe- " crated Hoſt, Crucifixes and Images: and the refuſing the ſaid Oath, being " tender'd in ſuch manner as ſhall be appointed by Act of *Parliament*, ſhall " be a ſufficient Conviction in Law of Recuſancy. And that your Majeſty " will be graciouſly pleas'd to give your Royal Aſſent unto a Bill, for the E- " ducation of the Children of *Papiſts* by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religi- " on. That for the more effectual execution of the Laws againſt *Popiſh* Re- " cuſants, your Majeſty will be pleaſed to conſent to a Bill, for the true Le- " vying of the *Penalties* againſt them; and that the ſame Penalties may be " levied, and diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as both Houſes of *Parliament* ſhall " agree on, ſo as your Majeſty be at no loſs; and likewiſe to a Bill, where- " by the practice of *Papiſts* againſt the State may be prevented, and the Law " againſt them duly executed.

6. " That the Earl of *Briſtol* may be remov'd from your Majeſty's Councils; " and that both He, and the Lord *Herbert*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Worceſter*, " may likewiſe be reſtrain'd from coming within the Verge of the Court; and " that they may not bear any Office, or have any Employments concerning " State or Common-wealth.

7. " That

7. " That your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed, by Act of Parliament, " to ſettle the Militia both by Sea and Land, and for the Forts and Ports of " the Kingdom, in ſuch a manner as ſhall be agreed on by both Houſes.

8. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed, by your Letters Patents, to make " Sir *John Brampſton*, Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's-Bench; *William* " *Lenthall* Eſquire, the now Speaker of the Common's Houſe, Maſter of " the Rolls; and to continue the Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*, Chief Juſtice of " the Court of Common's Pleas; and likewiſe to make Mr. Serjeant *Wild*, " Chief Baron of your Court of Exchequer; and that Mr. Juſtice *Bacon* may " be continued; and Mr. Serjeant *Rolls*, and Mr. Serjeant *Atkins*, made Juſtices " of the King's Bench: That Mr. Juſtice *Reeves*, and Mr. Juſtice *Foſter*, may be " continued; and Mr. Serjeant *Pheaſant*, made one of the Juſtices of your " Court of Common Pleas; That Mr. Serjeant *Creſwell*, Mr *Samuel Brown*, " and Mr. *John Puleſton*, may be Barons of the Exchequer; and that all theſe, " and all the Judges of the ſame Courts, for the time to come, may hold their " places by Letters Patents under the Great Seal, *Quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*: And " that the ſeveral Perſons not before named, that do hold any of theſe places " before mention'd, may be remov'd.

9. " That all ſuch Perſons, as have been put out of the Commiſſions of Peace, " or *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or from being *Cuſtodes Rotulorum*, ſince the firſt day of " *April* 1642 (other than ſuch as were put out by deſire of both or either of " the Houſes of Parliament) may again be put into thoſe Commiſſions, and " Offices; and that ſuch Perſons may be put out of thoſe Commiſſions, and " Offices, as ſhall be excepted againſt by both Houſes of Parliament.

10. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to paſs the Bill now preſented to " your Majeſty, to vindicate and ſecure the Privileges of Parliament, from " the ill conſequence of the late Precedent in the Charge and proceeding a- " gainſt the Lord *Kimbolton*, now Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the five Members of " the Houſe of Commons.

11. " That your Royal Aſſent may be given unto ſuch Acts as ſhall be ad- " viſed by both Houſes of Parliament, for the ſatisfying and paying the " Debts, and Damages, wherein the two Houſes of Parliament have engaged " the Publick Faith of the Kingdom.

12. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed, according to a gracious Anſwer " heretofore receiv'd from you, to enter into a more ſtrict Alliance with the " States of the united Provinces, and other Neighbour Princes, and States of " the Proteſtant Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof againſt " all deſigns and attempts of the Popiſh, and Jeſuitical Faction, to ſubvert " and ſuppreſs it; whereby your Subjects may hope to be free from the miſ- " chiefs which this Kingdom hath endured, through the Power which ſome " of that Party have had in your Counſels; and will be much encouraged, " in a Parliamentary way, for your Aid and Aſſiſtance in reſtoring your Roy- " al Siſter, and the Prince Elector, to thoſe Dignities and Dominions which " belong unto them; and relieving the other Proteſtant Princes who have " ſuffer'd in the ſame Cauſe.

13. " That in the general Pardon which your *Majeſty* hath been pleaſed " to offer to your Subjects, all Offences and *Miſdemeanours* committed before " the 10th. of *January* 1641, which hath been or ſhall be queſtion'd, or pro- " ceeded againſt in Parliament, upon Complaint in the Houſe of Commons, " before the 10th of *January* 1643, ſhall be excepted; which Offences, and " *Miſdemeanours* ſhall nevertheleſs be taken, and adjudged to be fully diſ- " charged againſt all other inferior Courts. That likewiſe there ſhall be " an exception of all Offences committed by any Perſon or Perſons, which " hath, or have had, any hand or practice in the Rebellion of *Ireland*; which " hath, or have given, any Counſel, Aſſiſtance, or Encouragement to the " Rebels there, for the maintenance of that Rebellion; as likewiſe an excep- " tion of *William* Earl of *New-Caſtle*, and *George* Lord *Digby*.

14. " That your *Majeſty* will be pleaſed to reſtore ſuch *Members* of ei- " ther Houſe of Parliament to their ſeveral places of Services, and Employ- " ment, out of which they have been put ſince the beginning of this Par- " liament; that they may receive ſatisfaction, and reparation for thoſe places,

" and for the profits which they have loſt by ſuch Removals, upon the Petition " of both Houſes of Parliament: And that all others may be reſtored to their " Offices, and Employments, who have been put out of the ſame upon any " diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt them, for any Aſſiſtance given to both Houſes " of Parliament, or Obeying their Commands, or forbearing to leave their " Attendance upon the Parliament without Licence; or for any other Occa- " ſion, ariſing from theſe unhappy differences betwixt your Majeſty and " both Houſes of Parliament, upon the like Petition of both Houſes.

" Theſe things being granted, and perform'd, as it hath always been our " hearty Prayer, ſo ſhall We be enabled to make it our hopeful Endeavour, " that your Majeſty, and your People, may enjoy the bleſſings of Peace, " Truth, and Juſtice; the Royalty and Greatneſs of your Throne may be " ſupported by the Loyal, and Bountiful Affections of your People; Their " Liberties, and Privileges, maintain'd by your Majeſty's Protection, and " Juſtice; and this publick Honour, and Happineſs of your Majeſty, and all " your Dominions, communicated to other Churches, and States of your " Alliance, and deriv'd to your Royal Poſterity, and the future Generations " of this Kingdom for ever.

They who brought this Petition and Propoſitions, ſpake to their Friends at *Oxford* with all Freedom of the Perſons from whom they came; inveighed againſt " Their Tyranny, and Unreaſonableneſs, and eſpecially againſt the Propoſitions themſelves had brought; but poſitively declar'd, " That if " the King would vouchſafe ſo gracious an Anſwer (which They confeſs'd " they had no Reaſon to expect) as might engage the two Houſes in a " Treaty, it would not be then in the power of the Violent Party to deny " whatſoever his Majeſty could reaſonably deſire. However (though the King expected little from thoſe private undertakings, well knowing, that they who wiſh'd beſt, were of leaſt power, and that the greateſt among them, aſſoon as they were but ſuſpected to incline to Peace, immediately loſt their Reputation) his Majeſty, within two days, graciouſly diſmiſſed thoſe Meſſengers with this Anſwer.

" If his Majeſty had not given up all the Faculties of his Soul to an ear- " neſt endeavour of Peace, and Reconciliation with his People; or if he " would ſuffer himſelf, by any provocation, to be drawn to a ſharpneſs " of Language, at a time when there ſeems ſomewhat like an Overture of " Accommodation, he could not but reſent the heavy Charges upon him in " the Preamble of theſe propoſitions; would not ſuffer himſelf to be re- " proach'd, with protecting of Delinquents, by force, from Juſtice (his Ma- " jeſty's deſire having always been, that all Men ſhould be try'd by the known " Law, and having been refuſed it) with raiſing an Army againſt his Par- " liament, and to be told that Arms have been taken up againſt Him for the " Defence of Religion, Laws, Liberties, and privileges of Parliament, and " for the ſitting of the Parliament in Safety, with many other particulars in " that Preamble ſo often and ſo fully anſwer'd by his Majeſty, without re- " membring the World, of the Time, and Circumſtances of raiſing thoſe " Arms againſt Him; when his Majeſty was ſo far from being in a Conditi- " on to invade other Men's Right, that he was not able to maintain, and de- " fend his own from Violence; and without telling his good Subjects, that " their Religion (the true Proteſtant Religion, in which his Majeſty was " born, hath faithfully liv'd, and to which He will die a willing Sacrifice) " their Laws, Liberties, Privileges, and Safety of Parliament, were ſo am- " ply ſettled, and eſtabliſh'd, or offer'd to be ſo by his Majeſty, before any " Army was raiſed againſt Him, and long before any raiſed by Him for " his Defence, that if nothing had been deſir'd but that Peace and Protecti- " on which his Subjects, and their Anceſtors, had in the beſt times enjoy'd, " under his Majeſty, or his Royal Predeceſſors, this miſunderſtanding and " diſtance between his Majeſty and his People, and this general Miſery " and Diſtraction upon the Face of the whole Kingdom, had not been now " the Diſcourſe of all *Chriſtendom*.

" But

" But his Majeſty will forbear any expreſſions of bitterneſs, or of a ſenſe " of his own Sufferings, that, if it be poſſible, the Memory thereof may be " loſt to the World. And therefore, though many of the Propoſitions, pre- " ſented to his Majeſty by both Houſes, appear to him very derogatory from " and deſtructive to, his juſt Power and Prerogative, and no way beneficial " to his Subjects, few of them being already due to them by the Laws eſta- " bliſh'd (and how Unparliamentary it is by Arms to require new Laws, all " the World may judge) yet (becauſe theſe may be waved, or mollified, and " many things, that are now dark and doubtful in them, clear'd and explain'd " upon debate) his Majeſty is pleaſed, ſuch is his ſenſe of the Miſeries, this " Kingdom ſuffers by this unnatural War, and his earneſt deſire to remove " them by an happy Peace, that a ſpeedy Time and Place be agreed upon, for " the meeting of ſuch Perſons as his Majeſty and both Houſes ſhall ap- " point to diſcuſs theſe Propoſitions, and ſuch others here following as his " Majeſty doth propoſe to them.

1. " That his Majeſty's own Revenue, Magazine, Towns, Forts, and " Ships, which have been taken or kept from him by force, be forthwith re- " ſtor'd unto him.

2. " That whatſoever hath been done, or publiſh'd, contrary to the known " Laws of the Land, or derogatory to his Majeſty's Legal, and known Pow- " er and Rights, be renounced, and recalled, that no ſeed may remain for " the like to ſpring out of for the future.

3. " That whatſoever illegal Power hath been claimed, and exerciſed by, " or over his Subjects, as impriſoning their Perſons without Law, ſtopping " their *Habeas Corpus*'s, and impoſing upon their Eſtates without Act of Par- " liament, *&c.* Either by both, or either Houſe, or any Committee of both, " or either, or by any Perſons appointed by any of them, be diſclaimed; and " all ſuch Perſons ſo committed, forthwith diſcharged.

4. " That as his Majeſty will readily conſent (having done ſo heretofore) " to the execution of all Laws already made, and to any good Acts to be " made for the ſuppreſſing of Popery, and for the firm ſettling of the Pro- " teſtant Religion now eſtabliſh'd by Law; ſo he deſires, that a good Bill " may be framed, for the better preſerving the Book of Common Prayer " from the ſcorn and violence of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other Sectaries, " with ſuch Clauſes for the eaſe of tender Conſciences, as his Majeſty hath " formerly offer'd.

5. " That all ſuch Perſons, as, upon the Treaty, ſhall be excepted out " of the general Pardon, ſhall be try'd *per pares*, according to the uſual " Courſe, and known Law of the Land; and that it be left to that, either " to acquit, or condemn them.

6. " And to the intent this Treaty may not ſuffer interruption, by any " intervening Accidents, that a Ceſſation of Arms, and free Trade for all " his Majeſty's Subjects, may be firſt agreed upon.

" This offer and deſire of his Majeſty, he hopes, will be ſo cheerfully en- " tertain'd, that a ſpeedy, and bleſſed Peace may be accompliſh'd. If it ſhall " be rejected, or, by inſiſting upon unreaſonable circumſtances, be made im- " poſſible (which, he hopes, God in his Mercy to this Nation will not ſuffer) " the guilt of the Blood which will be ſhed, and the deſolation which muſt " follow, will lie upon the Heads of the Refuſers. However, his Majeſty " is reſolv'd through what Accidents ſoever he ſhall be compell'd to recover " his Rights, and with what proſperous ſucceſs ſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to " bleſs him, that by his earneſt, conſtant Endeavours to propagate and pro- " mote the true Proteſtant Religion, and by his governing according to the " known Laws of the Land, and upholding the juſt Privileges of Parliament, " according to his frequent proteſtations made before Almighty God (which " He will always inviolably obſerve) the World ſhall ſee, that he hath un- " dergone all theſe difficulties, and hazards, for the defence and maintenance " of thoſe, the zealous preſervation of which his Majeſty well knows, is the " only foundation and means for the true happineſs of Him, and his People.

Whilſt theſe Overtures and Diſcourſes were made of Peace, the Kingdom, in all parts, felt the ſad effects of War; neither the King, nor the Parliament, being ſlack in purſuing the Buſineſs by the Sword; and the Perſons of Honour and Quality in moſt Counties more vigorouſly declaring themſelves than they had done. Among the reſt, upon the King's retreat from *Brentford*, whilſt he yet ſtaid about *Reading*, ſome of the well affected Gentry of *Suſſex*, upon the Confidence of their Intereſts in thoſe parts, offer'd the King to raiſe Forces there; and preſumed they ſhould be able to ſeiſe ſome place of Security and Importance for their Retreat, if the Enemy ſhould attempt upon them; which at that time of the year was not conceiv'd could be with any notable Succeſs. And being arm'd with ſuch Authority, and Commiſſions, as they deſired, and ſeconded with a good Number of conſiderable Officers, their firſt ſucceſs was anſwerable to their own hopes, and they poſſeſs'd themſelves, partly by Force, and partly by Stratagem, of the City of *Chicheſter*; which, being encompaſs'd with a very good old Wall, was very eaſy to be ſo fortified, that, with the Winter, they might well think themſelves ſecure againſt any forcible Attempt could be made upon them. And no doubt they had been ſo, if the Common People of the County (out of which the Soldiers were to riſe) had been ſo well affected as was believ'd.

Chicheſter *poſſeſs'd by the King's Forces:*

But before they could draw in Men or Proviſions into the City, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſent Sir *William Waller* with Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, to infeſt them; who, with the Aſſiſtance of the Country, quickly ſhut them up within their Walls. They within the Town were eaſily reduced to ſtreights they could not contend with; for, beſides the Enemy without, againſt which the Walls and the Weather ſeem'd of equal power, and the ſmall ſtock of Proviſions, which, in ſo ſhort time, they were able to draw thither, they had cauſe to apprehend their Friends would be weary before their Enemies; and that the Citizens would not prove a truſty part of the Garriſon; and their Number of Common Men was ſo ſmall, that the conſtant Duty was perform'd by the Officers and Gentlemen of Quality, who were abſolutely tir'd out. So that after a week or ten days Siege, they were compell'd, upon no better Articles than Quarter, to deliver that City, which could hardly have been taken from them; by which (with the loſs of Fifty or Threeſcore Gentlemen of Quality, and Officers of Name, whoſe very good Reputation made the loſs appear a matter of abſolute, and unavoidable neceſſity) the King found that he was not to venture to plant Garriſons ſo far from his own Quarters, where he could not, in reaſonable time, adminiſter ſuccour or ſupply.

But ſurrender'd to Sir W. Waller.

This Triumph of the Enemy was ſhortly after abated, and the loſs on the King's part repair'd, by the winning of *Cirenceſter*, a good Town in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, which the Rebels were fortifying, and had in it a very ſtrong Garriſon; and, being upon the edge of *Wilt-ſhire*, *Berk-ſhire*, and *Oxford-ſhire*, ſhrewdly ſtreighten'd the King's Quarters. The Marquis of *Hertford* bringing with him, out of *Wales*, near two thouſand Foot, and one Regiment of Horſe, intended, with the Aſſiſtance of Prince *Rupert*, who appointed to joyn with him with ſome Regiments from *Oxford*, to take in that Town: But by the extreme foulneſs of the ways, the great fall of Rain at that time (being about *Chriſtmas*) and ſome miſtake in Orders between the two Generals, that Deſign was diſappointed: And the Alarm gave the Enemy ſo much the more Courage, and Diligence to provide for an Aſſault.

In the beginning of *February*, Prince *Rupert* went upon the ſame Deſign with better Succeſs; and at one and the ſame Time, ſtorming the Town in ſeveral places, their Works being not yet finiſh'd, though pertinaciouſly enough defended, enter'd their Line with ſome Loſs of Men, and many hurt, but with a far greater of the Enemy; for there were not ſo few as two hundred kill'd upon the place, and above one thouſand taken Priſoners, whereof *Warneford* and *Fettyplace* (two Gentlemen of good Quality and Fortune near that Town, and very active in the Service) Mr. *George*, a Member of Parliament who ſerv'd for that Burrough, and two or three *Scotiſh* Officers of the Field, whereof *Carr* the Governour was one, were the chief. The Town yielded much Plunder; from which the undiſtinguiſhing Soldier could not be kept, but was equally injurious to Friend and Foe; ſo that many honeſt Men, who were impriſon'd by the Rebels for not concurring with them, found

Cirenceſter *won by the King's Forces under Prince* Rupert.

found themſelves at Liberty and Undone together: amongſt whom *John Plot*, a Lawyer of very good Reputation, was one; who being freed from the hard, and barbarous Impriſonment in which he had been kept, when he return'd to his own Houſe, found it full of Soldiers, and twelve hundred pounds in Money taken from thence, which could never be recover'd. The Prince left a ſtrong Garriſon there, that brought almoſt all that whole County into Contribution, and was a great Enlargement to the King's Quarters, which now, without Interruption, extended from *Oxford* to *Worceſter*; that important City, with the other of *Hereford*, and thoſe Counties, having, ſome time before, been quitted by the Rebels; the Earl of *Stamford*, who was left in thoſe parts by the Earl of *Eſſex*, being call'd from thence, by the growth of the King's Party in *Cornwall*, to the ſecuring the Weſt.

We remember'd before, when the Marquis of *Hertford* tranſported himſelf and his few Foot into *Wales* from *Minhead*, that Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and the other Gentlemen, mention'd before, with their ſmall Force, conſiſting of about one hundred Horſe, and fifty Dragoons, retired into *Cornwal*, neglected by the Earl of *Bedford*, as fit and eaſy to be ſuppreſs'd by the Committees. And in truth, the Committees were entirely poſſeſs'd of *Devon-ſhire*, and thought themſelves equally ſure of *Cornwal*, ſave that the Caſtle of *Pendennis* was in the Cuſtody of one they had no hope of. They were welcom'd into *Cornwal* by Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, who march'd with them towards the Weſt of the County, as being beſt affected, where they might have leiſure to refreſh their wearied and almoſt tired Horſe and Men, and to call the well diſpoſed Gentry together; for which they choſe *Truro* as the fitteſt place, the Eaſt part of the County being poſſeſs'd by Sir *Alexander Carew*, and Sir *Richard Buller*, two Members of the Houſe of Commons, and active Men for the ſettling of the Militia. There was in this County, as throughout the whole Kingdom, a wonderful and ſuperſtitious Reverence towards the Name of a Parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the Court; yet a full Submiſſion, and Love of the eſtabliſh'd Government of Church and State, eſpecially to that part of the Church as concern'd the Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer, which was a moſt general object of Veneration with the People. And the jealouſy, and apprehenſion that the other Party intended to alter it, was a principal Advancement of the King's Service, though the Major, and moſt conſiderable part of the Gentry, and Men of Eſtates, were heartily for the King, many of them being of the Houſe of Commons, and ſo having ſeen and obſerv'd by what Spirit the Diſtemper was begot, and carried on; yet there were others of Name, Fortune, and Reputation with the People, very ſollicitous for the Parliament, and more active than the other. There was a Third ſort (for a Party they cannot be call'd) greater than either of the other, both of Fortune, and Number, who, though they were ſatisfied in their Conſciences of the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe, had yet ſo great a dread of the Power of the Parliament, that they ſat ſtill as Neuters, aſſiſting neither. So that they who did boldly appear, and declare for the King, were compel'd to proceed with all warineſs, and circumſpection; by the known and well underſtood Rules of the Law, and Juſtice; and durſt not oppoſe the moſt extravagant Act of the other ſide, but with all the formality that was uſed in full Peace: Which muſt be an Anſwer to all thoſe overſights, and omiſſions, which Poſterity will be apt to impute to the King, in the Morning of theſe Diſtractions.

Sr Ralph Hopton *and Sr* Bevil Greenvil's *progreſs in* Cornwal *together with other Gentlemen there.*

The Committee of the Parliament, who were intirely poſſeſs'd of *Devonſhire*, and Believ'd themſelves Maſters of *Cornwal*, drew their Forces of the Country to *Launceſton*, to be ſure that Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and his Adherents (whoſe power they thought contemptible) might not eſcape out of their Hands. This was before the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the King was at loweſt, and when the Authority of Parliament found little oppoſition in any place. The Quarter Seſſions came, where they cauſed a preſentment to be drawn, in form of Law, "Againſt divers Men unknown, who were lately "come Arm'd into that Country *contra pacem*, &c. Though none were named, all underſtood who were meant; and therefore Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who very well underſtood thoſe proceedings, voluntarily appear'd; took notice of the preſentment, and produced the Commiſſion granted by the King,

under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Marquis of *Hertford*, by which he was conſtituted General of the Weſt; and a Commiſſion, from his Lordſhip, to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, of Lieutenant General of the Horſe; and told them, "He was ſent to aſſiſt them, in the defence of their Liberties, againſt all "illegal Taxes, and Impoſitions. Hereupon, after a full and ſolemn Debate, the Jury, which conſiſted of Gentlemen of good Quality, and Fortunes in the County; not only acquitted Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and all the other Gentlemen his Companions, of any diſturbance of the Peace; but declared, "That it was a great favour, and juſtice of his Majeſty, to ſend down aid "to them who were already marked out to deſtruction; and that they thought "it the duty of every good Subject, as well in Loyalty to the King, as in "gratitude to thoſe Gentlemen, to joyn with them with any hazard of Life "and Fortune.

As this full vindication was thus gotten on the King's part, ſo an Indictment was preferr'd againſt Sir *Alexander Carew*, Sir *Richard Buller*, and the reſt of the Committee, "for a Rout and unlawful Aſſembly at *Launceſton*; "and for Riots and Miſdemeanours committed againſt many of the "King's good Subjects, in taking their Liberties from them (for they had intercepted, and apprehended divers Meſſengers, and others of the King's party, and employ'd by them.) This Indictment and Information was found by the Grand Jury, and thereupon, according to a Statute in that caſe provided, an Order of Seſſions was granted to the High Sheriff, a Perſon well affected to the King's Service, "To raiſe the *Poſſe Comitatus*, for the diſper- "ſing that unlawful Aſſembly at *Launceſton*, and for the apprehenſion of the "Rioters. This was the Riſe and Foundation of all the great Service that was after perform'd in *Cornwal*, by which the whole Weſt was reduced to the King. For, by this means, there were immediately drawn together a Body of three thouſand Foot, well Arm'd; which by no other means could have been done: with which Sir *Ralph Hopton*, whom they all willingly obeyed, advanced towards *Launceſton*, which the Committee had fortified, and from thence had ſent Meſſages of great contempt upon the proceedings of the Seſſions; for beſides their confidence in their own *Corniſh* ſtrength, they had a good Body of Horſe to ſecond them upon all occaſions, in the Confines of *Devon*.

Sir *George Chudliegh* a Gentleman of good Fortune, and Reputation in that County, and very active for the Militia, being then at *Taviſtock*, with five or ſix full Troops of Horſe, raiſed in that County to go to their Army, but detain'd till *Cornwal* could be ſettled; upon the News of Sir *Ralph Hopton*'s advancing, theſe drew to *Litton*, a Village in *Devon-ſhire*, but within three *Miles* of *Launceſton*, Sir *Ralph Hopton* march'd within two *Miles* of the Town, where he refreſh'd his *Men*, intending, the next morning early, to fall on the Town: But Sir *Richard Buller*, and his Confederates not daring to abide the Storm, in great diſorder quitted the Town that Night, and drew into *Devon-ſhire*, and ſo towards *Plymouth*; ſo that in the *Morning* Sir *Ralph Hopton* found the Gates of *Launceſton* open, and enter'd without reſiſtance. As the ſubmiſſion to, and reverence of, the known practiced Laws had, by the Sheriffs Authority, raiſed this Army within very few days, ſo the extreme ſuperſtition to it, aſſoon diſſolv'd it. For when all the *Perſons* of Honour, and Quality who well knew the deſperate form'd deſigns of the other Party, earneſtly preſs'd the purſuing the diſhearten'd and diſmay'd Rebels into *Devon*, by which they ſhould quickly encreaſe their Numbers, by joyning with the well affected in that Large and *Populous* County, who were yet aw'd into Silence: It was powerfully objected, "That the Sheriff, by "whoſe Legal Authority only that Force was drawn together, might not "lawfully march out of his own County, and that it was the principal *Privi-* "lege of the Train'd-bands, that they might not be compell'd to march far- "ther than the limits of their Sheriff.

How grievous and inconvenient ſoever this doctrine was diſcern'd to be, yet no *Man* durſt preſume ſo far upon the temper of that *People*, as to object *Policy*, or Neceſſity to the notions of Law. And therefore, concealing, as much as was poſſible, the true reaſons, they pretended their not following the Enemy proceeded from apprehenſion of their ſtrength, by their joyning with

with Sir *George Chudliegh*, and of want of Ammunition (either of which were not unreaſonable) and ſo march'd to *Salt-aſh*, a Town in *Cornwal* upon an Arm of the Sea; which only divided it from *Plimouth*, and *Devon*, where was a Garriſon of two hundred *Scots*; who, upon the approach of Sir *Ralph Hopton* as kindly quit *Salt-aſh*, as the others had *Launceſton* before. So that being now entirely Maſters of *Cornwal*, they fairly diſmiſs'd thoſe who could not be kept long together, and retired with their own handful of Horſe and Dragoons, till a new provocation from the Enemy ſhould put freſh Vigour into that County.

In the mean time, conſidering the caſualty of thoſe Train'd-bands, and that ſtrength, which on a ſuddain could be raiſed by the *Poſſe Comitatus*, which, though it made a Gallant ſhew in *Cornwal*, they eaſily ſaw would be of no uſe towards the quenching the General Rebellion over *England*; they enter'd upon thoughts of raiſing voluntary Regiments of Foot; which could be only done by the Gentlemen of that Country among their Neighbours, and Tenants, who depended on them. Sir *Bevil Greenvil* (the generally moſt belov'd Man of that Country) Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, the Gallant Governour of *Pendennis* Caſtle, *John Arundel*, and *John Trevannion*, two young Men of Excellent hopes, and Heirs to great Fortunes in that Country (all four of them Members of the Houſe of Commons, and ſo better inform'd, and acquainted with the deſperate humours of the adverſe Party) undertook the raiſing Regiments of Voluntiers: many young Gentlemen, of the moſt conſiderable Families of the County, aſſiſting them as inferior Officers. So that, within a ſhorter time than could be expected, from one ſingle County, there was a Body of Foot, of near fifteen hundred, raiſed, arm'd, and well diſciplin'd for Action. But there was then an Accident, that might have diſcompoſed a People which had not been very well prepar'd to perform their duties.

The Lord *Mohun* (who had departed from *York* from the King with all profeſſions of Zeal, and Activity in his Service) had, from the time of the firſt motion in *Cornwal*, forborn to joyn himſelf to the King's Party; ſtaying at home at his own Houſe, and imparting himſelf equally to all Men of ſeveral Conſtitutions, as if he had not been yet ſufficiently inform'd which Party to adhere to. But after all the adverſe Party was driven out of *Cornwal*, and the fame of the King's marching in the Head of an Army, and having Fought the Battle at *Edge-Hill* (the effect whereof was variouſly reported) without acquainting any Body with his Intention, he took a Journey towards *London*, at the time when the King march'd that way, and preſented himſelf to his Majeſty at *Brentford*, as ſent from Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and the reſt of thoſe Gentlemen engaged in *Cornwal*; though many Men believ'd that his purpoſe was, in truth, for *London*, if he had not then found the King's condition better than it was generally believ'd. Upon his Lordſhip's information of the State of thoſe Weſtern parts, and upon a ſuppoſition that he ſpake the ſenſe, and deſires of thoſe from whom he pretended to come, the King granted a Commiſſion jointly to his Lordſhip, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Berkley*, and Colonel *Aſhburnham*, to govern thoſe Forces, in the abſence of the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*; with which he return'd into *Cornwal* and immediately raiſed a Regiment of Foot; behaving himſelf as actively, and being every way as forward in the advancing the great buſineſs, as any Man; ſo that Men imputed his former reſervedneſs, only to his not being ſatisfied in a condition of Command.

On the other ſide, they who were concern'd in that alteration, were not at all well contented. For before, theſe Gentlemen of *Cornwal*, upon whoſe intereſt and activity the work depended, had, with great readineſs, complied with the other, both out of great value of their Perſons, with whom they had good familiarity, and friendſhip, and in reſpect of their Authority and Commiſſions, with which they came qualified in that County: for as was remember'd before, Sir *Ralph Hopton* had a Commiſſion from the Marquis of *Hertford*, to be Lieutenant General of the Horſe, Sir *John Berkley*, to be Commiſſary General, and Colonel *Aſhburnham* to be Major General of the Foot; ſo that there was no diſpute of Commands. But now, the Lord *Mohun*'s coming into an equal Command with any, and ſuperior to thoſe who thought Their reputation and intereſt to be ſuperior to His (for he had not

the good fortune to be very gracious in his own Country) and this by his own ſollicitation, and interpoſition, gave them ſome indignation. However their publick-heartedneſs, and joynt concernment in the good Cauſe, ſo totally ſuppreſs'd all Animoſities, and indeed Indiſpoſitions, that a greater concurrence could not be deſir'd, in whatſoever could contribute to the work in hand; ſo that they not only preſerv'd *Cornwal* entire, but made bold incurſions into *Devon*, even to the Walls of *Plymouth* and *Exeter*; though the Seaſon of the year, being the deep Winter, and the want of Ammunition, ſoon forced them to retire into *Cornwal*.

The reputation of their being Maſters of that one County, and the apprehenſion of what they might be ſhortly able to do, made the Parliament think it time to take more care for their ſuppreſſion. And therefore they ſent their whole Forces out of *Dorſet* and *Somerſet*, to joyn with thoſe of *Devon*, to make an entire conqueſt of *Cornwal*. With theſe, *Ruthen* (a *Scots*-man, the Governour of *Plymouth*) advanced into *Cornwal*, by a Bridge over the *Tamar*, ſix miles above *Salt-aſh* (where he had before endeavour'd to force his paſſage by Water, but had been beaten off with loſs) having maſter'd the Guard there; the Earl of *Stamford* following him, two or three days march behind, with a new ſupply of Horſe, and Foot; albeit thoſe the *Scots*-man had with him, were much ſuperior to thoſe of the King's; which, upon this ſuddain Invaſion, were forced to retire with their whole ſtrength to *Bodmin*; whither, foreſeeing this ſtorm ſome few days before it came, they had again ſummon'd the *Poſſe Comitatus*, which appear'd in conſiderable Numbers.

They had ſcarce refreſh'd themſelves there, and put their Men in order, when *Ruthen*, with his Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, was advanced to *Liskard*, within ſeven miles of *Bodmin*; from whence they moved towards the Enemy with all alacrity, knowing how neceſſary it was for them to Fight before the Earl of *Stamford*, who was at that time come to *Launceſton* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot, ſhould be able to joyn with the Rebels. And as this conſideration was of importance to haſten the one, ſo it prevail'd with the other Party too; for *Ruthen*, apprehending that his Victory, of which he made no queſtion, would be clouded by the preſence of the Earl of *Stamford*, who had the chief Command, reſolv'd to diſpatch the buſineſs before He came. And ſo Sir *Ralph Hopton* (to whom the other Commiſſioners, who had a joynt Authority with him, willingly devolv'd the ſole Command for that day, leſt confuſion of Orders might beget diſtraction) was no ſooner known to be drawing towards him (to whom a preſent Battle was ſo neceſſary, that it was reſolv'd, upon all diſadvantages, to have fallen on the Enemy in the Town rather than not Fight) but *Ruthen* likewiſe drew out his Forces, and chooſing his ground upon the Eaſt ſide of *Bradock*-Down near *Liskard*, ſtood in Battalia to expect the Enemy; Sir *Ralph Hopton*, having likewiſe put His Men in order, cauſed publick Prayers to be ſaid, in the head of every Squadron (which the Rebels obſerving, told their fellows, "They were at "Maſs, to ſtir up their Courages in the cauſe of Religion;) and having winged his Foot with his Horſe and Dragoons, he advanced within Muſquet-ſhot of the Enemy, who ſtood without any motion. Then perceiving that their Cannon were not yet come up from the Town, he cauſed two ſmall iron Minion Drakes (all the Artillery they had) to be drawn, under the cover of little Parties of Horſe, to a convenient diſtance from the Body of their Enemies; and after two ſhots of thoſe Drakes (which being not diſcern'd, and doing ſome execution, ſtrook a greater terror into them) advanced with his Body upon them; and, with very eaſy contention, beat them off their ground; they having lined the Hedges behind them with their Reſerve, by which they thought ſecurely to make their retreat into the Town. But the *Corniſh* ſo briskly beſtirr'd themſelves, and preſs'd them ſo hard on every ſide, being indeed excellent at Hedge-work, and that kind of Fight, that they quickly won That ground too, and put their whole Army in a rout, and had the full execution of them as far as they would purſue. But after that advantage, they were always more ſparing than is uſually known in Civil Wars, ſhedding very little Blood after reſiſtance was given over, and having a very noble and Chriſtian ſenſe of the

Sir Ralph Hopton *beats the Parliament's Forces at* Bradock-*Down, under* Ruthen.

lives

lives of their Brethren: insomuch as the Common Men, when they have been press'd by some fiercer Officer, to follow the Execution, have answer'd, "They could not find in their Hearts to hurt Men who had nothing "in their Hands.

In this Battle, without the loss of an Officer of Name, and very few Common Men, they took twelve hundred and fifty Prisoners, most of their Colours, all their Cannon, being four Brass Guns (whereof two were twelve Pounders) and one Iron Saker, all their Ammunition, and most of their Arms. *Ruthen* himself, and those who could keep pace with him, fled to *Salt-ash*; which he thought to fortify, and by the Neighbourhood of *Plymouth*, and assistance of the Shipping, to defend; and thereby still to have an Influence upon a good part of *Cornwal*. The Earl of *Stamford*, receiving quick Advertisement of this Defeat, in great disorder retired to *Tavistock*, to preserve the utmost parts of *Devon* from Incursions. Hereupon, after a solemn Thanksgiving to God for this great Victory, (which was about the middle of *January*) and a little refreshing their Men at *Liskard*, the King's Forces divided themselves; Sir *John Berkley*, and Colonel *Ashburnham*, with Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning*'s, and Colonel *Trevannion*'s voluntary Regiments, and such a Party of Horse and Dragoons as could be spared, advanced to *Tavistock* to visit the Earl of *Stamford*; the Lord *Mohun*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with the Lord *Mohun*'s, and Colonel *Godolphin*'s Voluntary Regiments, and some of the Train'd-Bands, march'd towards *Salt-ash*, to dislodge *Ruthen*; who within three days (for there was no more between his defeat at *Bradock*-Down, and his Visitation at *Salt-ash*) had cast up such Works, and planted such store of Cannon upon the narrow Avenues, that he thought himself able, with the help of a goodly Ship of four hundred Tuns, in which were sixteen pieces of Cannon, which he had brought up the River to the very side of the Town, to defend that place against any strength was like to be brought against him. But he quickly found that the same Spirit possess'd his Enemies that drove him from *Liskard*, and the same that possess'd his own Men when they fled from thence; for as soon as the *Cornish* came up, they fell upon his works, and in a short time beat him out of them; and then out of the Town with a good Execution upon them; many being kill'd in the Fight, and more drown'd: *Ruthen* himself hardly getting into a Boat, by which he got into *Plymouth*, leaving all his Ordinance behind him, which together with the Ship, and sevenscore Prisoners, and all their Colours, which had been saved at *Liskard*, were taken by the Conquerors, who were now again entire Masters of *Cornwal*.

Salt-ash *taken by the King's Forces.*

The Earl of *Stamford* had not the same patience to abide the other Party at *Tavistock*, but, before their approach, quitted the Town; some of his Forces making haste into *Plymouth*, and the rest retiring into *Exeter*. And so, though the old Superstition, of not going out of the County, again disbanded the Train'd-Bands, the *Cornish*, with all their Voluntary Forces, drew into *Devon*, and fixed Quarters within less than a Mile of *Plymouth*, and kept Guards even within Musquet-shot of Their Line. Sir *John Berkley* in the mean time with a good Party Volant, of Horse and Dragoons, with great diligence, and gallantry, visiting all places in *Devon*, where their People were gather'd together, and dissolving them, took many Prisoners of Name; and so kept *Chudleigh*, the Major-General of the Parliament Forces, from raising a Body there; which he industriously intended.

In those necessary and brisk Expeditions in falling upon *Chagford* (a little Town in the South of *Devon*) before day, the King lost *Sidney Godolphin*, a young Gentleman of incomparable parts; who, being of a Constitution and Education more delicate, and unacquainted with Contentions, upon his Observation of the wickedness of those Men in the House of Commons, of which he was a Member, out of the pure Indignation of his Soul against them, and Conscience to his Country, had, with the first, engaged himself with that Party in the West: And though he thought not fit to take Command in a Profession he had not willingly chosen, yet as his Advice was of great Authority with all the Commanders, being always one in the Council of War, and whose notable Abilities they had still use of in their Civil Transactions, so he exposed his Person to all Action, Travel, and Hazard; and by

Mr. Sidney Godolphin *slain.*

too forward engaging himſelf in this laſt, receiv'd a mortal ſhot by a Muſquet, a little above the knee, of which he died in the inſtant; leaving the misfortune of his death upon a place, which could never otherwiſe have had a mention to the world.

The King's Corniſh *Forces come to* Taviſtock.

After this, which happen'd about the end of *January*, in reſpect of the ſeaſon of the year, and the want of Ammunition, finding that they could make no impreſſion upon the ſtrong-holds of the Enemy, they retired, with their whole Forces, to *Taviſtock*; where they refreſhed, and reſted themſelves many days, being willing to eaſe their faſt Friends of *Cornwal* as much as was poſſible from the trouble, and charge of their little Army. The difficulties they were entangled with, were very prodigious; of which one was, that the other parts of the Weſt were ſo entirely poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, that they could have no correſpondence or receive any intelligence from the King, not one *Meſſenger* in ten arriving at his Journey's end. Then though the Juſtice, and Piety of the cauſe, added much power to particular Perſons in raiſing an Army; yet the money that was raiſed for the maintenance, and payment of that Army, was entirely upon the Reputation, Credit and Intereſt, of particular *Men*: and how long that ſpring would ſupply thoſe ſtreams, the moſt ſanguine among them could not preſume; but the want of Ammunition troubled them moſt of all: they had yet had none but what had been taken out of the low ſtore of *Pendennis* Caſtle, and what they had won from the Enemy; the firſt wanted a ſupply for it's own proviſion, but which way to procure that ſupply they could not imagine; and the fear, and apprehenſion of ſuch ſtreights, againſt which no probable hopes occur, is more grievous and inſupportable, than any preſent want.

Captain Carteret *ſupplies them with Ammunition:*

In this inſtant, as if ſent by Providence, they met with an opportunity they had ſcarce Courage to hope for: Captain *Carteret*, the Controler of the King's Navy, having in the beginning of the Troubles, after he had refuſed to have Command in their Fleets, without noiſe withdrawn Himſelf and his Family out of *England* to *Jerſy*, and being there impatient of being quiet, whilſt his Maſter was in the Field, tranſported himſelf into *Cornwal* with a purpoſe to raiſe a Troop of Horſe, and to engage in that Service: when he came thither, he was unanimouſly importun'd by the Commanders, after they had acquainted him with their hopeleſs, and deſperate want of Powder, to aſſiſt them in that manner, that the many good Ports in their power, might be made of ſome uſe to them in the ſupply of Powder whereupon he ſhortly return'd into *France*; and firſt upon his own Credit, and then upon return of ſuch Commodities out of *Cornwal* as they could well ſpare, he ſupplied them with ſuch great proportions of all kinds of Ammunitions, that they never found want after.

In the mean time, when they were clouded with that want, at *Taviſtock*, ſome Gentlemen of *Cornwal* who adhered to the Rebels, and were thereby diſpoſſeſs'd of their County, made ſome Overtures, "That a Treaty might be enter'd into, whereby the Peace of the two Counties of *Cornwal*, " and *Devon*, might be ſettled, and the War be remov'd into other parts. " They who had moſt experience of the humours and diſpoſitions of the Factious Party, eaſily concluded the little hope of Peace by ſuch a Treaty; yet the Propoſition was ſo ſpecious and popular, that there was no rejecting it; and therefore they agreed to a meeting between Perſons choſen of either ſide; and the Earl of *Stamford* himſelf ſeem'd ſo ingenuous, that, at the very firſt meeting, to ſhew their clear intentions, it was mutually agreed, that every Perſon employed and truſted in the Treaty, ſhould firſt make a a Proteſtation in theſe words, " I do ſolemnly vow, and proteſt, in the pre-

A Treaty between the two Parties in Devon, *and* Cornwal.

This Proteſtation being firſt taken by both.

" ſence of Almighty God, that I do not only come a Commiſſioner to this " Treaty, with an hearty and fervent deſire of concluding an honourable and " firm Peace between the two Counties of *Cornwal* and *Devon*; but alſo will, to " the utmoſt of my power, proſecute, and really endeavour to accompliſh and " effect the ſame, by all lawful ways and means I poſſibly can; firſt by main- " taining the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law in the Church of *En-* " *gland*, the juſt Rights and Prerogative of our Soveraign Lord the King, " the juſt Privileges, and Freedom of Parliaments; together with the juſt " Rights and Liberty of the Subjects; and that I am without any intention

" (by

" by fomenting this unnatural War) to gain, or hope to advantage my ſelf " with the real, or perſonal Eſtate of any Perſon whatſoever, or obtaining any " Office, Command, Title of Honour, Benefit, or Reward, either from the " King's Majeſty, or either, or both Houſes of Parliament now aſſembled. " And this I take, in the preſence of Almighty God, and as I ſhall anſwer " the ſame at his Tribunal, according to the literal ſenſe and meaning of " the foregoing Words, without any Equivocation, mental Reſervation, or " other Evaſion whatſoever: So help me God.

The taking this Proteſtation with that ſolemnity, and the bleſſed Sacrament thereupon, made even thoſe who before expected little fruit from the Treaty, believe, that Men, being ſo engaged, would not be liable to thoſe Paſſions, and Affections, which uſually tranſported that Party; and ſo to hope that ſome Good might proceed from it: and therefore the King's Party were eaſily induced to retire with their Forces into *Cornwal*; and thereupon, a Truce, and Ceſſation, was agreed upon, that a Treaty might proceed without Interruption. In which Treaty, the ſame continuing beyond the expiration of the preſent year 1642. We ſhall for the preſent leave them; that We may take a ſhort ſurvey of the Northern Parts, and remember by what degrees, They came to feel the Calamities, and to bear Their Burthen in the Civil War.

A Truce and Ceſſation thereupon.

When the King left *York ſhire*, he appointed Sir *Thomas Glemham*, at the deſire of the Gentlemen of that County, as was before remember'd, to ſtay in *York*, to order and command thoſe Forces, which they ſhould find neceſſary to raiſe, to defend themſelves from the excurſions of *Hull*, whence young *Hotham* infeſted the Country more than his Father; who was willing enough to ſit ſtill in his Garriſon, where he believ'd he could make advantage upon the ſucceſs of either Party; and they who were moſt inclined to the Parliament (whereof the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Son were the chief) from whom the King was ſo far from expecting any notable miſchief, that he left them all at their own Houſes, when he went from them; and might, if he had thought it requiſite, have carried them away Priſoners with him, were rather deſirous to look on, than engage themſelves in the War; preſuming that one Battle would determine all diſputes, and the Party which prevail'd in that, would find a general ſubmiſſion throughout the Kingdom. And truly, I believe, there was ſcarce one Concluſion, that hath contributed more to the continuance and length of the War, than that generally receiv'd opinion in the beginning, that it would be quickly at an end. Hereupon, there being but one viſible difference like to beget diſtractions in the Country, which was about the Militia, the King appointing it to be govern'd, and diſpoſed by the Commiſſion of Array, and the Parliament by Their Ordinance; for the compoſing whereof, the Gentlemen of the ſeveral opinions, propoſed between themſelves, " That neither the One, nor the Other ſhould " be medled with; but that all ſhould be contented to ſit ſtill, without " engagement to either Party: this ſeem'd very reaſonable to the Parliament Party there, who were rather carried away with an implicite reverence to the very name of a Parliament (the fatal diſeaſe of the whole Kingdom at that time) than really tranſported with the paſſion and deſign of the furious part of it; and who plainly diſcern'd, that, by much the greateſt part of the Perſons of Honour, Quality, and intereſt in the County, would cordially oppoſe their Proceedings: For, beſides the Lord *Fairfax*, there were in truth few of good Reputation, and Fortune, who run that way. On the other hand, the King's Party thought Their work done by it; for they having already ſent two good Regiments of Foot, the one under Colonel *John Bellaſis*, younger Son to the Lord Viſcount *Falconbridge*, and the other under Sir *William Pennyman*, and two Regiments of Dragoons, the one under Colonel *Duncomb*, the other, Colonel *Gowre*; beſides three or four good Troops of Horſe; and the King being at that diſtance, that they could not ſend Him farther ſupply; they thought they had nothing to do, but to keep the Country in ſuch a Peace, that it might do the King no harm by ſending Men to the Earl of *Eſſex*, or adhering to the Garriſon of *Hull*; and concluding, as the other did, that the deciſion between the King and Parliament would be at the firſt Encounter. Upon theſe deliberations, Articles were ſolemnly drawn up, conſented

An account of the Northern Parts diſpoſition at that time.

Articles of Neutrality agreed in York-shire *between both Parties.*

to, and ſubſcribed by the Lord *Fairfax*, and *Harry Bellaſis*, the Heir Apparent of the Lord *Falconbridge*, who were the two Knights, who ſerv'd in Parliament for *York-ſhire*, nearly ally'd together, and of great kindneſs till their ſeveral Opinions, and Affections had divided them in this Quarrel: The former adhering to the Parliament, the latter, with great Courage and Sobriety, to the King.

With them, the principal Perſons of either Party ſubſcribed the Articles, and gave their mutual Faiths to each other, that they would obſerve them; being indeed no other than an Engagement of Neutrality, and to aſſiſt neither Party. Of all the Gentry of *York ſhire*, there were only two Diſſenters on the Parliament ſide, young *Hotham*, and Sir *Edward Rhodes*; who, though of the better Quality was not ſo much known, or conſider'd as the other. But they quickly found Seconds enough; for the Parliament no ſooner was inform'd of this Tranſaction, than they expreſs'd their Deteſtation of it, and gently in Words (though ſcornfully in Matter) reprehending the Lord *Fairfax* and his Party, "For being couſen'd, and over-"reach'd by the other: They declar'd, "That none of the Parties to that "Agreement had any Authority to bind that Country to any ſuch Neu-"trality, as was mention'd in that Agreement; it being a peculiar and "proper Power, and Privilege of Parliament, where the whole Body of the "Kingdom is repreſented, to bind all, or any part thereof: That it was ve-"ry prejudicial and dangerous to the whole Kingdom, that one County ſhould "withdraw themſelves from the Aſſiſtance of the reſt, to which they were "bound by Law, and by ſeveral Orders and Declarations of Parliament. "That it was very derogatory to the Power and Authority of Parliament, "that any private Men ſhould take upon them to ſuſpend the Execution of "the Ordinance of the Militia, declar'd by both Houſes to be according "to Law, and very neceſſary, at that Time, for the preſervation of the "Peace and Safety of the Kingdom. And therefore, they ſaid, they thought "themſelves bound in Conſcience, to hinder all farther proceedings up-

But diſown'd by the Parliament, upon which they enter'd into Acts of Hoſtility there.

"on that Argreement; and order'd, "That no ſuch Neutrality ſhould "be obſerv'd in that County. For if they ſhould ſuffer particular Coun-"ties to divide themſelves from the reſt of the Kingdom, it would be a "means of bringing all to Ruin and Deſtruction. And therefore they far-ther declar'd that "Neither the Lord *Fairfax*, nor the Gentlemen of *York-*"*ſhire*, who were Parties to thoſe Articles, nor any other Inhabitants of "that County, were bound by any ſuch Agreement; but requir'd them to "purſue their former Reſolutions, of Maintaining and Aſſiſting the Parliament, "in defence of the Common Cauſe, according to the General proteſtation "wherein they were bound with the reſt of the Kingdom, and againſt the "particular proteſtation by themſelves lately made; and according to ſuch "Orders and Commiſſions as they ſhould receive from both Houſes of "Parliament, from the Committee of the Lords and Commons appointed "for the Safety of the Kingdom, or from the Earl of *Eſſex* Lord General. And leſt this their Declaration ſhould not be of Power enough to Diſſolve this Agreement, they publiſh'd their Reſolutions, and directed that "Mr. "*Hotham*, and Sir *Edward Rhodes*, ſhould proceed upon their former Inſtru-"ctions: and that they ſhould have power to ſeiſe and apprehend all Delin-"quents that were ſo Voted by the Parliament, and all ſuch others, as De-"linquents, as had, or did ſhew themſelves oppoſite and diſobedient to the "Orders and Proceedings of Parliament.

Upon this Declaration, and Vote, not only young *Hotham* fell to the practice of Acts of Hoſtility, with all Licence, out of the Garriſon at *Hull*, but the Lord *Fairfax* himſelf, and all the Gentlemen of that Party, who had, with that Proteſtation, ſign'd the Articles, inſtead of reſenting the reproach to themſelves, tamely ſubmitted to thoſe unreaſonable Concluſions: And, contrary to their ſolemn Promiſe and Engagement, prepar'd themſelves to bear a part in the War, and made all haſte to Levy Men.

Upon ſo great a diſadvantage were the King's Party in all places; who were ſo preciſe in promiſes, and their perſonal undertakings, that they believ'd they could not ſerve the King, and his Cauſe, if their Reputation and Integrity were once blemiſh'd, though ſome particular Contract prov'd

to

to his disadvantage: whilst the Others exposed their Honours for any present Temporary conveniencies, and thought themselves Absolv'd by any new Resolution of the Houses, to whose Custody their Honour, and Ingenuity was committed. The present disadvantage of this Rupture was greater to the King's Party there, than to the other. For (besides that many who concurr'd with them very frankly and sollicitously in the Neutrality, separated themselves from them, now there was a necessity of Action) they had neither Money to raise Men, nor Arms to Arm them; so that the strength consisted in the Gentlemen themselves, and their Retinue; who, by the good Affections of the Inhabitants of *York*, were strong enough to secure one another within the Walls of that City. Then the Earl of *Cumberland*, in whom the chief power of Command was to raise Men and Money in a case of necessity, though he was a Person of entire devotion to the King, was in his Nature, unactive, and utterly unexperienced in Affairs and Exigents of that Nature.

On the other hand, the opposite Party was strengthen'd and enabled by the strong Garrison of *Hull*, whence young *Hotham*, on all occasions, was ready to second them with his Troop of Horse, and to take up any well Affected Person who was suspected to be Loyal; which drove all resolv'd Men from their Houses into *York*, where they only could be safe. The other could have what Men more they desir'd from *London*, and both ready Money from thence to *Hull*, and Ordinances to raise what they would in the County to pay them. *Leeds*, *Hallifax*, and *Bradford*, three very populous, and rich Towns (which depending wholly upon Clothiers, too much malign'd the Gentry) were wholly at their disposition. Their Neighbours in *Lincoln-shire* were in a body to second them, and Sir *John Gell* was on the same behalf possess'd of *Derby* and all that County, there being none that had the hardiness yet, to declare there for the King. So that, if Sir *John Hotham*'s wariness had not kept him from being active, and his Pride, and Contempt of the Lord *Fairfax*, upon whom the Country chiefly depended, hinder'd him from seconding, and assisting his Lordship; or if any Man had had the entire Command of those Parts, and Forces, to have united them, the Parliament had, with very little resistance, been absolute Masters of all *York-shire*; and, as easily, of the City it self. But their want of Union in particulars, though they agreed too well in the Main, gave the King's Party time to breath, and to look about for their preservation. Thereupon, they sent to the Earl of *New-Castle* for Assistance; offering, "If he would march "into *York-shire*, they would joyn with him, and be entirely Commanded "by him; the Earl of *Cumberland* willingly offering to wave any Title to Command.

It was before remember'd, that when the King left *York*, he had sent the Earl of *New-Castle*, as a Person of great Honour, and Interest in those parts, to be Governour of *New Castle*; and so to secure that Port, that the Parliament might neither seise it, nor the *Scots* be brib'd by it to come to the Assistance of their Brethren. Which Commission from the King, his Lordship no sooner executed, without the least Hostility (for that Town receiv'd him with all possible acknowledgments of the King's goodness in sending him) but he was impeach'd by the House of Commons of High-Treason. From his going thither (which was in *August*) till toward the end of *November*, the Earl spent his time in disposing the People of *Northumberland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, to the King's Service, and to a right understanding of the matters in difference; in the Fortifying *New Castle*, and the River; whereby that Harbour might only be in the King's Obedience; in raising a Garrison for that place, and providing Arms for the farther advance of the King's Service. Then he provided for the Assistance of his Friends in *York shire*, whose Condition grew every day more desperate. For the Parliament, finding the inconveniencies of having no Commander in Chief in those parts, had caused their Generalissimo, the Earl of *Essex*, to send a Commission to the Lord *Fairfax*, "To Command all the Forces of *York-*"*shire*, and the adjacent Counties, in Chief; by which, in less time than could be reasonably imagin'd, he was able to draw together an Army of five or six thousand Horse and Foot, so that *York* must presently have been swallow'd up.

The Lord Fairfax *made General of* York-shire *for the Parliament.*

The Earl of New-Caſtle *comes from* New-Caſtle *into* York.

But, in the beginning of *December*, the Earl of *New-Caſtle* march'd to their Relief; and having left a good Garriſon in *New-Caſtle*, and fix'd ſuch ſmall Garriſons in his way, as might ſecure his Communication with that Port, to which all his Ammunition was to be brought; with a Body of near three thouſand Foot, and ſix or ſeven hundred Horſe and Dragoons, without any Encounter with the Enemy (though they had threaten'd loud) he enter'd *York*; having leſſen'd the Enemies ſtrength, without Blood, both in Territories and Men. For, aſſoon as he enter'd *York-ſhire*, two Regiments raiſed in *Richmond-ſhire*, and *Cleveland*, diſſolv'd of themſelves; having it yet in their choice to dwell at Home, or to leave their Houſes to new Comers. The Earl being now Maſter of the North as far as *York*, thought rather of forming an Army, and providing Money to pay it, than of making any farther progreſs in the Winter, and therefore ſuffer'd the Lord *Fairfax* to enjoy the Southern part of that large rich County, till the Spring, and the improvement of his Condition, ſhould enable him to advance: Yet few days paſs'd without blows, in which the Parliament Forces had uſually the worſt.

Shortly after the Earl's coming to *York*, General *King* repair'd to him, whom he made Lieutenant General of his Army; who, notwithſtanding the unavoidable prejudice, in that Conjuncture, of his being a *Scots* man, order'd the Foot with great Wiſdom and Dexterity: The Charge of the Horſe being at the ſame time committed to General *Goring*; who, by the Queen's favour, notwithſtanding all former failings, was recommended to that Province, and quickly apply'd himſelf to Action: ſo that though the Lord *Fairfax* kept *Selby*, and *Cawood*, both within a ſmall diſtance from *York*, the Earl was abſolute Maſter of the Field. And now the North yielded ſecure footing for thoſe who had been unreaſonably perſecuted for their Obedience to the King, the Queen her ſelf thought of returning into *England*.

Her Majeſty had, from her firſt going into *Holland*, dexterouſly endeavour'd to advance the King's Intereſt, and ſent very great quantities of Arms and Ammunition to *New-Caſtle* (though, by the vigilance of the Parliament Agents in thoſe parts, and the Power of their Ships, too much of it was intercepted) with ſome conſiderable Sums of Money, and good ſtore of Officers; who, by the connivance of the Prince of *Orange*, came over to ſerve their own King. And from this extraordinary care of her Majeſty's, and her known grace and favour to the Perſon of the Earl of *New Caſtle*, who ſhe well knew had contracted many Enemies by the eminency of his devotion to the King, that Army was by the Parliament ſtyl'd the *Queen*'s *Army*, and the *Catholick Army*, thereby to expoſe her Majeſty the more to the rude malice of the People, and the Army to their prejudice; perſwading them, "That it conſiſted of none but pro-"feſs'd Papiſts, who intended nothing but the extirpation of the Pro-"teſtants, and eſtabliſhing their own Profeſſion.

About the middle of *February*, the Queen took Shipping from *Holland*, in a States-Man of War, aſſign'd by the Prince of *Orange* with others for her Convoy, and arriv'd ſafely in *Burlington-Bay*, upon the Coaſt of *York-ſhire*; where ſhe had the patience to ſtay on Ship-board at Anchor, the ſpace of two days, till the Earl had notice, "To draw ſuch a part of "his Forces that way, as might ſecure her Landing, and wait upon her "to *York*; which he no ſooner did (and he did it with all imaginable Expedition) but her Majeſty came on Shore; and, for the preſent, was pleaſed to refreſh her ſelf in a convenient Houſe upon the very Key, where all accommodations were made for her reception; there being many things of Moment to be unſhipp'd before ſhe could reaſonably enter upon her Journey towards *York*.

The Queen arrives at Burlington *from* Holland.

The ſecond day after the Queens Landing, *Batten*, Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick* (who had waited to intercept her paſſage) with four of the King's Ships, arriv'd in *Burlington* Road; and finding that her Majeſty was Landed, and that ſhe lodged upon the Key, bringing his Ships to the neareſt diſtance, being very early in the morning diſcharg'd above a hundred Cannon (whereof many were laden with Croſs-bar-ſhot) for the ſpace of two hours upon the Houſe where her Majeſty was lodged; whereupon ſhe

was

was forced out of her Bed, ſome of the ſhot making way through her own Chamber; and to ſhelter her ſelf under a Bank in the open Fields; which Babarous and Treaſonable Act was ſo much the more odious, in that the Parliament never ſo far took notice of it, as to diſavow it. So that many believ'd it was very pleaſing to, if not Commanded by Them; and that if the Ships had encounter'd at Sea, they would have left no hazard unrun to have deſtroy'd her Majeſty.

The Queen ſhortly after remov'd to *York*, and the King's Affairs proſper'd to that degree, that, as the Earl of *New-caſtle* had before fixed a Garriſon at *Newark* in *Nottingham-ſhire*, which kept the Forces of *Lincoln* from joyning entirely with the Lord *Fairfax*, and had with great Courage beaten off a form'd Body of the Rebels who attempted it; ſo he now ſent *Charles Cavendiſh*, the younger Brother of the Earl of *Devonſhire*, with a Party Volant of Horſe and Dragoons, into *Lincoln-ſhire*; where about the middle of *March*, he aſſaulted *Grantham*, a new Garriſon of the Rebels; which he took, and in it above three hundred Priſoners, with all their Officers, Arms, and Ammunition: and, about the ſame time, Sir *Hugh Cholmondley*, who had done very notable Service to the Parliament, and oftner defeated the Earl of *New-Caſtle*'s Troops (though he had been in truth hurried to that Party, rather by the engagement of Sir *John Hotham*, with whom he had long friendſhip, than by his own inclination) than any Officer of thoſe parts, very frankly revolted to his Allegiance; and waiting on her Majeſty for her Aſſurance of his Pardon, deliver'd up the Caſtle of *Scarborough* (a place of importance) to the King; the Command and Government whereof, was again by the Earl committed to him; which he diſcharg'd with Courage, and ſingular Fidelity. By this means, and thoſe ſucceſſes, the Lord *Fairfax* quitted *Selby*, *Cawood*, and *Tadcaſter*, and retired to *Pomfret*, and *Halliſax*; whereby the Earl was, upon the matter, poſſeſs'd of that whole large County, and ſo able to help his Neighbours. This was the State of that part of the North which was under the Earl of *New-Caſtle*'s Commiſſion: For *Lancaſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and *Shropſhire*, were in a worſe Condition; of which, and the Neighbour Counties, it will be neceſſary in the next place to ſay ſomewhat; and of thoſe firſt which lie fartheſt off.

The Earl of New-Caſtle, *fix'd a Garriſon at* Newark.

Sir Hugh Cholmondley *deliver'd up* Scarborough *Caſtle to the Queen.*

The Condition at that time of Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, *and* Shropſhire.

We have ſaid before, that when the King left *Shrewsbury*, and march'd to meet the Earl of *Eſſex*, (which he did at *Edgehill*) all his deſigns being to come to a Battle; and the opinion of moſt, that a Battle would determine all; he was to apply all the ſtrength and force he could poſſibly raiſe, to the encreaſing of his Army; ſo that he left no Garriſon behind him, but rely'd upon the Intereſt and Authority of the Lord *Strange* (who was by the death of his Father, now Earl of *Derby*) to ſuppreſs all Commotions, and Inſurrections, which might happen in the Counties of *Lancaſhire*, and *Cheſhire*; which his Lordſhip was confident he ſhould be able to do, and was then generally believ'd to have a greater Influence upon thoſe two Counties, and a more abſolute Command over the People in them, than any Subject in *England* had, in any other Quarter of the Kingdom. The Town of *Shrewsbury*, and that good County, where the King had been ſo proſperous (and by which the People were more engaged) he intruſted only to that good Spirit that then poſſeſs'd it, and to the Legal Authority of the Sheriffs, and Juſtices of the Peace. And it fared in thoſe Counties as in all other parts of the Kingdom, that the number of thoſe who deſired to ſit ſtill, was greater than of thoſe who deſir'd to engage in either Party; ſo that they were generally inclin'd to Articles of Neutrality. And in *Cheſhire*, the Active people of both ſides came to thoſe Capitulations, with as much ſolemnity as had been in *Yorkſhire*, and by the ſame declaration of the Parliament (ſo much the ſame, that there was no other difference but alterations of Names and Places) were abſolv'd from the obſervation of them. And then Sir *William Bruerton*, a Gentleman of a competent Fortune in that County, and Knight for that Shire in Parliament, but moſt notorious for a known averſion to the Government of the Church, bringing with him from *London* a Troop of Horſe, and a Regiment of Dragoons, march'd thither to protect thoſe who were of that Party, and, under ſuch a ſhelter, to encourage them to appear.

The City of *Cheſter* was firm to the King, by the virtue of the Inhabitants, and Intereſt of the Biſhop, and Cathedral Men; but eſpecially by the reputation, and dexterity of Mr. *O. Bridgman*, Son to the Biſhop, and a Lawyer of very good Eſtimation; who not only inform'd them of their duty, and encouraged them in it, but upon his Credit and Eſtate, both which were very good, ſupplied them with whatſoever was neceſſary for their defence; ſo that they were not put to be Honeſt and Expenſive together. But as they had no Garriſon of Soldiers, ſo they had no Officer of Skill and experience to manage, and direct that Courage which, at leaſt, was willing to defend their own Walls, which they were now like to be put to. Therefore the King ſent thither Sir *Nicholas Byron*, a Soldier of very good Command, with a Commiſſion to be " Colonel-General of *Cheſhire*, and *Shropſhire*, " and to be Governour of *Cheſter*; who being a Perſon of great affability, and dexterity, as well as Martial knowledge, gave great Life to the deſigns of the well affected there; and, with the encouragement of ſome Gentlemen of North *Wales*, in a ſhort time raiſed ſuch a power of Horſe and Foot, as made often Skirmiſhes with the Enemy; ſometimes with notable advantage, never with any ſignal loſs. Sir *William Bruerton* Fortify'd *Nantwitch*, as the King's Party did *Cheſter*; from which Garriſons, containing both their Forces, they contended which ſhould moſt prevail upon, that is moſt ſubdue, the Affections of the County, to declare for, and joyn with them. But the fair expectation of *Cheſhire* was Clouded by the Storms that aroſe in *Lancaſhire*, where Men of no Name, and contemn'd Intereſt, by the meer credit of the Parliament, and frenzy of the People, on a ſuddain ſnatch'd that large and populous County, from their Devotion to the Earl of *Derby*.

The Town of *Mancheſter* had, from the beginning (out of that factious humour which poſſeſs'd moſt Corporations, and the Pride of their Wealth) oppoſed the King, and declared Magiſterially for the Parliament. But as a great part of the County conſiſted of Papiſts, of whoſe Inſurrections they had made ſuch uſe in the beginning of the Parliament, when they had a mind to Alarm the People with dangers; ſo it was confidently believ'd, that there was not one Man of ten throughout that County, who meant not to be Dutiful, and Loyal to the King: yet the reſtleſs Spirit of the Seditious Party was ſo ſedulous, and induſtrious, and every one of the Party ſo ready to be engaged, and punctually to obey; and, on the other hand, the Earl of *Derby* ſo unactive, and ſo uncomplying with thoſe who were fuller of alacrity, and would have proceeded more vigorouſly againſt the Enemy; or, through want of experience ſo irreſolute, that inſtead of countenancing the King's Party in *Cheſhire*, which was expected from him, the Earl inſenſibly, found *Lancaſhire* to be almoſt poſſeſs'd againſt him: The Rebels, every day, gaining, and fortifying all the ſtrong Towns, and ſurprizing his Troops, without any conſiderable Encounter. And yet, ſo hard was the King's Condition, that though he knew thoſe great misfortunes proceeded from want of Conduct, and of a vigorous and expert Commander, he thought it not ſafe to make any alteration, leſt that Earl might be provoked, out of diſdain to have any Superior in *Lancaſhire*, to manifeſt how much he could do againſt him, though it appear'd he could do little for him. Yet it was eaſily diſcern'd, that his Ancient Power there depended more upon the Fear, than Love of the People; there being very many, now in this time of Liberty, engaging themſelves againſt the King, that they might not be ſubject to that Lord's Commands.

However, the King committing *Lancaſhire* ſtill to his Lordſhip's care (whoſe Fidelity, without doubt, was blameleſs, whatever his Skill was) he ſent the Lord *Capel* to *Shrewsbury*, with a Commiſſion of " Lieutenant " General of *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and North *Wales*; who, being a Perſon of great Fortune, and Honour, quickly ingaged thoſe parts in a chearful Aſſociation; and raiſed a Body of Horſe and Foot, that gave Sir *William Bruerton* ſo much trouble at *Nantwitch* that the Garriſon at *Cheſter* had breath to enlarge it's Quarters, and to provide for it's own ſecurity though the Enemy omitted no opportunity of infeſting them, and gave them as much trouble as was poſſible. It cannot be denied but Sir *William Bruerton*, and the other Gentlemen of that Party, albeit their Education, and courſe of life, had

had been very different from their preſent Engagements, and for the moſt part were very unpromiſing in matters of War, and therefore were too much contemn'd Enemies, executed their Commands with notable Sobriety, and indefatigable Induſtry (virtues not ſo well practiced in the King's Quarters) inſomuch as the beſt Soldiers who encounter'd with them, had no cauſe to deſpiſe them. It is true, they had no other ſtreights and difficulties to ſtruggle with than what proceeded from their Enemy; being always ſupplied with Money to pay their Soldiers, and with Arms to Arm them; whereby it was in their power not to grieve and oppreſs the People. And thereby (beſides the ſpirit of Faction that much govern'd) the Common People were more devoted to them, and gave them all Intelligence of what might concern them; whereas they who were intruſted to govern the Kings Affairs, had intolerable difficulties to paſs through; being to raiſe Men without Money, to Arm them without Weapons (that is they had no Magazine to ſupply them) and to keep them together without Pay; ſo that the Country was both to Feed, and Cloath the Soldiers; which quickly inclined them to remember only the Burden, and forget the Quarrel.

The difference in the temper of the Common People of both ſides, was ſo great, that they who inclined to the Parliament, left nothing unperform'd that might advance the Cauſe; and were incredibly vigilant and induſtrious to croſs and hinder whatſoever might promote the King's: Whereas they who Wiſh'd well to Him, thought they had perform'd their duty in doing So, and that they had done enough For him, in that they had done nothing Againſt him.

Though, by this ſending the Lord *Capel*, thoſe Counties of *Shropſhire* and *Cheſhire*, with the Aſſiſtance of North *Wales*, kept thoſe parts, ſo near their Obedience, that their Diſobedience was not yet pernicious to the King, in ſending Aſſiſtance to the Earl of *Eſſex* againſt his Majeſty, or to the Lord *Fairfax* againſt the Earl of *New-Caſtle*; yet thoſe Counties which lay in the line between *Oxford* and *York*, were, upon the matter, entirely poſſeſs'd by the Enemy. The Garriſon of *Northampton* kept that whole County in obedience to the Parliament, ſave that from *Banbury* the adjacent Parts were forced to bring ſome contribution thither. In *Warwick ſhire* the King had no footing; the Caſtle of *Warwick*, the City of *Coventry*, and his own Caſtle of *Killingworth*, being fortified againſt him. The Lord *Grey*, Son to the Earl of *Stamford* had the Command of *Leiceſter-ſhire*; and had put a Garriſon into *Leiceſter*. *Derbyſhire*, without any viſible Party in it for the King, was under the power of Sir *John Gell*, who had fortified *Derby*. And all theſe Counties, with *Stafford-ſhire*, were united in an Aſſociation againſt the King under the Command of the Lord *Brook*; who was, by the Earl of *Eſſex*, made General of that Aſſociation; a Man cordially Diſaffected to the Government of the Church, and upon whom that Party had a great dependence. This Aſſociation receiv'd no other Interruption from, or for the King, than what Colonel *Haſtings* gave; who, being a younger Son to the Earl of *Huntington*, had appear'd eminently for the King from the beginning; having raiſed a good Troop of Horſe with the firſt, and, in the Head thereof, charged at *Edge hill*.

The Condition, at that time of the Counties between Oxford *and* York.

After the King was ſettled at *Oxford*, Colonel *Haſtings*, with his own Troop of Horſe only, and ſome Officers which he eaſily gather'd together, went with a Commiſſion into *Leiceſter-ſhire* " Of Colonel General of that County, and fix'd himſelf at *Aſhby de la Zouch*, the Houſe of the Earl of *Huntington*, his Father, who was then living; which he preſently fortified; and, in a very ſhort time, by his Intereſt there, raiſed ſo good a Party of Horſe and Foot, that he maintain'd many Skirmiſhes with the Lord *Grey*: the King's Service being the more advanced there, by the notable Animoſities between the two Families of *Huntington* and *Stamford*; between whom the County was divided paſſionately enough, without any other Quarrel. And now the Sons fought the Publick Quarrel, with their Private Spirit and Indignation. But the King had the advantage in His Champion, the Lord *Grey* being a young Man of no eminent parts, and only backed with the Credit and Authority of the Parliament: Whereas Colonel *Haſtings*, though a younger Brother, by his perſonal reputation, had ſupported his Family; and by the Intereſt

of it, and the Affection that People bore to him, brought, no doubt, an addition of Power to the very Cauſe. Inſomuch as he not only defended himſelf againſt the Forces of the Parliament in *Leiceſter-ſhire*, but diſquieted Sir *John Gell* in *Derby-ſhire*, and fixed ſome convenient Garriſons in *Stafford-ſhire*.

About the ſame time, ſome Gentlemen of that County, rather well affected than experienced, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, ſeiſed on the Cloſe in *Lichfield* for the King; a place naturally ſtrong, and defended with a Mote, and a very high and thick Wall; which in the Infancy of the War was thought a good Fortification. To ſuppreſs this growing Force, within the limits of his Aſſociation, the Lord *Brook* advanced with a form'd Body of Horſe, Foot, and Cannon; part drawn from the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and the reſt out of the Garriſons of *Coventry*, and *Warwick*; and without any reſiſtance, enter'd the City of *Lichfield*; which, being unfortified, was open to all Comers. The Number in the Cloſe was not great, nor their Proviſions ſuch as ſhould have been, and very well might have been, made; ſo that he made no doubt of being ſpeedily Maſter of it; Sir *John Gell* having brought up a good addition of ſtrength to him from *Derby*. He was ſo far from apprehending any danger from the beſieged, that himſelf lodg'd in a Houſe within Muſquet-ſhot of the Cloſe; where, the very day he meant to aſſault it, ſitting in his Chamber, and the Window open, he was, from the Wall of the Cloſe, by a Common Soldier, ſhot with a Muſquet in the Eye; of which he inſtantly died without ſpeaking a word.

The Lord Brook *ſhot in beſieging the Cathedral of* Lichfield, *which was ſoon after taken by Sir* John Gell.

There were many diſcourſes and obſervations upon his death, that it ſhould be upon St. *Chad*'s day (being the ſecond day of *March*) by whoſe Name, he being a Biſhop ſhortly after the planting of Chriſtianity in this Iſland, that Church had been anciently call'd. And it was reported, that in his Prayer, that very Morning (for he uſed to pray publickly though his Chaplain were in the preſence) he wiſh'd, "That if the Cauſe he were "in, were not right and juſt, he might be preſently cut off. They who were acquainted with him, believ'd him to be well natur'd, and juſt; and rather ſeduced, and corrupted in his underſtanding, than perverſe and malicious. Whether his Paſſions or Conſcience ſwayed him, he was undoubtedly one of thoſe who could have been with moſt difficulty reconciled to the Government of Church or State; and therefore his death was look'd upon as no ill Omen to Peace, and was exceedingly lamented by His Party; which had ſcarce a more abſolute confidence in any Man than in Him. However, it brought not that relief to the beſieged in the Cloſe as was believ'd it would; for the ſame Forces, under Sir *John Gell*, proceeded ſo vigorouſly in the work, and they Within ſo faintly, and unskilfully, that without any of that diſtreſs which Men thought it might bear, and which it did, within a ſhort time after, bear againſt the King, the place was yielded without other conditions than of Quarter; by which many Perſons became Priſoners, of too good Quality to have their Names remember'd.

By this prize, the Spirits of that Party were much exalted, and the King's Party in thoſe parts as much caſt down. Yet ſome Gentlemen betook themſelves to the Town of *Stafford*, and having too much declar'd for the King, when they thought *Lichfield* would have been of ſtrength to ſecure them, to hope to live unhurt at their Houſes, reſolv'd to defend that place; againſt which Sir *John Gell* drew his late fleſh'd Troops. But the Earl of *Northampton* (who intended the relief of *Lichfield* if they had Had any patience to expect it) with a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons, from his Garriſon of *Banbury*, came ſeaſonably to their Succour, and put himſelf into the Town; and, the ſame Night, beat up a Quarter of the Enemies, in which he kill'd and took above an hundred of their Horſe. Sir *John Gell* retir'd ſo far as to meet with Sir *William Bruerton*, who, from *Nantwich*, was coming to joyn with him for the ſubduing of *Stafford*; and, having done that, reſolv'd to march in a Body for the clearing the other Counties. When they were joyn'd, being near three thouſand Foot, and Horſe, with a good Train of Artillery, they moved back towards *Stafford*, imagining the Earl of *Northampton* would meet them without the Walls:

Stafford *Garriſon'd by ſome Gentlemen for the King.*

Walls: And it ſo fell out; for the Earl no ſooner heard that the Rebels were drawing towards the Town, but he drew out his Party to encounter them; imagining it could be only *Gell*, whoſe Numbers he underſtood, and whoſe Courage he much undervalued.

It was on a *Sunday*, about the middle of *March*, when, in the Afternoon, he march'd out of *Stafford*; his Party conſiſting of Horſe, and Dragoons, and ſome few Foot, the whole Number being under one thouſand, and found the Enemy, in very good Order, expecting them upon a place call'd *Hopton*-Heath, ſome two Miles from *Stafford*. Though the Number was more than double to the Earl's, yet the Heath ſeeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than Muſquet-ſhot from Encloſure on each ſide, and the number of his Horſe being at leaſt equal to the other, he reſolv'd to charge them; and accordingly Did, with ſo good ſucceſs, that he totally routed that part of their Horſe; and, rallying again his Men, he Charg'd the other part of their Horſe, which ſtood more in ſhelter of their Foot; and ſo totally routed, and diſperſed them, that the Enemy had ſcarce a Horſe left upon the Field; and took likewiſe from them eight pieces of Cannon.

In this ſecond Charge, the Earl of *Northampton* being engaged in the execution, very near, or among their Foot, had his Horſe kill'd under him. So that his own Horſe (according to their unhappy practice) with too much fury purſuing the Chaſe, he was left encompaſs'd by his Enemies. What His behaviour was afterwards, and Their Carriage towards Him, can be known only by the Teſtimony of the Rebels; who confeſs'd, that after he was on his feet, he kill'd with his own hand the Colonel of Foot who made firſt haſte to him; and that after his head-piece was ſtricken off with the But-end of a Muſquet, they offer'd him Quarter; which, they ſay, he refus'd; anſwering, "That he ſcorn'd to take Quarter from ſuch baſe Rogues, "and Rebels, as They were. After which, he was ſlain by a blow with a Halbert on the hinder part of his Head, receiving, at the ſame time, another deep wound in his Face.

The Earl of Northampton *ſlain on* Hopton-*Heath near* Stafford, *having firſt vanquiſhed the Enemies Horſe that oppoſed him.*

All this time the Enemies Foot ſtood, which (after their Horſe were diſperſed) Sir *Thomas Byron*, who Commanded the Prince of *Wales*'s Regiment, a Gentleman of great Courage, and of very good Conduct, Charg'd with good execution. But the Night came on apace, and the Field which they thought ſo fair, was found full of Coal-pits, and Holes dangerous for their Horſe; ſo that they thought fit to forbear farther Action, till they might have the Morning's light; and ſtood all that Night in the Field. When the Morning appear'd, there was no enemy to be ſeen. For aſſoon as the Fight ended, and the Night drew on, that they were unperceiv'd, they had left the Field, in hope that their ſcatter'd Horſe would find them in Quarters more remote from the danger. The Victorious Party was ſo harraſſed with duty, and tir'd with the Fight, ſo caſt down with the loſs of their General, and ſo deſtitute of Officers to Direct and Command, what was next to be done (For the Lord *Compton*, the Earl's eldeſt Son, had receiv'd a ſhot in the Leg; Sir *Thomas Byron* a ſhot in the Thigh, whereby they were not able to keep the Field; and many other Officers hurt) that they retir'd to refreſh themſelves at *Stafford*, after they had taken the Spoil of the Field and bury'd their Dead.

In this Fight, which was ſharp, and ſhort, there were kill'd, and taken Priſoners, of the Parliament Party, above two hundred, and more than that number wounded. For, the Horſe Charging among their Foot, more were hurt than kill'd. Eight pieces of their Cannon, and moſt of their Ammunition was likewiſe taken. Of the Earl's Party were ſlain but five and twenty, whereof there were two Captains, ſome inferior Officers, and the reſt Common Men: but there were as many hurt, and thoſe of the Chief Officers. They who had all the Enſigns of Victory, but their General, thought themſelves undone; whilſt the other ſide, who had eſcaped in the Night, and made a hard ſhift to carry his dead Body with them, hardly believ'd they were loſers:

Et, velut æquali bellatum ſorte fuiſſet,
Componit cum claſſe virum———

His Character. The truth is, a greater Victory had been an unequal recompence for ſuch a loſs, He was a Perſon of great Courage, Honour and Fidelity, and not well known till his Evening; having, in the Eaſe and Plenty, and Luxury of that too happy time, indulg'd to himſelf, with that Licence which was then thought neceſſary to great Fortunes: but from the beginning of theſe Diſtractions, as if he had been awaken'd out of the Lethargy, he never proceeded with a luke-warm Temper. Before the Standard was ſet up, he appear'd in *Warwick-ſhire* againſt the Lord *Brook*, and as much upon his own Reputation as the Juſtice of the Cauſe (which was not ſo well then underſtood) diſcountenanced, and drove him out of that County. Afterwards he took the Ordnance from *Banbury*-Caſtle, and brought them to the King. Aſſoon as an Army was to be raiſed, he Levied, with the firſt, upon his own charge, a Troop of Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot, and (not like ſome other Men, who warily diſtributed their Family to both ſides, one Son to ſerve the King, whilſt his Father, or another Son, engag'd as far for the Parliament) entirely dedicated all his Children to the Quarrel; having four Sons Officers under him, whereof three Charged that day in the Field: And from the time he ſubmitted himſelf to the profeſſion of a Soldier, no Man more punctual upon Command, no Man more diligent and vigilant in Duty. All diſtreſſes he bore like a Common Man, and all wants, and hardneſſes, as if he had never known plenty, or eaſe; moſt prodigal of his Perſon to danger; and would often ſay, "That if he out-liv'd theſe Wars, "he was certain never to have ſo noble a death. So that it is not to be wonder'd, if upon ſuch a ſtroke, the Body that felt it, thought it had loſt more than a Limb.

Aſſoon as it was known where the Enemy reſted after their Retreat, the Young Earl of *Northampton* ſent a Trumpet to Sir *John Gell*, to deſire the Body of his Father, that he might give it ſuch decent burial as became him. *Gell* and *Bruerton*, joyntly, by Letter, demanded, "In exchange for "the dead Body, all their Ammunition, Priſoners, and Cannon, they "had loſt at the Battle; which demands being ſo unreaſonable and againſt the Law of Arms, the Earl ſent again to them, to deſire, "That if they would "not return the Corps, that his Chirurgeon might have leave to Embalm "it, whereby it might be preſerv'd to receive thoſe Rites, when they "ſhould be willing to gratify him, which he preſum'd, upon more diſpaſſio-"nate thoughts, they would be. Their Anſwer to this was as unreaſonable as the other, "That they would neither ſend the Body, nor permit his "Chirurgeons to come to Embalm it; preſuming, it is probable, that the Piety of the Son would have prevail'd to have their unheard-of Propoſitions comply'd with.

The State of the Principality of Wales *at that time.* And ſo We ſhall, for the preſent, leave theſe parts, and viſit the Principality of *Wales*; of which, hitherto, very little hath been ſaid; and from the Affection whereof, the King had, from the beginning, a very great benefit; it having ſupply'd him with three or four good Regiments of Foot, in which many of their Gentry were engag'd, before the Battle of *Edge-hill*.

It hath been before remember'd, that the Marquis of *Hertford* drew with him out of *Wales*, and brought to *Oxford* about *Chriſtmas* near two thouſand Men; leaving *Wales* guarded only with the Courage and Fidelity of the Gentry, and Inhabitants. After that, North *Wales* lying moſt convenient to back *Cheſter*, and *Shrewsbury*, which places, whilſt the Enemy was Maſter of the Field, receiv'd their chief ſupplies of Men and Proviſions from thence; the King always put it under the Government of thoſe to whom he committed thoſe parts. South *Wales* which is much the larger, and richer part of that Dominion, he committed to the charge of the Lord *Herbert*, eldeſt Son to the Marquis of *Worceſter*; whom he made his Lieutenant General, adding *Monmouthſhire* to his Commiſſion.

The Lord Herbert, *Son of the Earl of* Worceſter *made General of South* Wales.

There were, in the opinion of many, great objections againſt committing that Employment to that Noble Lord, whoſe Perſon many Men lov'd, and very few hated. Firſt, he had no knowledge, or experience in the Martial Profeſſion; then his Religion, being of that ſort of Catholicks the People render'd odious, by accuſing it to be moſt Jeſuited, Men apprehended would not only produce a greater brand upon the King of favouring Papiſts

piſts and Popery, than he had been yet reproach'd with (for, though he had ſome Papiſts entertain'd in his Armies, yet all Men truſted by him in Superior Commands, were Men of unblemiſh'd Integrity in the Proteſtant Religion, and in all his Armies, he had but one General Officer, of the contrary Religion, Sir *Arthur Aſton*, whom the Papiſts notwithſtanding would not acknowledge for a Papiſt) This gave opportunity and excuſe to many Perſons of Quality, and great Intereſt in thoſe Counties (between whom and that Lord's Family, there had been perpetual Feuds and Animoſities) to leſſen their Zeal to the King's Cauſe, out of jealouſy of the others Religion; and thoſe Conteſtations had been lately improv'd with ſome ſharpneſs, by the Lord *Herbert*'s Carriage towards the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*, during the time of his Reſidence there; when, out of vanity to magnifie his own Power, he had not ſhew'd that due regard to that of the other which he ſhould have had. And no doubt, if he had been of that mind, it would much more have advanced the King's Service, if he would have contributed his full Aſſiſtance to another, who more Popularly might have born the Title of ſuch a Command.

But on the other ſide, the neceſſity of diſpoſing thoſe parts, divided from the reſt of the Kingdom, under the Command of ſome Perſon of Honour and Intereſt, was very viſible; and the expedition in doing it was as neceſſary; the Parliament being poſſeſs'd of *Gloceſter*, and *Briſtol*, and ſo having ſuch an influence upon the Trade and Livelyhood of that People, by their abſolute Command of the *Severn*, that except there were extraordinary care of keeping them, they would be quickly loſt. Beſides that, at the ſame time, there was diſcourſe, in the Houſes, "Of ſending the Earl of *Pembroke* thi-"ther, whoſe Eſtate was very great in thoſe parts, and his Reputation e-qual. The Parliament had already ſuch footing in *Pembroke ſhire*, that many of the principal Gentlemen had declared for Them; and the Harbour of *Milford*-Haven gave their Fleet opportunity to give them all ſupplies, and relief. This being the State of thoſe parts, the Lord *Herbert* not only offer'd, but deſir'd to receive that Command; and engaged himſelf, "Not only to "ſecure it from the Oppoſition, and Malignity of the other Party, but, "before the Spring, to raiſe ſuch a ſtrength of Horſe, and Foot, and to pro-"vide ſuch an Equipage to march with, that might reduce *Gloceſter*, and "be then added to the King's Army, when he ſhould be ready to take the "Field; and all this ſo much at his own charge (for his Father, who was well able, would furniſh Money, as was pretended, upon the King's promiſe to repay him, when he ſhould be reſtor'd to his own) "that he "would receive no part of the King's Revenue, or of ſuch Money, as his "Majeſty could be able to draw for the ſupply of his own more imme-"diate occaſions.

This was a very great offer, and ſuch as no Man elſe could ſo reaſonably make. For the Marquis of *Worceſter* was generally reputed the greateſt Mony'd Man of the Kingdom; and probably, might not think it an unthrifty thing, rather to diſburſe it for the King, who might be able to repay it, than to have it taken from him by the other Party; which would be hardly queſtionable if They prevail'd. The Lord *Herbert* himſelf was a Man of more than ordinary Affection and Reverence to the Perſon of the King, and one, who, he was ſure, would neither deceive nor betray him. For his Religion, it might work upon Himſelf, but could not diſquiet other Men: For though he were a Papiſt, he was never like to make others ſo; and his Reputation and Intereſt was very great with many Gentlemen of thoſe Counties, who were not at all friends to his Religion. It was not poſſible to employ any Perſon of Intereſt, and Power in thoſe parts (and there were many objections from the Nature, and Manners of that People, againſt a meer Stranger) againſt whom there would not be ſome Faction, and Animoſity; for the Emulations, and Diſſention between Families was general and notorious: and therefore it would be beſt to chooſe ſuch a one, who was like to have a greater Faction for him, than againſt him. And it was to be hoped that the old Grudges, and Prejudices, which had been rather againſt the Houſe of *Worceſter*, and the Popiſh Religion profeſſed there; than againſt the Perſon of this Lord, would have been compoſed, and declin'd by his

fair and gentle Carriage towards all Men (as in truth he was of a civil, and obliging Nature) and by the publick-heartedneſs of thoſe, who, for the Cauſe, and Conſcience ſake, would, it was hoped, Sacrifice all trivial and private Contentions to a Union that muſt vindicate the Religion, Honour, and Juſtice of the Kingdom.

The Lord Herbert *raiſes a little Army.*

Upon theſe reaſons, and theſe preſumptions, the King granted ſuch a Commiſſion, as is before mention'd to the Lord *Herbert*; who with more expedition than was expected by many, or by others believ'd poſſible, raiſed a Body of above fifteen hundred Foot, and near five hundred Horſe, very well and ſufficiently Arm'd; which increaſed the merit of the Service.

The Horſe he put under the Command of his Brother, the Lord *John Somerſet*, a maiden Soldier too; and the Foot under Colonel *Lawley*, whom he made his Major General, a bold and a ſprightly Officer. About the middle of *February* he march'd towards *Gloceſter*, with an ill Omen at his ſetting out; for a Rabble of the Country People being got together, without Order, or Officer of Name, Barricadoed a little Village in the Forreſt of *Deane*, call'd *Cover* (through which he was to paſs) and refuſed to give him entrance; and out of a Window kill'd Colonel *Lawly*, and two Officers more, without hurting a Common Soldier; whereby that Body was deſtitute of any Perſon of Experience to Command them. However the Lord *Herbert*, who was himſelf ſeldom with his Forces, ſhortly after placed Colonel *Brett* in that Command; who, without any Skirmiſh of importance, march'd through the Forreſt of *Deane*, and fix'd a Quarter, which contain'd his whole Body, at the *Vineyard*, the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*'s Palace, within leſs than half a Mile of *Gloceſter*. And by that means, there being only a long Bridge over the *Severn*, by which Men could come out or go in to *Gloceſter*, he fully Block'd up the Town on that ſide, expecting that Prince *Maurice* from *Cirenceſter*, ſhould take equal care to diſtreſs it on the other; which he did to a good degree.

Is ſurpriſed by Sir William Waller, *and Routed.*

But Sir *William Waller*, with a light Party of Horſe, and Dragoons, near two thouſand, from the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, had made a quick march through *Wiltſhire* (after his taking of *Chicheſter*) and taking, with little loſs and trouble, a ſmall Garriſon of the King's, conſiſting of about ſix or ſevenſcore at *Malmsbury*, before it was fortified, or provided, made a face of looking towards *Cirenceſter*; where, when he found he was expected, by a ſuddain Night March, in which he was very dexterous and ſucceſsful, he poſted to the River *Severn*, ſix Miles Weſt of *Gloceſter*, from whence he had appointed many flat Boats to meet him; and in them, in the light day, the Guard of the River being either Treacherouſly, or Sottiſhly neglected by the Lord *Herbert*'s Forces, Tranſported his whole Body, which, upon the advantage of that Paſs, might have been reſiſted by a few Men. Hereupon the Conſternation was ſo great among the new *Welſh* Soldiers, very few of their Officers having ever ſeen an Enemy, that though their Works were too good to be enter'd by Horſe, and Dragoons; though the Avenues were but narrow, in all which they had Cannon planted, and their Numbers very near, if not fully, equal to the Enemy; upon the advance of Sir *William Waller* upon them, without giving, or receiving blow, they fairly ſent out to Treat; and as kindly deliver'd up Themſelves, and their Arms, upon the ſingle grant of Quarter: A Submiſſion ſo like a Stratagem, that the Enemy could hardly truſt it. Yet, in the end, they made a ſhift to put near thirteen hundred Foot, and three Troops of Horſe, Priſoners into *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Herbert* himſelf being at that time at *Oxford*, and the Lord *John Somerſet* with three or four Troops at a ſafe diſtance from the reſt.

This was the end of that Muſhroom-Army, which grew up and periſh'd ſo ſoon, that the loſs of it was ſcarce apprehended at *Oxford*, becauſe the Strength, or rather the Number, was not underſtood. But if the Money, which was laid out in Raiſing, Arming, and Paying that Body of Men, which never advanced the King's Service in the leaſt degree, had been brought into the King's Receipt at *Oxford*, to have been imploy'd to the moſt advantage, I am perſwaded the War might have been ended

ended the next Summer. For I have heard the Lord *Herbert* ſay, "That "thoſe preparations, and the other, which by that Defeat were render'd uſe- "leſs, coſt above threeſcore thouſand pounds; whereof, though much came from the Marquis's Coffers, yet, no doubt, the general Contributions from the Catholicks made a good part: And very conſiderable Sums were receiv'd by him of the King's Revenue upon Wardſhips, and other ways: for it was a common practice in thoſe times, for Men to get into Employments upon promiſes, that they would not do this or that, without which no body elſe would undertake that Service; and being, upon thoſe terms, receiv'd into it, they immediately did the other, becauſe no other Man would do the Service without it.

Sir W Waller *takes* Hereford, *and* Tewkesbury; *both which he preſently left.*

The fame of this prodigious Victory ſo ſubdued all thoſe parts, that Sir *William Waller*, with the ſame ſpirit of celerity, and attended with the ſame Succeſs, flew to *Hereford*; and though a walled Town, and repleniſh'd with a Garriſon, had That likewiſe deliver'd to him upon the ſame terms as the other was; and from thence (being with more confidence refuſed to be admitted into *Worceſter*, than he thought reaſonable to require it) paſs'd to *Tewkesbury*; which he likewiſe ſurpriſed, being newly Garriſon'd; his motion being ſo quick, that though Prince *Maurice* attended him with all poſſible diligence, he could never farther engage him than in light Skirmiſhes; and, having taken this progreſs, return'd ſafe to *Gloceſter*; and from thence to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army; having made no other uſe of his Conqueſts, than the diſhonouring ſo many places, which had ſo quietly yielded to him; into which (for he fixed no one Garriſon) the King's Forces immediately enter'd again. So that his Majeſty's Quarters continued the ſame they were, haraſſed only, and diſcountenanced, nothing ſtreighten'd by this Incurſion; and the Lord *Herbert* again intended new Levies.

The State of Ireland *at that time with reference to the difference between the King and the two Houſes here.*

Having now, with as much clearneſs as I could, remember'd the true State of the King's Affairs, and the condition of the Kingdom, at the end of this year 1642, with which I intend to conclude this ſixth Book; I ſhall, before I return to *Oxford*, to conclude the year, briefly call to remembrance the diſconſolate State of *Ireland*; of which, advantage was always taken againſt the King, to render him odious to the People, as if he countenanced, at leaſt not ſufficiently abhorr'd, that wicked, and unnatural Rebellion. And this Imputation was with ſo great Art inſinuated, that it got credit with many; inſomuch as I have heard ſome, who could make no other Excuſe for adhering to the Parliament, ſay, "They were perſwaded that the King fa- "vour'd thoſe Rebels; which they ſaid, "Could not be without ſome "deſign upon the Religion, Liberty, and Proſperity of *England*. Whereas I can aver truly, upon as good grounds, as ever any Man ſpoke the heart of another, that the King alway's look'd upon it, as the moſt groundleſs, bloody, and wicked Rebellion, that ever poſſeſs'd the Spirits of that People; and was not more griev'd at any one circumſtance of the Domeſtick diſtractions, than, as it hinder'd him from chaſtiſing, and taking Vengeance upon the Other: which from his Soul he deſir'd.

But in this diſcourſe of *Ireland*, it cannot be expected, that I ſhould, neither do I intend to mention all the memorable Actions (in which were great Inſtances of God's own deteſtation of thoſe inhuman Rebels, by the ſignal Victories he gave againſt them) or the other Tranſactions within that Kingdom; but ſhall remember no more of that buſineſs, than had immediate reference to, and dependence on, the difference between the King and the two Houſes of Parliament.

It is ſaid before, that when the firſt viſible rupture was declar'd between them, which was in the buſineſs of *Hull* (which the King underſtood to be a direct levying of War againſt him) in the Proteſtation made by his Majeſty, "That he would no farther treat, or concur with them, in any Acts "propoſed by them, till he firſt receiv'd reparation, or ſatisfaction in that "particular; he always excepted what ſhould any way concern *Ireland*; in which he offer'd to conſent to whatſoever might reaſonably conduce to the reducing thoſe Rebels, and did, after that, concur in ſome Propoſitions of that Nature. Yet it is certain that, from that time, the two Houſes were ſo buſy in preparing the War for *England*, that they did very little prepare

for the War of *Ireland*; ſave only by ſome ſmall ſupplies of Money and Proviſions. The King objected to them, "The employing the Monies, raiſed, "by Act of Parliament, for the preſervation and reduction of *Ireland*, with "a ſpecial clauſe that the ſame ſhould not be diverted to any other uſe "whatſoever, in the ſupporting the unnatural War, and Rebellion againſt "his Majeſty; particularly one hundred thouſand pounds at one time; and "that many Soldiers raiſed under pretence of being ſent into *Ireland*, were, "contrary to their expectation and engagement, forced to ſerve under the "Earl of *Eſſex* againſt the King; of which, he named, Sir *Faithful Forteſcue*'s Regiment of Horſe, and the Lord *Wharton*'s, and the Lord *Kerry*'s Regiment of Foot.

To this they anſwer'd, "That albeit they had upon the urgent occaſions "of this Kingdom, ſometimes made uſe of Monies raiſed, and collected for "*Ireland*; yet that they had in due time repaid it, and that the other Affairs had never ſuffer'd by the Loan: And for the Men, that it proceeded from his Majeſty's own default; for after they had raiſed them, with "a ſerious intention to ſend them into *Ireland*, under the Command of "the Lord *Wharton*, the King refuſed to grant a Commiſſion to him to "tranſport them; and ſo they had been compell'd to uſe them in their "own Service here.

The King replied, "That it appear'd, they had diverted that Money to "other Uſes than thoſe for which it was provided; which was manifeſtly "unlawful; and that it did not appear they had again reimburſed it, becauſe "very little ſupply was ſent thither, and very much wanted: and for the "Soldiers, that They firſt levied them, without his Majeſty's leave; which "they had always before ask'd, for their other Levies; and being levied, "they deſir'd a Commiſſion for the Lord *Wharton* to command them abſolutely, without any dependence upon the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; which "had been never heard of, and which his Majeſty refuſed; but offer'd ſuch "a Commiſſion as was granted to other Men.

On the other hand, they objected to the King, "The ſeiſing ſome Cart-Horſes at *Cheſter*, provided for the Train of Artillery for *Ireland*; that his "Forces had taken many Cloaths, and Proviſions, on the Road, which were "going to *Cheſter* to be tranſported thither for the relief of the Soldiers; "and that he entertain'd, and countenanced Men in his Court, which "were Favourers or Actors in that Rebellion, naming the Lord Viſcount "*Coſteloe*, and the Lord *Taffe*, which gave great umbrage to thoſe who were "well affected, and as great encouragement to the Rebels there.

To the firſt, the King confeſs'd, "He found about ſixſcore Horſes at "*Cheſter*, which had long lain there; and, at his remove from *Nottingham*, "knowing, the other Horſe and Men, raiſed for *Ireland*, were then marching "with the Earl of *Eſſex* againſt him, he knew not, but theſe likewiſe might "be ſo imploy'd, and therefore in his own neceſſity took them for his "own draughts. For the Cloaths, which had been taken by his Soldiers, "that it proceeded by the default of the Parliament, who, after the War was "begun, had ſent thoſe Carriages through his Quarters, without ſending "to his Majeſty for a Safe Conduct, or giving any notice to him of it till "after they were taken: that it was within two Miles of *Coventry* (which "was then in Rebellion) that thoſe Cloaths were taken; and that, aſſoon as "he knew they were deſign'd for *Ireland*, his Majeſty had uſed the beſt means "he could to recover them; but that the Soldiers, who were almoſt naked, "had divided them for their own Supplies; and his Majeſty offer'd to give a "Safe Conduct at all times for whatſoever ſhould be deſign'd for *Ireland*.

The occaſion of the other reproach, "For countenancing Perſons who "adher'd to the Rebels, was this. The Lords, *Dillon* [Viſcount *Coſtoloe*] and *Taffe*, had, four Months before, paſs'd out of *Ireland* into *England*, having never been in conſort with the Rebels, but ſo much truſted by them, that they deſir'd, by Their Hands, to addreſs a Petition to the King; humble enough, deſiring "Only to be heard, and offering to ſubmit to his Majeſty's "ſingle Judgment. With this Petition, and all other Inſtructions, as they pretended, theſe Lords acquainted the Lords Juſtices, and Council of *Ireland*; who were ſo well ſatisfied with the Perſons employ'd, that they granted

ted their Safe Paſs, and ſent Letters by them of Teſtimony. They were no ſooner Landed in *England*, but they were apprehended, and ſent Priſoners to the Parliament, and by them committed with all ſtrictneſs, "As Agents em-"ploy'd by the Rebels of *Ireland* to the King; and that Circumſtance inforced and ſpread among the people, with all licentious gloſſes againſt the King; who, for that reaſon, took no notice of their reſtraint, though from his Miniſters he receiv'd advertiſement of the truth of the whole buſineſs. After ſome time was ſpent in cloſe Impriſonment, theſe Lords, by Petition, and all other Addreſſes they could make, preſs'd to be brought to any kind of Examination and Tryal; of which they found no other benefit, than that, upon this Importunity, their Impriſonment was leſs cloſe; and, by degrees, under a formal reſtraint (which though more pleaſant, was not leſs coſtly) had the Liberty of *London*, and from thence, after four Months reſtraint, without being formally charged with any Crime, or brought to any Tryal, which they often deſired, they eſcaped, and came to *York*; whither a Meſſenger from the Houſe of Commons follow'd them, and demanded them as Priſoners.

Many were of opinion, that they ſhould have been deliver'd back; foreſeeing that the Parliament would preſs the ſcandal of ſheltering Them much to the King's diſadvantage; and any imputations, "Of countenan-"cing the Rebels of *Ireland*, found more credit, and made deeper impreſſion with the people, than any other diſcourſes of "Protecting Malignants, and Delinquents. On the other ſide, it was thought unreaſonable, to remit Men to an Impriſonment, which appear'd to have been unjuſt, by their not being proceeded againſt in ſo long time; eſpecially when their coming to the King would be declar'd ſuch a crime, that it would be now in their Enemies power to cauſe them to be puniſh'd; which before they could not do; at beſt, it were to deliver them up to the Serjeant of the Houſe of Commons, from whence no Innocence could redeem Them, without paying ſuch vaſt Fees, as would amount to a greater Sum than they could probably be ſupplied with. So that the King, who wiſh'd that they had rather gone any whither than where he was, reſolv'd to take no Notice of their eſcape. And ſo they continued in His Quarters, and put themſelves into the Troops; where they behaved themſelves with good Courage, and frankly engaged their Perſons in all dangerous Enterpriſes.

In theſe Jealouſies, and Conteſts, the King being viſibly and confeſſedly unable to ſend Succours of any kind thither, and the Parliament having enough elſe to do, and, in truth, not taking ſo much pains to preſerve it, as to impute the loſs of it to the King, poor *Ireland* got very ſmall relief. The Earl of *Liceſter*, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, had receiv'd his diſpatch from the King, before he went to *Shrewsbury*. But when the King thought he would have gone directly to *Cheſter*, and ſo to *Ireland*, his Lordſhip return'd to *London*; which encreaſed the King's jealouſy, and prejudice to him; which his former Carriage, and a Letter writ lately by him from *Nottingham*, to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and by Order of Parliament Printed, had begot to a great degree. Shortly after his return to *London*, the Houſe of Commons demanded "To ſee the Inſtructions he had receiv'd from the "King; which, as it was unreaſonable in them, ſo he had receiv'd expreſs Command from the King, "Not to Communicate them. However, after he had avoided it as long as he could, and They continued peremptory in the demand, in the end, he produced them to be peruſed by the Committee of both Houſes. The truth is, the Earl's condition was very ſlippery, and almoſt impoſſible to be ſafely managed by the moſt dexterous Perſon.

He was deſign'd to that Employment by the King, ſhortly upon the death of the Earl of *Strafford* (or rather before; not without ſome advice from That Earl) with as great circumſtances of Grace and Favour, as could be; and as a Perſon, of whom entirely the King aſſured himſelf, being then ſo ungracious to the Parliament, that as there were ſome ſharp glances at him in that time (which are before remember'd) ſo nothing preſerv'd him from a publick exception, but the Intereſt of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whoſe Siſter he had Married; whom that Party was not willing to irreconcile. After the Rebellion was broke out in *Ireland*, and the King had committed the

the carrying on the War to the Houſes, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary for his Province, to render himſelf as gracious to that People as was poſſible; and labour'd that with ſo good Effect, and Induſtry, that he omitted that care which ſhould have been obſerv'd in continuing his Intereſt at Court. For the King and Queen grew every day leſs ſatisfied with him; which ſure he did not with warineſs enough provide againſt, though, I believe, he had never unfaithful purpoſes towards either of them; but did ſadly project by his demeanonr, and intereſt in the Houſes, to provide ſo well for *Ireland*, and to go thither in ſo good a condition, that, being once there, he might be able to ſerve the King as he ſhould be requir'd.

But one Man is rarely able to act both thoſe parts: For his ſhewing his Inſtructions, he gave a reaſon, which, if he had been free from all other objections, might appear no ill excuſe: "He knew his Inſtructions were "ſuch, that, being peruſed by the Committee, could by no miſconſtruction, "or poſſible perverſion, be wreſted to the King's diſadvantage; as indeed they never were able, nor ever attempted, to fix any reproach from them upon the King. "Whereas, after they were ſo peremptorily requir'd, "if he ſhould have as peremptorily refuſed to ſubmit, they would have "concluded that there had been ſomewhat unjuſtifiable in them, and "upon that jealouſy made no ſcruple of publiſhing the worſt reproaches upon his Majeſty. And it may be, he was not without an imagination, that if by this Conteſt he had drawn the diſpleaſure of the two Houſes upon him, as could not be avoided, his Misfortune at Court might have ſuffer'd that Conteſt to have depreſs'd him. And when he left the King between *Nottingham* and *Shrewsbury*, his Condition was ſo low at Court, that a Man might have imagin'd his Intereſt would be beſt preſerv'd by being within the Verge of the Parliament's Protection. As his return to *London* was beſides the King's expectation, ſo his ſtay there was longer than ſeem'd to be intended by his own propoſal; for he ſtay'd there above two Months, till after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, and both Parties being fix'd in their Winter-Quarters; and then, without waiting again on the King, though *Oxford* was very few Miles out of his way, about the end of *November*, he went to *Cheſter*, with a purpoſe of Tranſporting himſelf for *Ireland*, but without the leaſt appearance of addition of Strength, or Proviſions from the Parliament; neither were there Ships there, ready to Tranſport them.

About the end of *November*, four Officers of the Army in *Ireland*, Sir *James Montgomery*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Colonel *Arthur Hill*, and Colonel *Audly Mervin*, having been employ'd from *Ireland* to ſollicite the Parliament for Succours, came from *London* to *Oxford*, and deliver'd a Petition to the King, in which they told him, "That they had Addreſs'd themſelves to "the Parliament for Supplies, whoſe ſenſe of their Miſeries, and inclina-"tion to redreſs them, appear'd very tender to Them; but the preſent "diſtempers of the Kingdom of *England* were grown ſo great, that all fu-"ture paſſages, by which Comfort and Life ſhould be convey'd to that "gaſping Kingdom, ſeem'd totally to be obſtructed; ſo that unleſs his "Majeſty, out of his ſingular Wiſdom, and Fatherly Care, applied ſome "ſpeedy remedy, his Loyal, and Diſtreſſed Subjects of that Kingdom muſt "inevitably periſh. They acknowledged, his Princely favour and goodneſs "ſince this Rebellion, ſo abundantly expreſs'd in a deep ſenſe, and live-"ly reſentment of their bleeding Condition: And therefore, they be-"ſought him, among his other weighty Cares, ſo to reflect upon the bleed-"ing Condition of that periſhing Kingdom, that timely relief might be "afforded. Otherwiſe his Loyal Subjects there muſt yield their Fortunes, "as a Prey; their Lives, a Sacrifice; and their Religion, a Scorn to the "mercileſs Rebels, powerfully aſſiſted from abroad.

And indeed the condition of the Proteſtants, in that Kingdom, was very miſerable: For, whilſt the diſtractions of *England* kept them from receiving Succours from thence, the Rebels had Arms, Ammunition, Money, and Commanders, from *Rome*, *Spain*, and *France*; the Pope having ſent a formal avow'd *Nuntio*, to whoſe Juriſdiction the *Iriſh* ſubmitted; and the Kings of *France*, and *Spain*, having ſent great Supplies, and their Agents, to countenance and foment the Rebellion; who gave notable countenance to the Aſſembly and form'd Council for the Rebels, ſettled at *Kilkenny*. The

The King, who well knew this Petition was ſent by the permiſſion of thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, and that the Agents employ'd were Men of notorious diſaffection to him, who looked for ſome ſuch Anſwer as might improve the envy of the People, uſed the Meſſengers with all poſſible grace, and return'd them as gracious an Anſwer: "That from the beginning of that monſtrous Re- "bellion, he had Had no greater Sorrow, than for the bleeding Condi- "tion of that his Kingdom. That he had, by all means, labour'd, that "timely relief might be afforded to it, and conſented to all Propoſitions, "how diſadvantageous ſoever to Himſelf, that had been offer'd to him to "that purpoſe; and, not only at firſt recommended their Condition to both "his Houſes of Parliament, and immediately, of his own meer motion, "ſent over ſeveral Commiſſions, and cauſed ſome proportion of Arms, and "Ammunition, (which the Petitioners well knew to have been a great ſupport "to the Northern parts of that Kingdom) to be convey'd to them out of *Scot-* "*land*, and offer'd ten thouſand Voluntiers to undertake that War; but had "often preſs'd by many ſeveral Meſſages, that ſufficient Succours might be "haſten'd thither, and other matters of ſmaller importance laid by, which did "divert it; and offer'd, and moſt really intended, in his own Royal Perſon, "to have undergone the danger of that War, for the defence of his good Sub- "jects, and the chaſtiſement of thoſe perfidious, and barbarous Rebels; and "in his ſeveral expreſſions of his deſires of Treaty and Peace, he had de- "clar'd, the miſerable preſent Condition and certain future Loſs of *Ireland*, to "be one of the principal Motives moſt earneſtly to deſire, that the preſent Di- "ſtractions of This Kingdom might be Compos'd, and that others would con- "cur with him to the ſame end.

He told them, "He was well pleas'd, that his Offers, Concurrence, Acti- "ons, and Expreſſions, were ſo rightly underſtood by the Petitioners, and "thoſe who had employ'd them (notwithſtanding the groundleſs, and hor- "rid aſperſions which had been caſt upon him) but he wiſh'd, that, inſtead "of a meer general Complaint, to which his Majeſty could make no return "but of Compaſſion, they could have diſgeſted, and offer'd to him any ſuch "deſires, by conſenting to which, he might convey, at leaſt in ſome degree, "comfort and life to That gaſping Kingdom; preſerve his Diſtreſſed, and Loy- "al Subjects of the ſame from inevitably periſhing, and the true Proteſtant "Religion from being ſcorn'd, and trampled on, by thoſe mercileſs Rebels. "And, if the Petitioners could yet think of any ſuch, and propoſe them to "his Majeſty, he aſſured them, that by his readineſs to conſent, and his thanks "to them for the propoſal, he would make it appear to them, that their moſt "preſſing, Perſonal Sufferings, could not make Them more deſirous of relief, "than His care of the true Religion, and of his faithful Subjects, and of his "Duty, which obliged him, to his Power, to Protect both, render'd Him de- "ſirous to afford it to Them.

The King being fully inform'd now, as well by this Committee, as from his Miniſters of State in that Kingdom, of the growing power of the Rebels in *Ireland*, and of the weak Reſiſtance his good Subjects were like to make, whoſe only hopes depended upon thoſe Succours which they preſumed the Lord Lieutenant would bring over with him, and that he was now going thither without the leaſt addition of Strength, or probable aſſurance that any would be ſent after him; his Majeſty conſider'd likewiſe, that beſides the damp this naked Arrival of the Lord Lieutenant There muſt caſt upon the Minds of all, it would make likewiſe a great alteration in the Conduct of Affairs There. For upon his Landing, the Commiſſion to the Earl of *Ormond*, of Lieutenant General of the Army, would be determined; and there had thoſe Jealouſies, and diſreſpects, paſs'd between the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Him, that the Earl of *Ormond* was reſolv'd, no more to continue that Command, but immediately to Tranſport himſelf out of that Kingdom; by which the King ſhould loſe the Service of a Perſon much the moſt Powerful, moſt Able, and moſt Popular within that Kingdom; and who had, with wonderful Courage and Conduct, and almoſt miraculous Succeſs, hitherto reſtrained the rage and fury of the Rebels, and indeed a Man ſo accompliſh'd, that he had either no Enemies, or Such who were aſham'd to profeſs they were ſo.

Upon theſe Conſiderations, the King thought fit, for ſome time, till he might farther weigh the whole buſineſs, to ſuſpend the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Journey: and therefore ſent to him to *Cheſter* (where he had lain, in ſome indiſpoſition of health, above a fortnight; and the Ships being not yet come for his Tranſportation) "To attend his Majeſty at *Oxford*; which he did ſhortly after *Chriſtmas*, and continued there; the King directing the Earl of *Ormond* (whom about this time he made a Marquis) "To carry on the War as he had done; and, during the abſence of the Lord Lieutenant, to "diſpoſe of all Places, and Offices in the Army which became void. His "Majeſty likewiſe at this time made an alteration in the Civil Power; for whereas Sir *William Parſons*, and Sir *John Burlacy*, had continued Lords Juſtices from and before the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, the King finding that Sir *William Parſons* (who was a Man of long experience in that Kingdom, and confeſs'd abilities, but always of ſuſpected reputation) did him all imaginable diſſervice, and combined with the Parliament in *England*, remov'd him from that Truſt; and, in his room, deputed Sir *Harry Tichborne*, a Man of ſo excellent a fame, that though the Parliament was heartily angry at the remove of the Other, and knew This would never be brought to ſerve Their turn, they could not faſten any reproach upon the King for this alteration.

Another circumſtance muſt not be forgotten. After the War broke out in *England*, the Parliament had ſent over two of their Members of the Commons (Mr *Raynolds*, and Mr *Goodwyn*) as a Committee into *Ireland*, to reſide at *Dublin*, and had given directions to the Lords Juſtices, "That they "ſhould have leave to be preſent at their Conſultations; which they had; and were no other than Spies upon thoſe, who ſhould preſume to deliver any opinions there not agreeable to the ſenſe of the Houſes. When the King made that alteration in the Government, he likewiſe took notice, that ſtrangers were admitted to be preſent at their Debates, which had never been before practiced; and therefore required them, "That it might be ſo "no more. Hereupon, the Committee, who had carried themſelves very "inſolently, and ſeditiouſly there, and with notable contempt of the King, and His Authority, were by the Lords Juſtices, and Council, inhibited from being preſent at the Council; and thereupon they quickly left the Kingdom, and return'd to *London*; the Parliament unreaſonably accuſing the King of a new breach of Privilege, for this diſreſpect to their Members. This was the State of *Ireland*, the War being that Spring proſperouſly carried on by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſtill ſtaying at *Oxford* with the Title of Lord Lieutenant. And ſo We will return to *Oxford*, and *London*.

Many days being paſt ſince the return of the Committee of Lords and Commons from *Oxford*, with the King's Anſwer to their Propoſitions, and no Reply being made by the Houſes, or indeed any ſolemn Debate enter'd thereupon (for his Majeſty had every day Information of what paſs'd among them, even in their moſt ſecret Councils) and, on the contrary, preparations more vigorouſly intended for the War, than had been before, in ſending out ſtrong Parties to infeſt the King's Quarters (for beſides the incurſions, and progreſs of Sir *William Waller*, which are before remember'd, Mr *Hambden* had made ſome Attempts upon the *Brill*, a Garriſon of the King's upon the Edge of *Buckingham-ſhire*, but without effect, and with ſome conſiderable loſs) in Levying great Numbers of Men, for the recruiting the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army; and deſigning new extraordinary ways for the raiſing of Money, and aſſociating ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom, towards the raiſing new Armies: The King, as well to have the convenience of ſending to *London* (of which Journies he made good uſe) as to quicken, and neceſſitate them to ſome reply, ſent another Meſſage to them, putting them in mind of "The Propoſition he had made for a Ceſſation of "Arms, and deſired, "If they approv'd of a Ceſſation, that the day upon "which they thought fit it ſhould begin, and ſuch particulars, limits, and "conditions, of it, as were neceſſary to be underſtood, and agreed on, before "the Ceſſation it ſelf could actually begin, might be propoſed by Them. Since, his Majeſty ſaid, "He ſuppoſed, by the preſent great Preparations "of

The King puts the two Houſes in mind of his Propoſition for a Ceſſation of Arms.

" of ſeveral Forces to march ſeveral ways, that till all that ſhould be agreed " upon, They did not conceive Themſelves obliged to an actual Ceſſation; " ſo neither, till Then, did his Majeſty conceive Himſelf obliged to it; " however, he wiſh'd it might be clearly underſtood between them, that " no ſuch imputations as had been formerly, might be laid upon Him, up- " on occaſion of any thing that might intervene.

This Meſſage put a neceſſity upon them, of entring again upon the Argument, and gave them who deſir'd Peace and Accommodation, an opportunity to preſs for the Debate, which had been craftily laid aſide for the diſpatch of other matters; that Party, which was moſt deeply engaged in the War, and reſolv'd to carry it on, having a notable dexterity in keeping thoſe things from being Debated, in which they found Their ſenſe would not prevail. And at this time, the Number of thoſe in both Houſes, who really deſired the ſame Peace the King did, was (if they had not been overwitted by them) ſuperior to the other. For, beſides that many Perſons, who from the beginning had always diſſented from them, for their eaſe and conveniency had ſtayed among them, very many were convinced in their underſtandings. that they had been miſled; and diſcerned, in what a bottomleſs Gulph of Miſery the Kingdom would be plung'd, if an immediate Compoſure were not made; and ſome of thoſe who had been as fierce as any, and given as great countenance to the kindling the Fire, either out of Conſcience that they had done amiſs, or fear that the King would prevail by Power, or Anger that they found other Men valued above them; in their preſent Diſtraction, or their natural Inconſtancy even in ill, were moſt ſollicitous for a Treaty. So that within few days after the receipt of this Meſſage, both Houſes agreed, " That there ſhould " be a Treaty, in which ſo much of the King's Propoſitions as concern'd " the Magazines, Forts, and Ships, and the Propoſition of both Houſes " for the disbanding the Armies, ſhould be firſt treated on, and concluded " before the proceeding to treat upon any other of the Propoſitions; and " that the Treaty ſhould begin the fourth of *March*, or ſooner if it might " be; and that, from the beginning, the time ſhould not exceed twenty " days.

Both Houſes agree there ſhould be a Treaty; and they ſend for a ſafe Conduct.

The Perſons they made choice of to Treat, were the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr *Pierepoint*, Sir *William Armyn*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr *Whitlock*, for whoſe Safe Conduct they diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to his Majeſty; this reſolution being taken but the laſt day of *February*. As ſoon as the requeſt was preſented, the King return'd a Safe Conduct for the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the four Commoners, but refuſed to admit the Lord *Say* to his preſence, upon the ſame exception he had formerly refus'd Sir *John Evelyn* at *Colebrook*; his Lordſhip being Perſonally excepted from Pardon by a Former Proclamation; but ſignified, " That if " they would employ any other Perſon not within the ſame Rule, he " ſhould as freely come as if he were in the Safe Conduct.

The King grants it to all they name but the Lord Say.

Whether the Lord *Say* was nominated by thoſe who believ'd they ſhould be able, upon the refuſal of Him (which they could not but foreſee) to break off all Overtures of farther Treaty; or whether they believ'd, they had ſo far prevail'd by underhand Negotiations at *Oxford*, that he ſhould be admitted, and that he would have been able to perſwade the King to yield to what they propoſed, or at leaſt to have engaged the King to thoſe who would have yielded to him, I know not; but as it was not So inſiſted on at *Weſtminſter* as to break the Treaty, ſo, many were of opinion at *Oxford*, that the King ſhould have admitted him. They ſaid, " He was a wiſe Man, and could not but know, that " it would not be poſſible for him to make any impreſſion upon his Ma- " jeſty's Judgment in the Propoſitions in Debate; and therefore, that he " would never have ſuffer'd himſelf to be deſign'd to that Negotiation " (which, without doubt, by his Intereſt in both Houſes he might have " prevented) if he did not purpoſe to do ſome ſignal ſervice to his Ma- " jeſty. And indeed many believ'd, " That if he had come, and found " the King's goodneſs inclin'd to pardon, and truſt him, that he would " have done the beſt he could, to redeem his former breaches. Others

were of opinion, "That he was ſo far from being inclined to ſerve the "King, or advance the Treaty, that they would have ſent him as a Spy, "leſt others ſhould; and theſe were the thoughts both at *Oxford* and *London*. But the King, who knew the Lord *Say* as well as any of them, believ'd that it was not in his Power to do any good, and if it had, that it was not in his Will; was reſolv'd not to break his Rule, leſt ſuch a remiſſion might give advantage againſt him in the future: and ſo ſent the Anſwer above remember'd Together with this deſire of a ſafe Conduct, they ſent his Majeſty word, "That they had likewiſe conſented, that there "ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms on either ſide, under the Reſtrictions, "and Limitations, hereafter following.

The Two Houſes ſend their Terms for a Ceſſation.

1. "That all manner of Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, Money, Bullion, "and all other Commodities, paſſing without ſuch a ſafe Conduct as may "Warrant their paſſage, may be ſtay'd and ſeiſed on, as if no Ceſſation "was agreed on.

2. "That all manner of Perſons, paſſing without ſuch a Safe Conduct "as is mention'd in the Article next going before, ſhall be apprehended "and detain'd, as if no ſuch Ceſſation were agreed on at all.

3. "That his Majeſty's Forces in *Oxford-ſhire* ſhould advance no nearer "to *Windſor* than *Wheatly*, and in *Buckingham-ſhire* no nearer to *Aylesbury* than "*Brill*; and that, in *Berk-ſhire*, the Forces reſpectively ſhall not advance "nearer the one to the other, than Now they are: And, that the Parliament Forces in *Oxford-ſhire* ſhall advance no nearer to *Oxford* than "*Henley*, and thoſe in *Buckingham-ſhire* no nearer to *Oxford* than *Aylesbury*: "and that his Majeſty's Forces ſhall take no new Quarters, above twelve "miles from *Oxford*, any way; and the Parliament Forces ſhall take no "new Quarters, above twelve miles from *Windſor* any way.

4. "That no Siege ſhall be begun, or continued againſt *Gloceſter*; and "that his Majeſty's Forces, now employ'd in the Siege, ſhall return to "*Cirenceſter* and *Malmsbury*, or to *Oxford*, as ſhall be moſt for their convenience; and the Parliament Forces, which are in *Gloceſter ſhire*, ſhall "remain in the Cities of *Gloceſter*, *Briſtol*, and the Caſtle, and Town of "*Berkley*, or retire nearer to *Windſor*, as they ſhall ſee cauſe: And that "thoſe of *Wales*, which are drawn to *Gloceſter*, ſhall return to their Quarters, where they were before they drew down to *Gloceſter-ſhire*.

5. "That in caſe it be pretended on either ſide, that the Ceſſation is "violated, no Act of Hoſtility is immediately to follow, but firſt the Party complaining is to acquaint the Lord General on the other ſide, and "to allow three days; after notice, for ſatisfaction; and in caſe ſatisfaction "be not given, or accepted, then five days notice to be given, before Hoſtility begin, and the like to be obſerv'd in the remoter Armies, by the "Commanders in chief.

6. "Laſtly, that all other Forces, in the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, not before mention'd, ſhall remain in the ſame Quarters, and Places, as they are at the time of Publiſhing this Ceſſation, "and under the ſame conditions as are mention'd in the Articles before. "And that this Ceſſation ſhall not extend, to reſtrain the ſetting forth, or "employing of any Ships, for the Defence of his Majeſty's Dominions.

All which they deſired "His Majeſty would be pleas'd to ratify, and confirm: and that this Ceſſation might begin upon the fourth of *March* next, "or ſooner if it might be; and continue until the five and twentieth of the "ſame Month; and in the mean time to be publiſh'd on either ſide; and that "the Treaty might likewiſe commence upon the ſame day; and the continuance thereof not to exceed twenty days.

Theſe Propoſitions were deliver'd to his Majeſty on the firſt of *March*, which was almoſt a Month after the Ceſſation had been propoſed by him (for his Propoſitions were made on the third of *February*) which adminiſter'd cauſe of doubt, that the Overture was not ſincere; ſince it was hardly poſſible, that the Ceſſation could begin ſo ſoon as the fourth, by which time, though the King ſhould conſent to the Terms propoſed, upon ſight, his Anſwer could very hardly

ly be return'd to them. But the Articles themſelves were ſuch as occaſion'd much Debate, and difference of opinion, among thoſe who deſired the ſame thing. The King, after the examination of them, with his Privy Council, and at a Councilof War, made a Committee out of each, to conſider the inconvenience, his conſent to them might produce to his Party; if that Ceſſation, and Treaty, did not Produce a Peace; and the inequality in them, if the Overture paſs'd from an equal Enemy according to the Rules of War. Some were of opinion, "That the Ceſſations ſhould be conſented to by the King, upon the Ar-
" ticles propos'd, though they ſhould be thought unequal, not only becauſe
" it would be an Act of great grace, and compaſſion to the People, to give
" them ſome reſpit, and taſte of Peace, and the not conſenting to it (the
" reaſon not being ſo eaſy to be underſtood) would be as impopular, and
" ungracious; but that, they believ'd, it would at leaſt caſt the People into
" ſuch a ſlumber, that much of their fury and madneſs would be abated; and
" that they would not be eaſily induced to part with the eaſe they felt, and
" would look upon That Party as an Enemy, that robbed them of it; that
" it would give an opportunity of charitable Intercourſe, and revive that
" freedom of Converſation, which, of it ſelf, upon ſo great advantage of
" reaſon, as they believ'd the King, cauſe gave, would rectify the underſtanding
" of many who were miſled; but eſpecially, that it would not only hinder
" the recruit of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army (for that no man would be ſo mad
" to declare themſelves againſt the King, when they ſaw a Ceſſation, in or-
" der to reſtoring the King to his Rights) but would leſſen the Forces he had
" already; in that the Army conſiſted moſt of Men engag'd by the Pay,
" not Affection to the Cauſe; who upon ſuch a remiſſion of duty as would
" neceſſarily attend a Ceſſation, would abandon a Party which they fore-
" ſaw, upon a Peace, muſt be condemn'd, though it might be ſecure: And
" whereas all Overtures of a Treaty hitherto had advanced their Levies upon
" pretence of being in a poſture not to be contemn'd, they believ'd, a real
" Ceſſation would render thoſe Levies impoſſible.

Others thought " Any Ceſſation diſadvantageous enough to the King;
" and therefore, that the terms, upon which it was to be made,
" were to be preciſely look'd to: That the Articles propoſed would only
" produce a ſuſpenſion of preſent Acts of Hoſtility, and Blood, among the Sol-
" diers; but not give the leaſt taſte of Peace, or admit the leaſt benefit to the
" People, for that all Intercourſe, and Converſation was inhibited, in ſo much
" as no Perſon of the King's Party, though no Soldier, had liberty to viſit his
" Wife, or Family out of the King's Quarters, during this Ceſſation; and the
" hindering Recruits could only prejudice the King, not at all the Earl of *Eſ-*
" *ſex*, who had at preſent a greater Army than ever before; and the City of
" *London* was ſuch a Magazine of Men, as could ſupply him upon very ſmall
" warning. Beſides, though the State of the King's Army and Quarters,
" about *Oxford*, was ſuch as might receive ſome advantage by a Ceſſati-
" on; yet in the Weſt, it was hoped his Affairs were in the Bud; and
" the Earl of *New-Caſtle* was ſo much Maſter in the North, that if a
" Peace enſued not (which Wiſe Men did not believe was ſeriouſly inten-
" ded on the Parliament's Part, by reaſon the Propoſitions to be treated
" on, were ſo unreaſonable, and impoſſible to be conſented to) ſuch a Ceſ-
" ſation would hinder the motion and progreſs of the Earl's good Fortune,
" and give time to the Lord *Fairfax*, who was at preſent very low, to
" put himſelf into ſuch a poſture as might give new trouble. And 'tis
" certain the Northern Forces had then great dread of this Ceſſation.

To theſe Conſiderations was added another of greater moment, and which could be leſs anſwer'd by any acceſs of benefit, and advantage on the King's Party. Hitherto the Parliament had raiſed their vaſt Sums of Money, for the ſupport of their Army (which could only be ſupported by conſtant great Pay) and for the Diſcharge of their other immenſe Expences, incident to ſuch a Rebellion, from the City of *London*, and principally from their Friends, not dearing ſo rigidly to Execute their Ordinances generally, but contented themſelves with ſome ſevere judgments upon particular Men, whom they had branded with ſome extraordinary mark of Malignancy, out of *London*, ſave only that they gleaned among their own Zealots,

Zealots upon voluntary Collections, and plunder'd by their Army, which brought no ſupply to their common Stock: And of what they impoſed upon Cities, and Towns, wherein they had Garriſons (in which they had been likewiſe very tender) they had receiv'd very little; not venturing yet, by any general Tax, and Impoſition upon the People, to inflame them, and inform them how they meant to invade their Liberty, and their Property, with the jealouſy whereof, they had blown them up to all thoſe ſwellings, and ſeditious Humours againſt the King; and apprehending, that if they ſhould attempt that, any encouragement of ſtrength from any of the King's Armies, would make the whole Kingdom riſe againſt them.

The Houſes paſs an Ordinance for a weekly Aſſeſſment in the whole Kingdom.

But now, after they had agreed to a Treaty, and framed even Articles for a Ceſſation; they paſs'd an Ordinance for a weekly Aſſeſſment throughout the Kingdom, towards the ſupport of the War; by which, was impoſed upon the City of *London* the Weekly Sum of ten thouſand pounds, and upon the whole Kingdom no leſs than a Weekly Payment of thirty three thouſand five hundred and eighteen pounds, amounting in the Year to one Million ſeven hundred forty two thouſand nine hundred thirty ſix pounds; a prodigious Sum for a people to bear, who before this War, thought the payment of two Subſidies in a Year, which, in the beſt times, never amounted to above two hundred thouſand pounds, and never in our Age to above an hundred and fifty, an inſupportable burthen upon the Kingdom: Which indeed had ſcarce born the ſame, under all the Kings that ever Reign'd.

For the ſpeedy and exact Collection whereof, they appointed, by the ſame Ordinance, Commiſſioners in each County, ſuch as were ſufficiently inclined to, and engaged in Their Deſigns. To this they added other Ordinances, for exacting the twentieth part, and other payments, throughout the Kingdom; which had been only undergone (and that not generally) in *London*; and, above all, for the Sequeſtering, and ſeiſing of the Eſtates of all who adher'd to the King. "Now if a Ceſſation were conſented to by the King, "on the Articles propoſed, and thereby the King's Forces look'd up within "the ſeveral Limits and narrow bounds, in which they were contain'd, theſe "Ordinances might be executed throughout all their Quarters; and thereby "vaſt Sums be raiſed. Their great Aſſociation of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge*, "*Huntington*, *Bedford*, and *Eſſex*, (in neither of which the King had any viſible Party, or one fix'd Quarter) upon which, the apprehenſion of the Earl "of *New-Caſtle*'s advance upon Them, kept them from notable preſſures, would "by this means, yield them a great ſupply of Men and Money. In *Somerſet-ſhire*, and *Devon-ſhire*, whilſt Sir *Ralph Hopton* might hereby be kept from "advancing, They might raiſe what they would, and might diſpoſe of the "Stocks, and perſonal Eſtates of thoſe, whom they had, and would declare "to be Malignant; and ſo this Ceſſation, beſides the Damage, and prejudice "to the Loyal Party, would probably fill the Rebels Coffers, the emptineſs "whereof was the moſt, if not only, probable way and means to determine "the War.

Theſe Conſiderations made a deep impreſſion upon thoſe, who believ'd the Treaty was not like to produce a Peace; the Number of which was encreaſed by a new Reſolution, at this time enter'd upon, and vigorouſly proſecuted,

The City of London *Fortified.*

"To fortify the City of *London*, and to draw a Line about it; which, was "executed with marvellous Expedition; which, many believ'd, would not have been then done, both for the charge and jealouſy of it, if it had not been reſolv'd it ſhould not yet return to the King's Obedience. And many Perſons of Honour, and Quality, about the King, who had given great life to his Affairs, were ſo ſtartled with the ſenſe of it, that they addreſs'd themſelves together to his Majeſty, and beſought him, "That they might not "loſe that now, by an unequal Ceſſation, which had been preſerv'd for "them, during the Licence of Hoſtility; and that His, and Their Enemies, "might not be that way enabled to Deſtroy them; which yet they durſt not "attempt to do by any Other. The King hereupon, after ſolemn Debates in Council, the chief Officers of his Army being preſent, reſolv'd to make ſuch Alterations in the Articles, as might make the terms a little more equal, at leaſt prevent ſo intolerable diſadvantages.

The King's propoſals of Alterations in the two Houſes Articles of Ceſſation.

1. "To

1. "To the firſt Article as it was propoſed by them, his Majeſty fully, "and abſolutely conſented.

2. "To the ſecond likewiſe fully, as far as it concern'd all Officers and "Soldiers of the Army; but He propoſed That all other his Subjects, of "what Quality, or Condition ſoever, might, during the Ceſſation, paſs "to and from the Cities of *Oxford*, or *London*, or any other parts of his "Majeſty's Dominions, without any ſearch, ſtay, or impriſonment of their "Perſons, or ſeiſure, and detention of their Goods or Eſtates: And that "all manner of Trade, and Commerce, might be open and free between "all his Subjects, except between the Officers, and Soldiers of either Ar-"my, or for Arms, Ammunition, Money, Bullion, or Victuals for the uſe "of either Army, without a Paſs, or Safe Conduct; which, his Majeſty "told them, "Would be a good beginning to renew the Trade, and Cor-"reſpondence of the Kingdom, and whereby his Subjects might be reſtor'd "to that Liberty and Freedom they were born to, and had ſo happily "enjoy'd till theſe miſerable diſtractions; and which, even during this "War, his Majeſty had, to his utmoſt, labour'd to preſerve; opening "the way, by moſt ſtrict Proclamations to the paſſage of all Commo-"dities, even to the City of *London* it ſelf.

3, 4, 5, 6. To theſe the King likewiſe conſented, with two proviſions: Firſt, "That ſuch Ships as were neceſſary to be ſet forth, ſhould be Com-"manded by ſuch Perſons as his Majeſty ſhould approve of. Secondly, "that during the Ceſſation, none of his Subjects ſhould be impriſon'd "otherwiſe than according to the known Laws of the Land, and that "there ſhould be no plundering, or violence offer'd to any of his Subjects. "The firſt of theſe was inſerted (without purpoſe of inſiſting on it) leſt "by the King's conſent to the Article, in the Terms it was propoſed, he "might be thought to conſent in any degree to their uſurpation of the Naval Authority. And the ſecond was, to prevent the execution of the Ordinances before mention'd.

And his Majeſty told them, "He hoped, theſe ſmall Alterations would "ſufficiently manifeſt, how ſollicitous he was for the Good of his People, "for whoſe Liberties he ſhould inſiſt, when in matters meerly concerning "Himſelf, he might deſcend to eaſier Conditions; and how deſirous he was, "that, in this unnatural Contention, no more Blood of his Subjects might "be ſpilt, upon which he look'd with much Grief, Compaſſion, and Tender-"neſs of Heart, even on the Blood of thoſe, who had lifted up their Hands a-"gainſt him. And therefore he doubted not, but both Houſes would con-"ſent to them. However, if any ſcruples ſhould be made, he was willing that "the Commiſſioners for the Treaty might nevertheleſs immediately come to "him, and ſo all matters concerning the Ceſſation might be there ſettled be-tween them.

After this Anſwer return'd by the King, many Days paſs'd without any return to Him; and in the mean time, another Addreſs was made to his Majeſty, upon which the great Managers at *London* had ſet their Hearts, more than upon the Treaty; and for which indeed they deferr'd their Treaty. They had ſtill a great Dependence and Confidence upon their Brethren of *Scotland*, and yet that people moved very ſlowly; and, ſince the Earl of *Eſſex* had been ſettled in his Winter Quarters, there had been high Quarrels between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Officers, inſomuch as, upon ſome reproachful Words which had been caſt out, many Swords were one Day drawn in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, when the Houſes were ſitting, between them; and ſome Blood Drawn, which (tho' the Houſes induſtriouſly labour'd to compoſe it with Declarations "Of their joynt value and reſpect of that Nation with their own, and that their deſerts "could only diſtinguiſh them) gave ſo great umbrage, that many of the *Scots*, ſome of eminent Command, quitted the Service; and it was hoped it would have broke any farther National Combination in Miſchief.

But the general inclination to Rebellion maſter'd thoſe particular Conſiderations, and Diſobligations; and, about the end of *February*, (to facilitate the King's conſent to the Grand Propoſition for the extirpation of Epiſcopacy) which the two Houſes, had been, by the Arts before mention'd, wrought to make; when in truth, there were very few of themſelves deſir'd it; as, when

it paſs'd the Houſe of Peers, there were but five Lords preſent) there arriv'd at *Oxford* the Earl of *Lowden*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland* and Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, a Man of equal Fame in the diſtractions that aroſe in that Kingdom: the former came as a Commiſſioner from the Lords of the Secret Council of that Kingdom, or, as they then thought fit to call themſelves, "The Conſervators of the Peace between the two Kingdoms; and "deſir'd to paſs as a Mediator in the differences between the King and the two Houſes, and that the King would give them leave upon the matter to be Umpires between them. The other, Mr. *Henderſon*, had a ſpecial employment from the Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, to preſent a Petition from that Body to the King; the which, becauſe it was then thought of a very ſtrange nature, and dialect, and becauſe I ſhall always report the acts of that Nation (as far as I am oblig'd to mention them) in their own words, I think very convenient to inſert in this place.

But it will be firſt neceſſary, for the better underſtanding one angry clauſe in it, to remember, that, when the Earl of *New-Caſtle* march'd into *Yorkſhire*, upon occaſion of ſome Aſperſions publiſh'd againſt him by the Lord *Fairfax*, "That his Army conſiſted only of Papiſts, and that his deſign was "to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, the Earl ſet forth a Declaration of the reaſons of his marching into that Country, which was, "Upon the de-"ſire of the principal Gentlemen, to reſcue, and protect them from the "Tyranny of the Parliament; and then, taking notice of "The Scandalous "imputations upon him in point of Religion, after he had vindicated himſelf from the leaſt ſuſpicion of inclination to Popery, he confeſs'd "He "had granted Commiſſions to many Papiſts, which, as He knew, was, in "this caſe, agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom, ſo he believ'd it very "agreeable to the preſent Policy; and that the quarrel between the King "and the two Houſes, being not grounded upon any matter of Religion, "the Rebels profeſſing themſelves to be of the ſame of which his Majeſty "was clearly known to be, and the Papiſts generally at this time appear-"ing very Loyal to him, which too many Proteſtants were not, he thought "their Aſſiſtance might very fitly be made uſe of, to ſuppreſs the Rebelli-"on of the other. And from thence theſe Zealous *Scots* concluded, that he preferr'd the Papiſts, in point of Loyalty, before the Proteſtants; which was a Calumny of ſo publick a concernment, that they could not be ſilent in. Their Petition follows in theſe words.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty;

The humble Petition of the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland, *met at* Edenborough, *Jan.* 4. 1642,-3.

The Petition of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland, *preſented to the King by Mr.* Henderſon, *ſign'd* Jan. 4. 1642, 3.

"Our Silence, and ceaſing to preſent before your Majeſty our humble "thoughts and deſires, at this time of Common danger to Religion, to "your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, your Crown, and Poſterity, and to all your "Majeſty's Dominions, were impiety againſt God, unthankfulneſs, and diſ-"loyalty againſt your Majeſty, and indirect approbation and hardening of "the adverſaries of Truth and Peace in their wicked ways, and cruelty a-"gainſt Our Brethren, lying in ſuch depths of Affliction, and anguiſh of "Spirit; any one of which crimes were, in us above all others, unexcuſa-"ble, and would prove us moſt unworthy of the truſt committed unto us. "The flame of this Common Combuſtion hath almoſt devour'd *Ireland*, is "now waſting the Kingdom of *England*, and We cannot tell how ſoon it "ſhall enter upon Our ſelves, and ſet this your Majeſty's moſt Ancient, "and Native Kingdom on fire. If in this woful caſe, and lamentable con-"dition of your Majeſty's Dominions, all others ſhould be ſilent, it beho-"veth us to ſpeak; and if Our Tongues and Pens ſhould ceaſe, our Con-"ſciences within us would cry out, and the ſtones in the Streets would "Anſwer us.

"Our great grief, and apprehenſion of danger, is not a little encrea-"ſed- partly by the inſolence, and preſumption of Papiſts, and others diſ-

affected

" affected to the Reformation of Religion, who, although for their Num-
" ber, and Power, they be not conſiderable among us, yet, through the
" ſucceſs of the Popiſh Party in *Ireland*, and the hopes they conceive of
" the prevailing Power of the popiſh Armies, and the prelatical Faction in
" *England*, they have of late taken Spirit, and begun to ſpeak big words
" againſt the Reformation of Religion, and the work of God in this Land;
" and partly, and more principally, that a chief praiſe of the Proteſtant
" Religion, (and thereby our not vain, but juſt gloriation) is, by the pub-
" lick Declaration of the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, General of your Majeſty's
" Forces for the Northern parts and neareſt unto us, transferr'd unto Pa-
" piſts; who, although they be ſworn Enemies unto Kings, and be as infa-
" mous for their Treaſons, and Conſpiracies againſt Princes and Rulers, as
" for their known Idolatry, and ſpiritual Tyranny, yet are they openly
" declar'd to be not only good Subjects, or better Subjects, but far better
" Subjects than Proteſtants: which is a new, and foul diſparagement of the
" Reform'd Religion, a notable injury to your Majeſty in your Honour, a
" ſenſible Reflection upon the whole Body of this Kingdom, which is im-
" patient, that any Subjects ſhould be more Loyal than They; but abhor-
" reth, and extremely diſdaineth, that Papiſts, who refuſe to take the Oath
" of Allegiance, ſhould be compared with them in Allegiance, and Fideli-
" ty; and which (being a ſtrange Doctrine from the Mouth, or Pen of
" profeſs'd Proteſtants) will ſuffer a hard conſtruction from all the Re-
" form'd Kirks.

We therefore, your Majeſty's moſt humble and loving Subjects, upon
" theſe and the like Conſiderations, do humbly entreat, that your Majeſty
" may be pleaſed, in your Princely Wiſdom, firſt to conſider, that the in-
" tentions of Papiſts, directed by the Principles of their Profeſſion, are no
" other than they have been from the beginning, even to build their Ba-
" bel, and to ſet up their execrable Idolatry, and Antichriſtian Tyranny,
" in all your Maieſty's Dominions; to change the face of your two King-
" doms of *Scotland*, and *England*, into the ſimilitude of miſerable *Ireland*;
" which is more bitter to the People of God, your Majeſty's good Sub-
" jects, to think upon, than death; and whatſoever their preſent pretences
" be, for the defence of your Majeſty's Perſon and Authority, yet, in the
" end, by their Arms, and Power, with a diſplay'd Banner, to bring that
" to paſs againſt your Royal Perſon, and Poſterity, which the Fifth of
" *November*, never to be forgotten, was not able by their ſubtle and un-
" dermining Treaſon to produce; or, which will be their greateſt Mercy,
" to reduce your Majeſty, and your Kingdoms, to the baſe and unnatural
" Slavery of their Monarch, the Pope: and next, that your Majeſty, upon
" this undeniable evidence, may timouſly and ſpeedily apply your Royal
" Authority, for disbanding their Forces, ſuppreſſing their Power, and diſ-
" appointing their Bloody and Mercileſs Projects.

" And for this end, We are with greater earneſtneſs than before, con-
" ſtrain'd to fall down again before your Majeſty, and, in all Humiliiy,
" to renew the ſupplication of the late general Aſſembly, and our own
" former Petition in Their name, for Unity of Religion, and Uniformity
" of Church Government in all your Majeſty's Kingdoms, and, to this
" effect, for a meeting of ſome Divines to be holden in *England*, unto which,
" according to the deſire of your Majeſty's Parliament, ſome Commiſſioners
" may be ſent from this Kirk; that, in all points to be propoſed and deba-
" ted, there may be the greater Conſent, and Harmony. We take the bold-
" neſs to be the more inſtant in this our humble deſire, becauſe it concern-
" eth the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſo much in His Glory, your Majeſty in your
" Honour, the Kirk of *England* (which we ought to tender as our own Bo-
" wels, and whoſe Reformation is more dear unto us than our Lives) in
" Her happineſs, and the Kirk of *Scotland* in her purity, and peace; former
" experience, and daily ſenſe teaching us, that, without the Reformation of
" the Kirk of *England*, there is no hope or poſſibility of the continuance of
" Reformation Here.

" The Lord of Heaven and Earth, whoſe Vice-Gerent your Maieſty is,
" calleth for this great work of Reformation at your hands; and the preſent

" Commotions, and Troubles of your Majeſty's Dominions, are either a " preparation, in the mercy of God, for this bleſſed Reformation and " Unity of Religion (which is the deſire, prayers, and expectation of all " your Majeſty's good Subjects in this Kingdom) or, which they tremble " to think upon, and earneſtly deprecate, are (in the juſtice of God, for " the abuſe of the Goſpel, the tolerating of Idolatry, and Superſtition, " againſt ſo clear a light, and not acknowledging the day of Viſitation) " the beginning of ſuch a doleful deſolation, as no Policy or Power of " Man ſhall be able to prevent, and as ſhall make your Majeſty's King- " doms, within a ſhort time, as miſerable, as they may be happy by a Refor- " mation of Religion. God forbid that, whilſt the Houſes of Parliament do " profeſs their deſire of the Reformation of Religion in a Peaceable, and " Parliamentary way, and paſs their Bills for that end in the particulars; " that your Majeſty, the Nurſe Father of the Kirk of Chriſt, to whoſe care " the cuſtody and vindication of Religion doth principally belong, ſhould, " to the provoking of the Anger of God, the ſtopping of the influence of " ſo many bleſſings from Heaven, and the grieving of the Hearts of all the " Godly, fruſtrate our expectation, make our hopes aſham'd, and hazard " the loſs of the Hearts of all your good Subjects; which, next unto the truth, " and unity of Religion, and the ſafety of your Kingdoms, are willing to " hazard their Lives, and ſpend their Blood, for your Majeſty's Honour, and " Happineſs.

" We are not ignorant, that the work is great, the difficulties and impe- " diments many; and that there be both Mountains, and Lyons in the way; " the ſtrongeſt lett, till it be taken out of the way, is the Mountain of Pre- " lacy: And no wonder, if your Majeſty conſider, how many Papiſts, and " Popiſhly affected, have, for a long time, found Peace, and Eaſe, under " the ſhadow thereof; how many of the Prelatical Faction have thereby " their life and being; how many prophane, and worldly Men, do fear " the Yoke of Chriſt, and are unwilling to ſubmit themſelves to the obe- " dience of the Goſpel; how many there be, whoſe Eyes are dazled with " the external Glory and Pomp of the Kirk; whoſe minds are miſcarried " with a conceit of the Governing of the Kirk by the Rules of human Po- " licy; and whoſe Hearts are affrighted with the apprehenſions of the dan- " gerous conſequences, which may enſue upon alterations. But when your " Majeſty, in your Princely and Religious Wiſdom, ſhall remember, from " the Records of former times, how againſt the Gates of Hell, the force " and fraud of wicked and worldly Men, and all panick fears of danger, " the Chriſtian Religion was firſt planted; and the Chriſtian Kirk thereafter " reform'd: And, from the condition of the preſent times, how many, from " the experience of the Tyranny of the Prelates, are afraid to diſcover them- " ſelves, leſt they be reveng'd upon them hereafter (whereas Prelacy being " remov'd, they would openly profeſs what they are, and joyn with others " in the way of Reformation) all obſtacles, and difficulties ſhall be but " matter of the manifeſtation of the Power of God, the principal worker; " and means of the greater Glory to your Majeſty, the prime Inſtru- ment.

" The Intermixture of the Government of Prelates with the Civil State, " mention'd in your Majeſty's Anſwer to Our former Petition, being taken " away, and the right Government by Aſſemblies, which is to be ſeen in " all the Reform'd Kirks, and wherein the Agreement will be eaſy, being " ſettled; the Kirk, and Religion, will be more pure, and free from mix- " ture, and the Civil Government more ſound and firm. That Government " of the Kirk muſt ſuit beſt with the Civil State, and be moſt uſeful for " Kings and Kingdoms, which is beſt warranted by God, by whom Kings " do Reign, and Kingdoms are eſtabliſh'd. Nor can a Reformation be ex- " pected in the common and ordinary way, expreſs'd alſo in your Majeſty's " Anſwer. The Wiſeſt and moſt Religious Princes have found it impoſſible, " and implying a Repugnancy, ſince the Perſons to be Reform'd, and Re- " formers, muſt be diverſe; and the way of Reformation muſt be different " from the corrupt way, by which defection of Workmen, and corruption " in Doctrine, Worſhip, and Government, have enter'd into the Kirk. Suffer

Us

" Us therefore, Dread Soveraign, to renew our Petitions for this Unity of " Religion, and Uniformity of Kirk Government, and for a meeting of " ſome Divines of both Kingdoms, who may prepare matters for your Ma- " jeſty's View, and for the Examination, and Approbation of more full Aſ- " ſemblies. The National Aſſembly of this Kirk, from which We have Our " Commiſſion, did promiſe, in their thankſgiving for the many favours ex- " preſs'd in your Majeſty's Letter, their beſt endeavour to keep the People un- " der their Charge in Unity and Peace, and in Loyalty, and Obedience to " your Majeſty, and your Laws, which, We confeſs, is a duty well beſee- " ming the Preachers of the Goſpel.

" But We cannot conceal how much both Paſtors and People are griev'd, " and diſquieted with the late reports of the ſucceſs, boldneſs, and ſtrength " of Popiſh Forces in *Ireland*, and *England*; and how much danger, from " the power of ſo malicious, and bloody Enemies, is apprehended to the " Religion, and peace of this Kirk, and Kingdom, conceiv'd by them to be " the ſpring, whence have iſſued all their Calamities, and Miſeries. Which " We humbly remonſtrate to Your Majeſty as a neceſſity requiring a Ge- " neral Aſſembly, and do earneſtly ſupplicate for the preſence and aſſiſtance " of Your Majeſty's Commiſſioner, and the Day to be appointed; that by u- " niverſal conſent of the whole Kirk, the beſt courſe may be taken for the " preſervation of Religion, and for the averting of the great Wrath, which " they conceive to be imminent to this Kingdom. If it ſhall pleaſe the Lord, " in whoſe hand is the Heart of the King, as the Rivers of waters, to turn " it whitherſoever he will, to incline Your Majeſty's Heart to this through " Reformation; no more to tollerate the Maſs, or any part of Romiſh Su- " perſtition, or Tyranny; and to Command that all good Means be uſed for " the converſion of your princely Conſort, the Queen's Majeſty (which is " alſo the humble deſire of this whole Kirk and Kingdom) your joint Com- " forts ſhall be multiplied above the Days of your Affliction, to your " incredible joy; your Glory ſhall ſhine in brightneſs above all your Roy- " al Progenitors, to the admiration of the World, and the terror of your " Enemies: And your Kingdom ſo far abound in righteouſneſs, peace, and " proſperity, above all that have been in former Generations, that they " ſhall ſay, *It is good for Us, that We have been afflicted.*

This Petition was not ſtranger in it ſelf, than in the Circumſtances that attended it; for it was no ſooner preſented to the King (if not before) than it was ſent to *London*, and Printed, and communicated with extrordinary induſtry to the People; that they might ſee, how far the *Scotiſh* Nation would be engag'd for the deſtruction of the Church; and the Meſſenger who preſented it, Mr. *Henderſon*, confeſs'd to his Majeſty, that he had three or four Letters to the moſt active and ſeditious Preachers about *London*, from Men of the ſame ſpirit in *Scotland*. Upon this provocation, the King might have very reaſonably proceeded againſt Mr. *Henderſon* who was neither included in his Safe Conduct (as the Lord *Lowden*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners were) nor had any Authority from the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom (who were qualified with large powers) to countenance his Employment; being ſent only from the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly (who were not authoriſed by their own conſtitutions, to make any ſuch Declaration) and there being then no Aſſembly ſitting; which it ſelf, with all their new Privileges, could not, with any colour of Reaſon, or Authority, have tranſacted ſuch an Inſtrument. However the King, who well knew the Intereſt, and Influence the Clergy had upon the People of that Kingdom; and that, whilſt they pretended to remove them from all ſecular Employment, they were the principal Inſtruments, and Engines, by which the whole Nation was wrought to Sedition; Reſolv'd, not only to uſe the Perſon of Mr. *Henderſon* very graciouſly, and to protect him from thoſe Affronts, which he might naturally expect in a Univerſity (eſpecially, He having uſed ſome grave and learned Doctors with great inſolence, who went civilly to him to be inform'd, what Arguments had prevail'd with him, to be ſo profeſs'd an Enemy to the Church of *England*, and to give him ſome information in the Argu-

ment; with whom he ſuperciliouſly refus'd to hold any diſcourſe) but to return an Anſwer with all poſſible Candour to the Petition it ſelf; and ſo, before he enter'd upon the other Addreſs, made by the Lord *Lowden*, and the reſt, he return'd (after very ſolemn Debates in Council, where the Earl of *Lanerick* the Secretary for *Scotland*, and other Lords of *Scotland*, who were of the Privy Council, were preſent, and fully concurr'd, with many expreſſions of their deteſtation of the manners of their Country-men, yet with aſſured confidence that they would not be corrupted to any Act of Hoſtility) to Mr. *Henderſon*, and, with all expedition, by other hands into *Scotland*, this Anſwer; which likewiſe I think fit to inſert in the very words, that Poſterity may know how tender and provident the King always was, to prevent any miſunderſtanding of Him, and his Actions with that People; and conſequently any Commotions in that Kingdom; which was the only thing, he fear'd might contribute to, and continue the diſtractions in This.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the late Petition preſented unto him by the Hands of Mr. Alexander Henderſon *from the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly of the Church of* Scotland.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Petition Mar. 20. 1642.

" We receiv'd lately a Petition from you, by the hands of Mr. *Alexan-*
" *der Henderſon*, to the which We intended to have given an Anſwer, as
" ſoon as We had tranſacted the buſineſs with the other Commiſſioners, ad-
" dreſs'd to Us from the Conſervators of the Treaty of that our Kingdom.
" But finding the ſame to be publiſh'd in Print, and to be diſperſed through-
" out our Kingdom, to the great danger of ſcandaling of our well affected
" Subjects; who may interpret the bitterneſs, and ſharpneſs of ſome expreſſi-
" ons, not to be ſo agreeable to that regard, and reverence, which is
" due to our Perſon, and the matter of the Petition it ſelf to be reproach-
" ful to the Honour and Conſtitution of this Kingdom: We have been
" compell'd, the more ſtrictly to examine, as well the Authority of the
" Petitioners, as the matter of the Petition it ſelf, and to publiſh our Opi-
" nion of both, that our Subjects of both Kingdoms may ſee how equally
" juſt, and ſenſible, We are of the Laws, and Honour of both our King-
" doms.

" And firſt, upon peruſal of the Petition, We required to ſee the Com-
" miſſion, by which the Meſſenger who brought the Petition, or the Perſons
" who ſent him, are Qualified to intermeddle in Affairs ſo Forreign to
" their Juriſdiction, and of ſo great Concernment to this our Kingdom of
" *England*.

" Upon examination whereof, and in defence of the Laws, and Govern-
" ment of this our Kingdom, which We are truſted, and ſworn to defend,
" We muſt profeſs that the Petitioners, or the General Aſſembly of Our
" Church of *Scotland*, have not the leaſt Authority, or Power to inter-
" meddle, or interpoſe in the Affairs of this Kingdom, or Church; which
" are ſettled, and eſtabliſh'd by the proper Laws of this Land, and, till they
" be alter'd by the ſame competent Power, cannot be inveigh'd againſt
" without a due ſenſe of Us, and This Nation; much leſs can they pre-
" ſent any Advice or Declaration to our Houſes of Parliament againſt the
" ſame; or to that purpoſe, ſend any Letters, as they have now done, to
" any Miniſters of Our Church Here; who, by the Laws of this Land,
" cannot correſpond againſt the ſame.

" Therefore, We do believe that the Petitioners, when they ſhall con-
" ſider how unwarranted it is by the Laws of That Kingdom, and how
" contrary it is to the Laws of This, to the profeſſions they have made
" to each other, and how unbecoming in it ſelf, for Them to require,
" the ancient, happy, and eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church of *Eng-*
" *land* to be alter'd, and conform'd to the Laws, and Conſtitutions of ano-
" ther Church, will find themſelves miſled by the information of ſome Per-
" ſons Here, who would willingly engage the Petitioners to foment a dif-
" ference; and diviſion between the two Kingdoms, which We have, with
" ſo much Care, and Induſtry, endeavour'd to prevent; not having la-

" bour'd

" bour'd more to quench the combuſtion in this Kingdom, than We have " to hinder the like from either devouring *Ireland*, or entring into *Scotland*; " which, if all others will equally labour, will undoubtedly be avoided. " But We cannot ſo eaſily paſs over the mention of *Ireland*, being mov'd " to it by the ſcandalous Aſperſions, that have been often caſt upon Us, up- " on that Subject, and the uſe that hath been made of the woful diſtracti- " ons of that Kingdom, as of a Seminary of fears, and jealouſies, to beget " the like diſtractions in This; which leſt they may have farther influence, " We are the more willing to make our Innocence appear in that particu- " lar.

" When firſt that horrid Rebellion begun, We were in Our Kingdom of " *Scotland*; and the ſenſe We had then of it, the expreſſions We made con- " cerning it, the Commiſſions, together with ſome other Aſſiſtance, We ſent " immediately into that Kingdom, and the inſtant recommendation We made " of it to both our Houſes of Parliament in *England*, are known to all per- " ſons of Quality there and then about Us. After Our return into *England*, " our ready concurring to all the deſires of both Houſes, that might moſt " ſpeedily repreſs that Rebellion, by paſſing the Bill of preſſing, and in it " a Clauſe, which quitted a Right challeng'd by all, and enjoy'd by many " of our Predeceſſors, by parting with our Rights in the Lands Eſcheated " to Us by that Rebellion, for the Encouragement of Adventurers; by emp- " tying our Magazines of Arms and Ammunition for that Service (which " We have ſince needed for our neceſſary Defence, and Preſervation) by " conſenting to all Bills for the raiſing of Money for the ſame, though " containing unuſual Clauſes, which truſted both Houſes without Us, with " the manner of diſpoſing it; Our often preſſing both Houſes, not to ne- " glect that Kingdom, by being diverted by conſiderations, and diſputes, " leſs concerning both Kingdoms: Our offer of raſing ten thouſand Volun- " tiers to be ſent thither; and our ſeveral offers to engage our own Roy- " al Perſon, in the ſuppreſſion of that horrid Rebellion, are no leſs " known to all this Nation, than our perpetual earneſtneſs, by our For- " reign Miniſters, to keep all manner of Supplies from being Tranſported " for the relief of the Rebels, is known to ſeveral Neighbouring Princes; " which if all good Subjects will conſider, and withal how many of the " Men, and how much of the Money raiſed for that end, and how much " time, care, and induſtry, have been diverted from that employment, and " employ'd in this unnatural War againſt Us (the true cauſe of the pre- " ſent miſeries, and want, which our *Britiſh* Armies there do now endure) " they will ſoon free Us from all thoſe Imputations, ſo ſcandalouſly and " groundleſly laid upon Us; and impute the continuance of the combuſtion " of that miſerable Kingdom, the danger it may bring upon our King- " doms of *England* and *Scotland*, and the beginning of this doleful Deſolati- " on, to thoſe who are truly guilty of it.

" For Unity in Religion, which is deſired, We cannot but Anſwer, that " We much apprehend, leſt the Papiſts may make ſome advantage of that " expreſſion, by continuing that ſcandal with more Authority, which they " have ever heretofore uſed to caſt upon the Reformation, by interpreting " all the differences in Ceremony, Government, or indifferent opinions " between ſeveral Proteſtant Churches, to be differences in Religion; and " leſt our good Subjects of *England*, who have ever eſteem'd themſelves of " the ſame Religion with you, ſhould ſuſpect themſelves to be eſteem'd " by You to be of a contrary; and that the Religion which They, and " their Anceſtors have held, ever ſince the bleſſed Reformation, and in, " and for which, they are reſolv'd to die, is taxed, and branded of falſe- " hood, or inſufficiency, by ſuch a deſire.

" For Uniformity in Church Government, We conceiv'd the Anſwer " formerly given by Us at *Bridgenorth*, 13th. *October* 1642. to the for- " mer Petition in this Argument, would have ſatisfied the Petitioners; " and is ſo full, that We can add little to it; *viz.* That the Govern- " ment Here eſtabliſh'd by the Laws, hath ſo near a Relation, and inter- " mixture with the Civil State (which may be unknown to the Petitio- " ners) that till a compos'd digeſted Form, be preſented to Us, upon a

" free Debate of both Houſes in a Parliamentary way, whereby the conſent " and approbation of this whole Kingdom may be had, and We, and all our " Subjects may diſcern, what is to be left in, or brought in, as well as what " is to be taken away; We know not how to conſent to any Alteration, other- " wiſe than ſuch an Act for the eaſe of Tender Conſciences in the mat- " ter of Ceremonies, as We have often offer'd; and that This, and any " thing elſe that may concern the Peace of the Church, and the advance- " ment of God's true Religion, may be ſoberly diſcuſs'd, and happily ef- " fected, We have formerly offer'd, and are ſtill willing, that Debates of " that nature may be enter'd into by a Synod of Godly, and Learned Divines, " to be regularly choſen according to the Laws, and Cuſtoms of this King- " dom: To which We ſhall be willing that ſome Learned Divines of our " Church of *Scotland* may be likewiſe ſent, to be preſent, and offer, and debate " their Reaſons. With this Anſwer the Petitioners had great reaſon to acquieſce, " without enlarging the matter of their former Petition, only with bitter ex- " preſſions againſt the eſtabliſh'd Government, and Laws of their Neigh- " bour Nation (as if it were contrary to the word of God) with whom " they have ſo lately enter'd into a ſtrict Amity, and Friendſhip.

" But We cannot enough wonder, that the Petitioners ſhould interpoſe " themſelves, not only as fit Directors, and Judges, between Us, and our " two Houſes of Parliament, in buſineſs ſo wholely concerning the Peace, " and Government of this our Kingdom; and in a matter ſo abſolutely " entruſted to us, as what new Laws to conſent, or Not to conſent to; but " ſhould aſſume, and publiſh, that the deſire of Reformation in this King- " dom is in a Peaceable and Parliamentary way; when all the world may " know, that the proceedings Here have been, and are, not only contrary to " all the Rules and Precedents of former Parliaments, but deſtructive to the " Freedom, Privilege and Dignity of Parliaments themſelves: that We were " firſt driven by Tumults, for the ſafety of Our life, from our Cities of " *London*, and *Weſtminſter*; and have been ſince purſued, fought withal, " and are now kept from thence by an Army, raiſed and paid, as is pre- " tended, by the two Houſes, which conſiſt not of the fourth part of the " Number they ought to do; the reſt being either driven from thence by the " ſame violence, or expell'd, or impriſon'd, for not conſenting to the Trea- " ſons and unheard of Inſolencies practiced againſt Us. And if the Peti- " tioners could believe theſe proceedings to be in a Peaceable, and Parlia- " mentary way, they were very unacquainted with the order, and conſtituti- " on of this Kingdom, and not ſo fit Inſtruments to promote the Reforma- " tion, and peace, they ſeem to deſire.

" We cannot believe the intermixture of the preſent Eccleſiaſtical Go- " vernment with the Civil State, to be other than a very good Reaſon; " and that the Government of the Church ſhould be by the Rules of human " policy, to be other than a very good Rule, unleſs ſome other Government " were as well proved, as pretended, to be better warranted by the Word " of God.

" Of any Bills offer'd to Us for Reformation, We ſhall not now ſpeak, " they being a part of thoſe Articles upon which We have offer'd, and ex- " pect to treat: But cannot but wonder, by what Authority, you prejudge " our Judgment herein, by denouncing God's Anger upon Us, and our hazard " of the loſs of the hearts of all our good Subjects, if We conſent not unto " them. The influence of ſo many bleſſings from Heaven, upon the Reigns " of Queen *Elizabeth*, and our Father of bleſſed Memory, and the acknow- " ledgment of Them by all Proteſtant Churches, to have been careful Nurſes " of the Church of Chriſt, and to have excellently diſcharged their duties, " in the Cuſtody, and Vindication of Religion; and the Affection of their " Subjects to them, do ſufficiently aſſure Us, that We ſhould neither ſtop " the influence of ſuch bleſſings, nor grieve the hearts of all the God- " ly, nor hazard the loſs of the hearts of our Good Subjects, although We " ſtill maintain, in this Kingdom, the ſame eſtabliſh'd Eccleſiaſtical Govern- " ment which flouriſh'd in Their times, and under Their ſpecial protection.

" We

" We doubt not, but our Subjects of *Scotland* will reſt abundantly ſatisfied " with ſuch Alterations in their own Church, as We have aſſented un- " to; and not be perſwaded by a meer Aſſertion, that there is no hope of " continuance of what is There ſettled by Law, unleſs that be likewiſe alter'd " which is ſettled here. And our Subjects of *England* will never depart from " their dutiful Affection to Us, for not conſenting to new Laws, which, " by the Law of the Land, they know We may as juſtly reject, if We " approve not of them, as either Houſe hath power to prepare for, or both, " to propound to Us. Nor are you a little miſtaken, if either you believe the " generality of this Nation, to deſire a Change of Church Government, or " that moſt of thoſe, who deſire it, deſire by it to introduce that which You " only eſteem a Reformation; but are as unwilling to ſubmit to what You call " the Yoke of Chriſt, and Obedience to the Goſpel, as thoſe whom You call " prophane, and worldly Men; and ſo equally averſe both to Epiſcopacy, " and Presbytery, that, if they ſhould prevail in this particular, the aboliti- " on of the One, would be no inlet to the Other; nor would your hearts be " leſs griev'd, your expectations leſs truſtrated, your hopes leſs aſham'd, or " your Reformation more ſecured. And the Petitioners, upon due conſide- " ration, will not find themſelves leſs miſtaken in the Government of " all the Reform'd Churches, which, they ſay, is by Aſſemblies, than they are " in the beſt way of Reformation; which ſure is beſt to be in a Common " and Ordinary way, where the Paſſion, or Intereſt of particular Men may " not impoſe upon the publick; but alteration be then only made, when, " upon calm Debates, and evident, and clear Reaſon, and convenience, the " ſame ſhall be generally conſented to for the Peace, and Security of the " People; and thoſe who are truſted by the Law, with ſuch Debates, are " not deveſted of that truſt, upon a General charge of Corruptions, pretended " to have enter'd by that way; and of being the Perſons to be Reform'd, and " ſo unfit to be Reformers. And certainly, the like Logick, with the like " Charges, and Pretences, might be uſed to make the Parliament it ſelf an " incapable Judge of any Reformation, either in Church, or State.

" For the general expreſſions in the Petition againſt Papiſts, in which " the Petitioners may be underſtood to charge us with Compliance and even " Favour to their opinions; We have taken all occaſions to publiſh to the " world our practice and reſolution in the true Proteſtant Reform'd Religion: " and We are verily perſwaded, there is no One Subject, in either of our Do- " minions, who at all knows us, and hath obſerv'd our Life, but is, in " his Soul, ſatisfied of our conſtant Zeal and unmoveable Affection to that " Religion, and of our true diſlike of, and hearty Oppoſition to Popery. And " as We willingly conſented, at our being in *Scotland*, to all Acts propoſed to " Us, for the diſcountenancing, and the reforming the Papiſts in that our " Kingdom; ſo, by our Proclamations for the putting of all Laws ſevere- " ly in execution againſt Recuſants; and by not refuſing any one Bill, pre- " ſented to Us to that purpoſe, in this Kingdom; and by our perpetual and " publick profeſſions of readineſs, with the advice of our two Houſes of " Parliament, prepared for Us in a deliberate and orderly way, to find ſome " expedient to perfect ſo good a work; We conceiv'd, we had not left it " poſſible, for any Man to believe us guilty of tollerating any part of the Ro- " miſh Tyranny or Superſtition; or to ſuſpect, that the Converſion of our dea- " reſt Conſort was not ſo much our deſire, that the Acceſſion of as many " Crowns as God hath already beſtow'd on us, would not be more welcome " to us than that day: A bleſſing, which it is our daily Prayer to the Almighty " to beſtow upon Us.

" But We might well have expected from the Petitioners, who have " in their Solemn, National Covenant, litterally ſworn ſo much care of " the ſafety of our perſon, and cannot but know in how much danger That " hath been, and ſtill is, by the power and threats of Rebellious Armies, that " they would as well have remember'd the 23d. of *October*, as the 5th. of *No-* " *vember*; and as well have taken notice of the Army raiſed, and led againſt " Us by the Earl of *Eſſex*, which hath actually Aſſaulted, and endeavour'd " to Murder Us; which We know to abound in *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and " other Sectaries; and in which We have reaſon (by Priſoners We have

" taken, and the evidence they have given) to believe there are many more " Papiſts (and many of thoſe Forreigners) than in all our Army; as have ad- " viſed Us, to disband out of the Army of the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, which " is raiſed for Our defence; the Papiſts in that Army; who are known to " be no ſuch Number, as to endanger their obtaining any power of building " their Babel, and ſetting up their Idolatry; and whoſe Loyalty he hath " reaſon to commend (though he was never ſuſpected for favouring their " Religion) not before that of Proteſtants, but of ſuch as Rebel under that " Title; and whoſe Aſſiſtance is as due to Us, by the Law of God and Man, " to reſcue Us from Domeſtick Rebellion, as to defend Us from Forreign " Invaſion; which We think no Man denies to be lawful for them to do. " But We do ſolemnly declare, and proteſt, that God ſhall no ſooner free " Us from the deſperate, and Rebellious Arms taken up againſt Us, but We " ſhall endeavour to free Our ſelves and Kingdom from any fear of dan- " ger from the other, by diſarming them, according to the Laws of this " Land; as We ſhall not fail to ſend Our Commiſſioner to the Aſſembly, " at the time appointed for it by the Laws of *Scotland*.

" To conclude, We deſire, and require the Petitioners (as becomes good, " and pious Preachers of the Goſpel) to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, to com- " poſe any diſtraction in opinions, or miſunderſtandings, which may, by " the Faction of ſome turbulent Perſons, be raiſed in the minds of Our good " Subjects of that our Kingdom; and to infuſe into them a true ſenſe of " Charity, Obedience, and Humility, the great principles of the Chriſtian " Religion; that they may not ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported with things " that they do not underſtand, or think themſelves concern'd in the Go- " vernment of another Kingdom, becauſe it is not according to the Cuſtoms " of that in which they live; but that they diſpoſe themſelves, with mo- " deſty, and devotion, to the Service of Almighty God; with Duty and Af- " fection, to the obedience of Us, and our Laws (remembring the ſingular " grace, favour, and benignity, We have always expreſs'd to that our Na- " tive Kingdom) and with Brotherly, and Chriſtian Charity one towards a- " nother: And We doubt not but God, in his mercy to Us and Them, will " make Us inſtruments of his Bleſſings upon each other, and both of Us, in " a great meaſure, of Happineſs, and Proſperity, to the whole Nation.

The Tranſactions of the Earl of Lowden *and other* Scotiſh *Commiſſioners at* Oxford: *that they might be Mediators, and for a Parliament in* Scotland.

The Lord *Lowden* and the other Lay-Commiſſioners, who were Perſons entirely guided by him, and of inferior Quality, gave the precedence to this Petition, which they call'd matter of Religion; and preſs'd not their own Commiſſion, till the King had declar'd, and publiſh'd his Anſwer to the other, and though they pretended not to have any Authority to ſay any thing in that engagement of the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly; yet the Lord *Lowden* uſed all importunity, and arguments, to perſwade the King in private, to conſent to the alteration of the Government of the Church; aſſuring him, " That it would be a means, not only to hinder his Subjects of *Scotland* from " adhering to the Parliament; but that it would oblige them, to aſſiſt his " Majeſty to the utmoſt, in the vindication of all his Rights. But he quick- ly found the King too ſtrongly fix'd to be ſway'd in a caſe of Conſcience, by a Conſideration of Convenience; and his Lordſhip undertook to give no other Arguments.

He betook himſelf then with his Companions to their own proper, and avow'd Errand; which conſiſted of two parts: The One, to offer " The Me- " diation of the Conſervators of the Peace of that Kingdom, for the com- " poſure of the differences between the King and the two Houſes; The Other, " To deſire his Majeſty, that he would ſend out his Precepts to Sum- " mon a Parliament in *Scotland*. Theſe deſires, and any Arguments to in- force them, they always deliver'd to the King himſelf in writing; declining any Addreſs to his Miniſters, or any debates with his Council, leſt it might ſeem to leſſen the Grandeur and Abſoluteneſs of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. But the King always brought thoſe papers which he receiv'd from them, to his Council; and receiv'd their Advice, what Anſwers to return. For the firſt, of Mediation, they pretended a Title, and obligation to it; by a Clauſe in the Act of Pacification made at the beginning of this Parliament; which

Clauſe

Clauſe was: "That the Peace to be then eſtabliſh'd, might be inviolably "obſerv'd, in all time to come, it was agreed, that ſome ſhould be appoin- "ted by his Majeſty, and the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, who, in the "interim betwixt the ſitting of the Parliaments, might be careful, that the "Peace then happily concluded might be continued; and who ſhould endea- "vour by all means to prevent all troubles, and diviſions; and if any debate "and difference ſhould happen to ariſe, to the diſturbance of the Com- "mon Peace, they ſhould labour to remove, or compoſe them, according to "their power; it being ſuppoſed, that for all their proceedings of this kind, "they ſhould be anſwerable to the King's Majeſty and the Parliament; "and if any thing ſhould fall out that ſhould be above their power, and "could not be remedied by them, they ſhould inform themſelves in the par- "ticulars, and repreſent the ſame to the King's Majeſty, and the enſuing Par- "liament; that, by their Wiſdoms and Authority, all occaſions and cauſes "of troubles might be removed, and the Peace of the Kingdom might be per- "petual to all Poſterity. And it was declar'd, that the power of the Commiſſi- "on ſhould be reſtrain'd to the Articles of Peace in that Treaty.

This Clauſe, and the whole Statute, being carefully peruſed, and exa- mined before his Majeſty in his Council, the King return'd an Anſwer to them in writing.

The King's Anſwer to them in both particulars

"That He could not find any colour, or pretence of Authority, to "be granted by that Act of Parliament, by which the Commiſſioners for "*Scotland* could conceive themſelves intereſted in a faculty of Mediation; "that the Clauſe mention'd by them (beſides that there was no ſuch Com- "miſſion granted as was mention'd in that Clauſe, nor any Commiſſioners "named for thoſe purpoſes) related only to the differences that might grow "between the Two Nations; and only upon the Articles of that Treaty, "which, his Majeſty ſaid, had been, and ſhould be inviolably obſerv'd by "Him. That the differences between his Majeſty and his two Houſes of Par- "liament, had not the leaſt Relation to the Peace between the two King- "doms, but to his unqueſtionable, and long enjoy'd Rights, which his "Rebellious Subjects endeavour'd, by Force, to wreſt from Him; and con- "cern'd the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom; which, as they could not "be ſuppoſed to be known to the Conſervators of the Peace of *Scotland*, "ſo they could not have any poſſible Cogniſance of them. That it "might give great Umbrage to his Subjects of *England*, if he ſhould conſent "to what they now propoſed; and, inſtead of confirming, and continuing "the Peace, breed jealouſies between the Nations; and therefore he could "not admit of any ſuch Mediation as They propoſed; but that he ho- "ped the Treaty, which he now expected, would beget ſo good an underſtan- "ding between Him and his two Houſes, that a Peace might enſue; to- "wards which he would expect nothing from his Subjects of *Scotland*. but "their Prayers.

This gave them no ſatisfaction, but they inſiſted ſtill on their right by that Clauſe; which, without any Reaſon or Argument to perſwade others to be of their mind, they ſaid, "They conceiv'd, laid that obligation upon them "of interpoſition; to which the King ſtill gave the ſame Anſwer.

For their other demand of a Parliament in *Scotland*, the caſe ſtood thus: The King, at his laſt being in *Scotland*, had, according to the Precedent he had made Here, granted an Act for Triennial Parliaments in that King- dom; and, at the cloſe of that preſent Parliament, had ratified another Act, by which a certain day was appointed, for the Commencement of the next; which day was to be on the firſt *Tueſday* of *June*, in the year 1644, except the King ſhould call one ſooner; which he had power to do. So that the que- ſtion was only, whether the calling a Parliament ſooner in that Kingdom, was like to advance His Service, and to contribute to the peace of This? In the diſquiſition whereof, there needed no Arguments, that ſuch a Convention could not then produce benefit to the King; the entire Government of that People being in thoſe Perſons, who had contriv'd thoſe diſmal alterations. On the other hand, all Men thought it very happy for the King, that, with- out His conſent, there could be no Parliament in *Scotland*, till *June* 1644; which was more than fourteen Months from this time: till when, how

diſinclin'd ſoever the whole Nation ſhould be, there was as much Aſſurance as could poſſibly be, from that People, that the Parliament would not be able to procure any avow'd ſupply from that Kingdom: It being the expreſs words in the late Act of Pacification, "That the Kingdom of *England* ſhould not "denounce, or make War againſt the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without conſent of "the Parliament of *England*; as on the other part, it was enacted, "That "the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould not denounce, or make War againſt the King-"dom of *England*, without the conſent of the Parliament of *Scotland*. And "in caſe any of the Subjects of either of the Kingdoms ſhould ariſe in Arms, "or make War againſt the other Kingdom, or Subjects thereof, without con-"ſent of the Parliament of that Kingdom, whereof they are Subjects, or "upon which they do depend "that they ſhould be held, reputed, and de-"manded, as Traytors to the Eſtates, whereof they are Subjects. And, that "both the Kingdoms, in that caſe, ſhould be bound to concur in the repreſſing "of thoſe that ſhould happen to ariſe in Arms, or make War, without conſent "of their own Parliament.

So that whoever believ'd that thoſe people could be contain'd by any obligations, Divine, or Humane, thought it impoſſible, by theſe clear Texts, that any Forces could be raiſed there to invade *England*, and diſturb his Majeſty, till *June* 1644; before which time, there was hope the King might ſo far prevail, that the ſpirit of the Rebellion might be broken, and Men return again to their Underſtanding, and Allegiance. Therefore to that demand, the King return'd Anſwer, "That againſt the time by which they could legal-"ly demand a Parliament (naming the day) "He would iſſue out his Writs, "and there being no emergent Cauſe to do it ſooner, he would forbear to "put his Subjects there to that trouble, which thoſe meetings, how neceſſary "ſoever, would naturally carry with them.

When they perceiv'd that they ſhould not receive ſatisfaction in either of their Propoſals, and (which it may be troubled them more) that the King was ſo wary in his Anſwers, and ſo clearly expreſs'd the Reaſons, and Juſtice of them, that they ſhould have no Arguments to apply to the paſſion, or intereſt, of their Country-men; which they expected at leaſt (For in that, in which he was moſt ſtedfaſtly reſolv'd, the preſervation of the Government of the Church, he expreſs'd no more to them than, "That "being a matter of ſo great importance, and having ſo near Relation to the Ci-"vil Government, and Laws of *England*, They could not be competent Conſi-"derers of it; but that He would do what ſhould be moſt ſafe, and neceſſary "for the peace and welfare of his Subjects, who were moſt concern'd in it) At laſt rather curſorily, and as matter of Ceremony at parting, than of moment, they deſir'd "The King's Leave, and Paſs to go to *London*, having, as "they ſaid, "Some buſineſs there before their return into their own Country.

This was, by many, thought a thing of ſo ſmall moment, that the King ſhould readily grant it; ſince it was evident, that it was in their own power to go thither without his leave; for they were neceſſarily to return through the Enemies Quarters; and being once there, they might chooſe whether they would go directly home, or viſit *London*. And therefore that requeſt was thought but an inſtance of their Modeſty, that they might not return without one thing granted to them, at their requeſt. But the King look'd upon it as no indifferent thing; and their asking a buſineſs that they needed not ask, was enough to demonſtrate, that there was more in it than appear'd. And he well knew, there was a great difference between their going to *London* with His Paſs and Licence and without it, which they might eaſily do. They had now publickly declar'd their Errand, and claim'd a Title, and Legal Capacity to undertake the buſineſs of Mediation; which would be ſo far from being rejected there, that they would be thankfully receiv'd, and admitted to a power of Umpirage. If upon, or after this claim, the King ſhould grant them His Paſs, it would, by their Logick, more reaſonably conclude his Aſſent, than many of thoſe inferences which they drew from more diſtant Propoſitions; and having that ground once, his Majeſty's not conſenting to what thoſe grave Mediators would propoſe, and afterwards, as Arbitrators, award, ſhould be quarrel ſufficient for the whole Nation to Eng age. And therefore the King expreſsly denied his Paſs, and ſafe Cndu ct; and told them plainly

plainly the reaſon why he did ſo; and requird them, "Since he had de-
"nied to conſent to that, which could be the only ground of their going to
"*London*, that they ſhould firſt return to thoſe that ſent them, before they at-
"tempted that Journey: if they did otherwiſe, they muſt run the hazard
"of Perſons, whom his Majeſty would not countenance with his Protecti
"on. And the truth is, though they might very well have gone to *Lon-*
"*don*, they could not have return'd thence to *Scotland* (except they would have
ſubmitted to the inconvenience and hazard of a Voyage by Sea) without
ſo much danger from the King's Quarters in the North (*York*, and *New-*
Caſtle being at His devotion) that they could not reaſonably promiſe them-
ſelves to eſcape.

The Parliament's Commiſſioners to treat, came to Oxford.

Whilſt this was in agitation, the Committee from the Parliament for the Treaty, to wit, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir. *W. Armyn*, Sir. *John Holland*, and Mr. *Whitlock* came to *Oxford*; who ſhortly took notice of the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners deſires, and alſo deſired on Their behalf, "That they might have his Majeſty's leave to go to *Lodon*: but being "quickly anſwer'd, "That That requeſt would not fall within either of "the Propoſitions agreed to be treated of, they modeſtly gave over the Interceſſion: and in the end, the Lord *Lowden*, and his Country-men, return'd directly to *Scotland*, ſtaying only ſo long in the Garriſons of the Enemy, through which they were reaſonably to paſs, as to receive ſuch Animadverſions, and to entertain ſuch Communication, as they thought moſt neceſſary.

The Treaty begins upon the Propoſals of Ceſſation; but that takes no effect.

Aſſoon as the Committee arriv'd at *Oxford*, they were very graciouſly receiv'd by the King; his Majeſty always giving them Audience in Council, and they withdrawing into a private Chamber prepared for them, whilſt their Propoſals, which they ſtill deliver'd in writing, were conſider'd, "and debated before the King. They declar'd, "That they were firſt to "Treat of the Ceſſation, and till that was concluded, that they were not "to enter upon any of the other Propoſitions; with which his Majeſty was well pleaſed, preſuming that they had brought, or had power to give, conſent to the Articles propoſed by him; which he rather believ'd, when they read the preamble to the Articles in which it was declar'd, "That the "Lords and Commons being ſtill carried on with a vehement deſire of "Peace, that ſo the Kingdom might be freed from the deſolation, and deſtru-"ction, wherewith it was like to be overwhelm'd, had conſider'd of the Ar-"ticles of Ceſſation with thoſe alterations, and additions, offer'd by his "Majeſty; unto which they were ready to agree in ſuch manner as was ex-"preſs'd in the enſuing Articles. After which, were inſerted the very Articles had been firſt ſent to the King, without the leaſt condeſcenſion to any one alteration, or addition, made by him; neither had the Committee power to recede or conſent to any alteration, but only to publiſh it, if the King conſented in Terms, and then, and not till then, to proceed to Treat upon the other Propoſitions.

This the King look'd upon as an ill Omen; other Men as a plain Contempt, and Stratagem, to make the People believe by their ſending their Committee, that they did deſire a Treaty and a Ceſſation, yet, by limitting them ſo ſtrictly, to fruſtrate Both, and to caſt the Envy of it upon the King. Hereupon, the next day, the King ſent a Meſſage to them, which he publiſh'd, to undeceive the People; farther preſſing "The weight and conſequence of "his former exceptions, and alterations; and the inconvenience that proceed-"ded from not granting their Committee power to alter ſo much as verbal Ex-"preſſions: ſo that, if the King ſhould conſent to the Articles, as they were "propos'd, he ſhould not only ſubmit to great diſadvantages; but ſome ſuch, "as themſelves would not think reaſonable to oblige him to. As by that Ar-"ticle wherein they reſerv'd a power to ſend out a Fleet, or what Ships They "thought good, to Sea; they were not at all reſtrain'd, from ſending what "Land Forces they pleas'd, to any part of the Kingdom; ſo that, when "the Ceſſation ended, they might have new, and greater Armies throughout "the Kingdom, than they had when it begun; which, he preſum'd, they did "not intend; being a thing ſo unequal, and contrary to the nature of a Ceſſation.

"Then in the Articles they laſt ſent, they ſtyl'd their Forces, the Army "raiſed by the Parliament, the which if his Majeſty ſhould conſent to,

" he muſt acknowledge, either, that He conſented to the raiſing that Ar-
" my, or that He was no part of the Parliament: neither of which, He
" conceiv'd, they would oblige him to do. And therefore He deſired that
" their Committee might have liberty Treat, Debate, and agree upon the
" Articles; upon which They, and all the World ſhould find, that he was
" leſs ſollicitous for his own Dignity, and Greatneſs, than for his Subjects
" Eaſe, and Liberty. But if that ſo reaſonable, equal, and juſt deſire of
" His, ſhould not be yielded unto, but the ſame Articles ſtill inſiſted upon,
" though his Majeſty, next to Peace, deſired a Ceſſation, yet, that the not
" agreeing upon the One, might not deſtroy the hopes of, nor ſo much as
" delay the Other; He was willing to Treat, even without a Ceſſation,
" upon the Propoſitions themſelves, in that order that was agreed; and de-
" ſir'd their Committee might be enabled to that effect. In which Treaty
" he would give, He ſaid, " All his Subjects that ſatisfaction, that if any
" ſecurity to enjoy all the Rights, Privileges, and Liberties, due to them by
" the Law, or that happineſs in Church and State, which the beſt times
" had ſeen, with ſuch farther Acts of Grace, as might agree with his Hon-
" our, Juſtice, and Duty to his Crown, and which might not render him
" leſs able to Protect his Subjects, according to his Oath, would ſatisfy
" them; his Maieſty was confident, in the Mercy of God, that no more
" precious Blood of this Nation would be thus miſerably ſpent.

This Meſſage produced Liberty to the Committee to enter upon the Treaty it ſelf, upon the Propoſitions, though the Ceſſation ſhould not be agreed to: and ſhortly after they ſent reaſons to the King, why they conſented not to the Ceſſation in ſuch manner, and with thoſe limitations, as He
" had propoſed. 1. They alledg'd, " That, if they ſhould grant ſuch a
" free Trade, as the King deſir'd, to *Oxford*, and other places, where his
" Forces lay, it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to keep Arms,
" Ammunition, Money, and Bullion, from paſſing to his Army: However,
" it would be exceeding advantageous to his Majeſty, in ſupplying his Army
" with many neceſſaries, and making their Quarters a Staple for ſuch Com-
" modities as might be vented in the adjacent Counties; and ſo draw Mo-
" ney thither; whereby the Inhabitants wuld be better enabled by Loans,
" and Contributions, to ſupport his Army. As this advantage to Him was
" very demonſtrable, ſo it was very improbable, that it would produce any
" ſupply to Them; and, in a Treaty for Ceſſation, thoſe Demands could
" not be thought reaſonable that were not indifferent, that is, equally ad-
" vantageous to both Parties. 2. That to Demand the approving the Com-
" manders of the Ships, was, to deſire to add the ſtrength of the one Par-
" ty to the other, before the differences were ended; againſt all Rules of
" Treaty. And to make a Ceſſation at Sea, was to leave the Kingdom nak-
" ed to Forreign Forces, and the Ports open for His ſupplies of Arms, and
" Ammunition. But for conveying any Forces, by thoſe means, from one
" part to the other, they would obſerve the Articles, by which that was
" reſtrain'd. 3. For the expreſſion of the Army raiſed by the Parliament,
" they were contented it ſhould be alter'd, and the name of the two Hou-
" ſes uſed. 4. For the Committing none, but according to the known
" Laws of the Land, that is, by the ordinary Proceſs of Law, it would
" follow, that no Man muſt be committed by Them for ſupplying the King
" with Arms, Money, or Ammunition; for, by the Law of the Land, the
" Subject might carry ſuch goods from *London* to *Oxford*: The Soldiers muſt
" not be commited who do run from their Colours, and refuſe any duty
" in the Army; no Man ſhould be committed, for not ſubmitting to ne-
" ceſſary ſupplies of Money: ſo that if it ſhould be yielded to, in his Ma-
" jeſty's ſenſe, they ſhould be diſabled to reſtrain ſupplies from their Ene-
" mies, and to govern, and maintain their own Soldiers; and ſo, under a
" diſguiſe of a Ceſſation, ſhould admit that which would neceſſarily pro-
" duce the diſſolving of their Army, and deſtruction of their Cauſe. And,
" they ſaid, " It was not probable, that his Majeſty would ſuffer the ſame
" inconveniences by that Clauſe; for that they believ'd he would interpret,
" that what his General did by Vertue of His Commiſſion, was and would
" be done according to the known Laws of the Land; whereas he had de-

" ny'd,

" ny'd, that thoſe known Laws gave any power to the two Houſes of Par-
" liament, to raiſe Arms; and ſo, conſequently, their General could not exer-
" ciſe any Martial Laws. So that under the ſpecious ſhew of Liberty,
" and Law, They ſhould be altogether diſabled to defend their Liberties and
" Laws; and his Majeſty would enjoy an abſolute Victory, and Submiſſion,
" under pretence of a Ceſſation, and Treaty. They ſaid, being, by a ne-
" ceſſity inevitable, enforced to a Defenſive War, and therein warranted
" both by the Laws of God and Man, it muſt needs follow, that, by the
" ſame Law, they were enabled to raiſe means to ſupport that War; and
" therefore they could not relinquiſh that power of laying Taxes upon thoſe
" who ought to join with them in that Defence, and the neceſſary way of
" Levying thoſe Taxes upon them, in caſe of refuſal; for otherwiſe their
" Army muſt needs be diſſolv'd.

Though theſe Reaſons were capable, in a ſad, and compoſed Debate, of full Anſwers, and many things would naturally have flow'd from them, to diſprove the Practice and Aſſertions of the framers of them; yet it was very evident, that they carried ſuch a kind of reaſon with them, as would prevail over the underſtandings of the People; and that the King, by not conſenting to the Ceſſation, as it was propos'd by them, would be generally thought to have rejected any; which could not but have an ill influence upon his Affairs: and therefore his Majeſty ſent them, as ſoon as he had weighed this late Meſſage, which he well diſcern'd was not form'd to ſatisfy him, but to ſatisfy the People againſt Him, an Anſwer; in which he explain'd the ill conſequence of many of their Aſſumptions, and inforced the importance of his former demands on the behalf of the People; however, he offer'd " To
" admit the Ceſſation upon the matter of their own Articles; ſo that he might
" not be underſtood to conſent to any of thoſe unjuſt, and illegal powers,
" which they exerciſed upon the Subjects. But from henceforward, the Houſes declin'd any farther Argument, and Debate concerning the Ceſſation; and directed their Committee, " To expedite the Treaty upon the Propoſitions: the Particulars whereof being tranſacted in the beginning of the year 1643. I ſhall refer the Narrative to the next Book; intending in This, only to comprehend the Tranſactions to the end of 1642.

I am perſwaded if the King had, upon the receipt of the Articles for the Ceſſation, when they were firſt ſent to him, frankly conſented to it, it would have prov'd very much to his advantage; and that His Army would very much have encreaſed by it, and the Other been impaired; and that it would have been very difficult for the Parliament to have diſſolv'd it, if once begun, or to have determin'd the Treaty. But beſides the reaſons before mention'd, the conſideration of the Northern Forces, and the reſtraining them within their old Quarters, who ſeem'd to be in a condition of marching even to *London* it ſelf, prevail'd very far with the King; or rather (which indeed was the main reaſon, and render'd every other Suggeſtion of Weight) the jealouſy that they did not intend to conſent to, or admit any Peace, but ſuch a one as his Majeſty might not admit, made all the preliminary Debates the more inſiſted on.

I cannot but inſert one Particular, which may hereafter be thought of ſome ſignification. It was now the time of the year when, by the cuſtom of the Kingdom, the King's Judges *Itinerant* uſed to go the Circuits throughout *England*, and *Wales*, to adminiſter Juſtice to the People; and to enquire into all Treaſons, Felonies, Breaches of the Peace, and other Miſdemeanours; which were any where committed contrary to the known Laws; and they were ſworn to judge according to thoſe known Laws, the ſtudy and knowledge whereof was their Profeſſion.

The advice and deſires of the two Houſes concerning Goal-delivery.

The Lords and Commons now ſent to the King a ſpecial Meſſage, " To adviſe, and deſire him, that, in regard of the preſent diſtractions, which
" might hinder both the Judges and the People, from reſorting to thoſe places
" where ſuch meetings might be appointed, the Aſſizes and Goal-delivery might
" not be holden; but that it might be deferr'd, until it ſhould pleaſe God to
" reſtore Peace unto his People.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

The King return'd them Anſwer; " That the preſent bloody diſtracti-
" ons of the Kingdom, which he had uſed all poſſible means to prevent, and

" would ſtill to remove, did afflict his Majeſty under no conſideration more, " than of the great interruption, and ſtop it made in the Courſe and Pro- " ceedings of Juſtice, and the Execution of the Laws; whereby his good " Subjects were robb'd of the Peace, and Security they were born to. And " therefore, as much as in Him lay, he would advance that only means " of their happineſs; at leaſt, they ſhould ſee that their Sufferings that " way, proceeded not from his Majeſty; and ſince they might now expect, " by the Law, Statutes and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, the Aſſizes and " General Goal delivery in every County, his Majeſty thought not fit to Com- " mand the contrary; but would take ſevere, and preciſe order, that None " of his Subjects ſhould receive the leaſt prejudice, as they repaired thither by any of his Forces, which rule he ſhould be glad to ſee obſerv'd by others. And then he hoped, by the execution of the Laws, even thoſe publick Ca- " lamities might have ſome abatement, and the Kingdom recover its former " Peace, and Proſperity.

The two Houſes make an Ordinance to forbid the next Aſſizes, and Goal-delivery.

But this Anſwer was not more ſatisfactory than others they had uſually receiv'd from Him; and therefore they betook themſelves to their old, " try'd Weapon, and made an Ordinance, " That all Judges and Juſtices of " Aſſize, and *Niſi prius*, and Juſtices of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and Goal-delivery, " ſhould forbear to execute any of their ſaid Commiſſions, or to hold or keep " any Aſſizes, or Goal-delivery, at any Time during that Lent Vacation; " as they would Anſwer the contempt, and neglect thereof before the " Lords and Commons in Parliament. This was the firſt avow'd Interruption and Suſpenſion of the publick Juſtice, that happen'd, or that was known ever before in that kind; and gave the People occaſion to believe, that what the Parliament did (what pretence ſoever there was of Fundamental Laws) was not ſo warrantable by that Rule, ſince they labour'd ſo much to ſuppreſs that Inquiſition. It was not in the King's power to help this; for beſides that the example of *Judge Mallet*, who, the Circuit before, had been forcibly taken from the Bench by a Troop of Horſe, as is before remember'd, terrified all the Judges (and there were very few Counties in *England*, in which they could have been ſecure from the like Violence) the Records, upon which the Legal Proceedings were to be, were at *London*; and ſo the exerciſe of the Law ceaſed throughout the Kingdom, ſave only in ſome few Counties, whether the King ſent ſome Judges of Aſſize, and into others, his Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; by virtue whereof, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and many others, were as legally attainted of High Treaſon, as the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors could direct.

An Account, and Character of the Privy Counſellors then attending the King, and thoſe who ſtayed with the two Houſes

Mr. Hyde *made Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

The Treaty, as is ſaid, being managed at the Council Table, the Pride, of the Parliament having refuſed to Treat with any but the King himſelf, and his Majeſty reſolving to tranſact all by the Advice and Opinion of his Privy Council, it will be ſeaſonable in this place to ſet down the Names of all thoſe Privy Counſellors, who attended the King: there being at this time a new one added to the number; for in the time between the return of the Commiſſioners to *London*, and their coming back to the Treaty, Sir *John Colepepper* being preferr'd to be Maſter of the Rolls, Mr. *Hyde* was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, till that time, though he was known to be truſted in matters of the greateſt importance, was not under any Character in the Court: And when We have named thoſe, who according to their duty did wait upon the King, We ſhall likewiſe name thoſe, who, being under the ſame obligation, ſtayed and acted with the Parliament againſt him.

Of the Lord Littleton.

The Lord *Littleton* was keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, of whom ſo much hath been ſaid before, that there is no need of Enlargement upon him in this place. His parts, which in the profeſſion of the Law were very great, were not very applicable to the buſineſs now in hand; and though, from the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, the King had confidence enough in him, to leave the Seal in his Cuſtody, and he would have been glad to have done any ſervice; yet, by ill fortune, he had drawn ſo great a diſeſteem upon him from moſt Men, that he gave little Reputation to the Council, and had little Authority in it.

Of the Duke of Richmond.

The Duke of *Richmond*, as he was of the nobleſt extraction, being neareſt allied to the King's Perſon of any Man who was not deſcended from King

King *James*; ſo he was very worthy of all the grace and favour the King had ſhew'd him; who had taken great care of his Education, and ſent him into *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, where he was created a Grandee of that Kingdom; and as ſoon as he return'd, though he was ſcarce one and twenty years of Age, made him a Privy Councellor; and ſhortly after, out of his abundant kindneſs to both Families, married him to the ſole Daughter of his dead Favourite, the Duke of *Buckingham*; with whom he receiv'd twenty thouſand pound in portion; and his Majeſty's bounty was likewiſe very great to him; ſo that, as he was very eminent in his Title, he was at great eaſe in his Fortune. He was a Man of very good parts, and an excellent underſtanding; yet, which is no common infirmity, ſo diffident of himſelf, that he was ſometimes led by Men who judged much worſe. He was of a great, and haughty Spirit, and ſo punctual in point of Honour, that he never ſwerv'd a tittle. He had ſo entire a Reſignation of himſelf to the King, that he abhorr'd all Artifices to ſhelter himſelf from the prejudice of thoſe, who, how Powerful ſoever, fail'd in their duty to his Majeſty; and therefore he was purſued with all imaginable malice by them, as one that would have no Quarter, upon ſo infamous Terms, as but looking on whilſt his Maſter was ill uſed. As he had receiv'd great Bounties from the King, ſo he Sacrificed all he had to his Service, as ſoon as his occaſions ſtood in need of it; and lent his Majeſty, at one time twenty thouſand pounds together; and, as ſoon as the War begun, engaged his three Brothers, all Gallant Gentlemen in the Service; in which they all loſt their Lives. Himſelf liv'd, with unſpotted Fidelity, ſome years after the Murder of his Maſter, and was ſuffer'd to put him into his Grave; and Died, without the comfort of ſeeing the Reſurrection of the Crown.

Of the Marquis of Hertford.

The Marquis of *Hertford* was a Man of great Honour, and Fortune, and Intereſt in the Affection of the People; and had always undergone hard meaſure from the Court, where he long receiv'd no Countenance, and had no deſign of making advantage from it. For, though he was a Man of very good parts, and converſant in Books, both in the Latin and Greek Languages, and of a clear Courage, of which he had given frequent Evidence; yet he was ſo wholely given up to a Country life, where he liv'd in Splendour, that he had an averſion, and even an unaptneſs, for Buſineſs: Beſides his particular Friendſhip with the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Siſter he had Married, his greateſt Acquaintance and Converſation had been with thoſe who had the Reputation of being beſt effected to the Liberty of the Kingdom, and leaſt in love with the humour of the Court; many of whom were the chief of thoſe who engaged themſelves moſt factiouſly, and furiouſly againſt the King. But as ſoon as he diſcern'd their violent purpoſes againſt the Government eſtabliſh'd, before he ſuſpected their blacker deſigns, he ſevered himſelf from them; and from the beginning of the Parliament, never concurr'd with them in any one Vote diſhonourable to the King or in the proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*. He did accept the Government of the Prince of *Wales*, as is mention'd before, purely out of obedience to the King; and, no doubt, it was a great ſervice; though for the performance of the Office of a Governour, he never thought himſelf fit, nor meddled with it. He left *York*, as is remember'd, to form an Army for the King in the Weſt, where his Intereſt was; but he found thoſe parts ſo corrupted, and an Army from the Parliament was poured down ſo ſoon upon him, that there was nothing for the preſent to be done worthy of his preſence; ſo that he ſent the ſmall party, that was with him, farther Weſt to *Cornwal*; where, by degrees, they grew able to raiſe an Army, with which they joyn'd with him afterwards again; and himſelf return'd to the King at *Oxford*, about the time when the Treaty begun.

Of the Earl of Southampton.

The Earl of *Southampton* was indeed a great Man in all reſpects, and brought very much Reputation to the King's Cauſe. He was of a nature much inclin'd to Melancholy, and being born a younger Brother, and his Father, and his Elder Brother dying upon the point together, whilſt he was but a Boy, he was at firſt much troubled to be call'd *My Lord*, and with the noiſe of Attendance; ſo much he Then delighted to be alone. He had a great Spirit; he had never had any converſation in the Court, nor obligation to it.

On the contrary, he had undergone ſome hardſhip from it; which made it believ'd, that he would have been ready to have taken all occaſions of being ſevere towards it. And therefore, in the beginning of the Parliament, no Man was more courted by the Managers of thoſe Deſigns. He had great diſlike of the High Courſes, which had been taken in the Government, and a particular prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford*, for ſome exorbitant proceedings. But, as ſoon as he ſaw the ways of reverence and duty towards the King declined, and the proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford* to exceed the limits of Juſtice, he oppoſed them vigorouſly in all their proceedings. He was a Man of great ſharpneſs of Judgment, a very quick Apprehenſion, and that readineſs of Expreſſion upon any ſuddain Debate, that no Man deliver'd himſelf more advantagiouſly, and weightily, and more efficaciouſly with the hearers; ſo that no Man gave them more trouble in his oppoſition, or drew ſo many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence upon the Court, or purpoſe to have any; but wholely purſued the publick Intereſt. It was long before he could be prevail'd with to be a Counſellor, and longer before he would be admitted to be of the Bed-Chamber; and receiv'd both Honours the rather, becauſe, after he had refus'd to take a Proteſtation, which both Houſes had order'd to be taken by all their Members, They had likewiſe Voted, "That no Man ſhould be capable of any Preferment in Church "or State, who refus'd to take the ſame; and he would ſhew how much he contemn'd thoſe Votes. He went with the King to *York*; was moſt ſollicitous, as hath been ſaid, for the offer of Peace at *Nottingham*; and was with him at *Edge-hill*; and came and ſtayed with him at *Oxford* to the end of the War, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards Peace; and as no Man was more punctual in performing his own duty, ſo no Man had more Melancholy apprehenſions of the iſſue of the War; which is all ſhall be ſaid of him in this place, there being frequent occaſions to mention him, in the continuance of this diſcourſe.

Of the Earl of Leiceſter. The Earl of *Leiceſter* was a Man of great parts, very converſant in Books, and much addicted to the Mathematicks; and though he had been a Soldier, and Commanded a Regiment, in the Service of the States of the United Provinces, and was afterwards employed in ſeveral Embaſſies, as in *Denmark*, and in *France*, was in truth rather a *S*peculative than a Practical Man; and expected a greater Certitude in the conſultation of buſineſs, than the buſineſs of this world is capable of: which temper prov'd very inconvenient to him through the courſe of his Life. He was, after the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, by the concurrent kindneſs and eſteem both of King and Queen, call'd from his Embaſſy in *France*, to be Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and, in a very ſhort time after, unhappily loſt that kindneſs and eſteem: And being, about the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, ready to Embark at *Cheſter*, for the execution of his Charge, he was requir'd to attend his Majeſty, for farther Inſtructions, at *Oxford*; where he remain'd; and though he was of the Council, and ſometimes preſent, he deſired not to have any part in the buſineſs; and lay under many reproaches and jealouſies, which he deſerv'd not: For he was a Man of Honour, and Fidelity to the King, and his greateſt misfortunes proceeded from the ſtaggering, and irreſolution in his Nature.

Of the Earl of Briſtol. The Earl of *Briſtol* was a Man of a grave aſpect, of a preſence that drew reſpect, and of long experience in Affairs of great Importance. He had been, by the extraordinary favour of King *James* to his Perſon (for he was a very handſome Man) and his parts, which were naturally great, and had been improv'd by good Education at home and abroad, ſent Embaſſadour into *Spain*, before he was thirty years of Age; and afterwards in ſeveral other Embaſſies; and at laſt, again into *Spain*; where he Treated and Concluded the Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and that Infanta; which was afterwards diſſolv'd. He was by King *James* made of the Privy Council, Vice Chamberlain of the Houſehold, an Earl, and a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, and was then cruſh'd by the power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the prejudice the Prince himſelf had contracted againſt him, during his Highneſs's being in *Spain*; upon which he was impri-

ſon'd

ſon'd upon his return; and after the Duke's death, the King retain'd ſo ſtrict a Memory of all that Duke's Friendſhips and Diſpleaſures, that the Earl of *Briſtol* could never recover any admiſſion to Court; but liv'd in the Country, in eaſe, and plenty in his Fortune, and in great Reputation with all who had not an implicit Reverence for the Court; and before, and in the beginning of the Parliament, appear'd in the head of all the diſconted Party; but quickly left them, when they enter'd upon their unwarrantable Violences, and grew ſo much into their diſfavour, that after the King was gone to *York*, upon ſome expreſſions he us'd in the Houſe of Peers in Debate, they Committed him to the Tower; from whence being releas'd, in two or three days, he made haſte to *York* to the King; who had before reſtor'd him to his place in the Council, and the Bed-Chamber. He was with him at *Edgehill*, and came with him from thence to *Oxford*; and, at the end of the War, went into *France*; where he died; that Party having ſo great an Animoſity againſt him, that they would not ſuffer him to live in *England*, nor to compound for his Eſtate, as they ſuffer'd others to do, who had done them more hurt. Though he was a Man of great parts, and a Wiſe Man, yet he had been for the moſt part ſingle, and by himſelf in buſineſs; which he managed with good ſufficiency; and had liv'd little in conſort, ſo that in Council he was paſſionate, and ſupercilious, and did not bear contradiction without much paſſion, and was too voluminous in diſcourſe; ſo that he was not conſider'd there with much reſpect; to the leſſening wherof no Man contributed more than his Son, the Lord *Digby*; who ſhortly after came to ſit there as Secretary of State, and had not that reverence for his Father's Wiſdom, which his great experience deſerv'd, though he fail'd not in his Piety towards him.

Of the Earl of New-Caſtle.

The Earl of *New-Caſtle* was a Perſon well bred, and of a full and plentiful Fortune; and had been choſen by the King to be Governour to the Prince of *Wales*, and made of the Council, and reſign'd that Office of Governour to the Marquis of *Hertford*, for the reaſons which have been mention'd. He was not at *Oxford*, but remain'd at *New-Caſtle*, with the King's Commiſſion to be General of thoſe Parts; being a Man of great Courage, and ſignal Fidelity to the Crown, of whom there will be more occaſion hereafter to enlarge.

Of the Earl of Berk-ſhire and others.

The Earl of *Berk-ſhire* was of the Council, but not yet at *Oxford*; having been, about, or before the ſetting up of the Standard, taken Priſoner in *Oxford-ſhire*, and committed to the Tower, upon an imagination that he had ſome purpoſe to have executed the Commiſſion of Array in that County; but they afterwards ſet him at Liberty, as a Man that could do them no harm any where; and then he came to *Oxford*, with the Title and pretences of a Man, who had been impriſon'd for the King, and thereby merited more than his Majeſty had to give. His Affection for the Crown was good, but his Intereſt little.

The Lord *Dunſmore* had been made a Privy Councellor, after ſo many, who had deſerv'd worſe, had been call'd thither; and was ready to do whatever he was directed; he was a Man of a rough, and tempeſtuous Nature, violent in purſuing what he wiſh'd, without judgment, or temper to know the way of bringing it to paſs; however, he had ſome kind of power with froward and diſcontented Men; at leaſt he had credit to make them more indiſpoſed. But his greateſt Reputation was, that the Earl of *Southampton* Married his Daughter, a beautiful and a worthy Lady.

The Lord *Seymour*, being Brother to the Marquis of *Hertford*, was a Man of Intereſt, and Reputation; he had been always very Popular in the Country; where he had liv'd out of the grace of the Court; and his parts, and judgment, were beſt in thoſe things which concern'd the good husbandry, and the Common Adminiſtration of Juſtice to the People. In the beginning of the Parliament, he ſerv'd as Knight of the Shire for *Wiltſhire*, where he reſided; and behaving himſelf with leſs violence in the Houſe of Commons, than many of his old Friends did, and having a great Friendſhip for the Earl of *Strafford*, he was, by His interpoſition, call'd to the Houſe of Peers; where he carried himſelf very well in all things relating to the Crown; and when the King went to *York*, he left the Parliament, and follow'd his Majeſty, and remain'd firm in his Fidelity.

The Lord *Savil* was likewiſe of the Council, being firſt Controller, and then Treaſurer of the Houſhold, in recompence of his diſcovery of all the Treaſons, and Conſpiracies, after they had taken effect, and could not be puniſh'd. He was a Man of an Ambitious and Reſtleſs Nature; of Parts and Wit enough; but, in his diſpoſition, and inclination, ſo Falſe, that he could never be believ'd, or depended upon. His particular Malice to the Earl of *Strafford*, which he had ſuck'd in with his Milk (there having always been an immortal Feud between the Families; and the Earl had ſhrewdly overborn his Father) had engaged him with all Perſons who were willing, and like to be able to do Him miſchief. And ſo, having opportunity when the King was at the *Berks*; and made the firſt unhappy Pacification, to enter into Converſation, and Acquaintance, with thoſe who were then employ'd as Commiſſioners from the *Scots*, there was a ſecret intelligence enter'd into between them from that time; and he was a principal Inſtrument to engage that Nation, to march into *England* with an Army; which they did the next year after. To which purpoſe, he ſent them a Letter, ſign'd with the Names of ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Nobility, inviting them to enter the Kingdom, and making great promiſes of Aſſiſtance; which Names were forged by himſelf, without the privity of thoſe who were named. And when all this miſchief was brought to paſs, and he found his credit in the Parliament not ſo great as other Mens, he inſinuated himſelf into credit with ſome body, who brought him to the King or Queen, to whom he confeſs'd all he had done to bring in the *Scots*, and who had Conſpired with him, and all the ſecrets he knew, with a thouſand Proteſtations "To repair all by future Loyalty, and Service; for which he was promiſed a White Staff, which the King had then reſolv'd to take from Sir *Henry Vane*, who held it with the Secretaries Office; which he had accordingly; though all his diſcovery was of no other uſe, than that the King knew many had been Falſe, whom he could not Puniſh; and ſome, whom he could not ſuſpect. When the King came to *York*, where this Lord's Fortune, and Intereſt lay, his Reputation was ſo low, that the Gentlemen of Intereſt, who wiſh'd well to the Kings Service, would not communicate with him; and, after the King's remove from thence, the Earl of *New-Caſtle* found cauſe to have ſuch a jealouſy of him, that he thought it neceſſary to impriſon him; and afterwards ſent him to *Oxford*; where he ſo well purged himſelf, that he was again reſtor'd to his Office. But in the end he behaved himſelf ſo ill, that the King put him again out of his place, and committed him to Priſon, and never after admitted him to his Preſence; nor would any Man of Quality ever after keep any correſpondence with him.

Of the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, there hath been ſo much ſaid before, that there is no occaſion to add to it in this place. There will be reaſon too ſoon to lament the unhappy death of the former; and the latter, who never fail'd in his Fidelity, will be very often mention'd throughout the enſuing diſcourſe.

Secretary *Nicholas* was a very honeſt, and induſtrious Man, and always verſed in buſineſs; which few of the other were, or had been. After ſome time ſpent in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and then in the Middle Temple, he liv'd ſome years in *France*; and was afterwards Secretary to the Lord *Zouch*, who was a Privy Counſellor, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; and thereby he underſtood all that Juriſdiction, which is very great, and excluſive to the Admiral. And when that Lord, many years after, ſurrender'd that Office to the King, to the end that it might be conferr'd upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Secretary was likewiſed preferr'd with the Office; and ſo, in a ſhort time, became Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as of the Cinque Ports; and was entirely truſted, and eſteem'd by that great Favourite. After his death, he continued in the ſame place, whilſt the Office was in Commiſſion, and was then made Clerk of the Council, from whence the King call'd him to be Secretary of State, after Secretary *Windebank* fled the Kingdom; upon his Majeſty's own obſervation of his Virtue, and Fidelity, and without any other recommendation: and he was in truth, throughout his whole Life, a Perſon of very good Reputation, and of ſingular Integrity.

There

There remain only two of the Council then at *Oxford*, who are not yet named, Sir *John Banks*, who had been Attourney General, and was then Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, a Grave, and a Learned Man in the profeſſion of the Law; and Sir *Peter Wych* who had been Embaſſador at *Conſtantinople*; from whence he return'd very little before the Troubles, and gratified Sir *Thomas Jermyn* very liberally for his White Staff, when the Court was very Low, and ſo was made a Privy Counſellor, and Controller of the Houſhold. He was a very honeſt, plain Man; and dyed very ſhortly after the Treaty, and was ſucceeded by Sir. *Chriſtopher Hatton*, a Perſon of great Reputation at that time, which in few years he found a way to diminiſh.

Of thoſe of the Privy Counſellors who ſtay'd with the Parliament.

Of thoſe who were of the King's Council, and who ſtay'd and acted with the Parliament, the Earl of *Northumberland* may well be reckon'd the chief in reſpect of the Antiquity and Splendour of his Family, his great Fortune, and Eſtate, and the general Reputation he had among the greateſt Men, and his great Intereſt, by being High Admiral of *England*. Though he was of a Family, that had lain under frequent blemiſhes of want of Fidelity to the Crown, and his Father had been long a Priſoner in the Tower, under ſome ſuſpicion of having ſome knowledge of the Gun powder Treaſon; and after he was ſet at Liberty, by the Mediation and Credit of the Earl of *Carliſle*, who had without, and againſt his conſent Married his Daughter, he continued, to his death, under ſuch a reſtraint, that he had not liberty to live and reſide upon his Northern Eſtate: Yet this Lord's Father was no ſooner dead, than the King pour'd out his Favours upon him in a wounderful meaſure: he begun with conferring the Order of the Garter upon him, and ſhortly after made him of his Privy Council; when a great Fleet of ſhips was prepared, by which the King meant that his Neighbour Princes ſhould diſcern, that he intended to maintain, and preſerve his Soveraignty at Sea, he ſent the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral of that Fleet, a much greater than the Crown had put to Sea, ſince the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, that he might breed him him for that Service, before he gave him a more abſolute Command. And after he had, in that Capacity, exerciſed himſelf a year or two, the King made him Lord High Admiral of *England*; which was ſuch a quick ſucceſſion of Bounties and Favours, as had rarely befallen any Man, who had not been attended with the Envy of a Favourite. He was, in all his deportment, a very great Man, and that which look'd like Formality, was a punctuality in preſerving his Dignity, from the invaſion and intruſion of bold Men, which no Man of that Age ſo well preſerv'd himſelf from. Though his Notions were not large or deep, yet his temper, and reſervedneſs in diſcourſe, and his reſervedneſs in ſpeaking, got him the Reputation of an Able, and a Wiſe Man; which he made evident in the excellent Government of his Family, where no Man was more abſolutely obeyed; and no Man had ever fewer idle words to Anſwer for; and in debates of importance, he always expreſs'd himſelf very pertinently. If he had thought the King as much above Him, as he thought Himſelf above other conſiderable Men, he would have been a good Subject; but the extreme undervaluing thoſe, and not enough valuing the King, made him lyable to the impreſſions, which they who approach'd him by thoſe Addreſſes of Reverence, and Eſteem, that uſually inſinuate into ſuch Natures, made in him. So that after he was firſt prevail'd upon, not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was oblig'd to (which is a very peſtilent corruption) he was, with the more Facility, led to concur in what, in Duty and Fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at firſt he never intended to have done. And ſo, he concurr'd in all the Counſels which produced the Rebellion, and ſtay'd with them to ſupport it; which is as much as is neceſſary to ſay of him in this place, ſince there will be often occaſion hereafter to mention him, with ſome enlargement.

Of the Earl of Northumberland.

Of the Earl of Pembroke.

The Earl of *Pembroke* hath been enough mention'd in a better conjuncture of time, when his Virtues were thought greater than they were, and his Vices very little diſcern'd. Yet by what was then ſaid, his Nature and his Parts might be well enough underſtood, and as neither the One nor the Other were improveable, ſo they were liable to be corrupted by any Aſſaults; his Underſtanding being eaſy to be impoſed upon, and his Nature being made up of very ſtrong Paſſions. Whilſt there was Tranquillity in the King-

dom, he enjoy'd his full ſhare in Pomp and Greatneſs; the largeneſs and plentifulneſs of his Fortune being attended with reverence, and dependence from the People where his Eſtate, and Intereſt lay, and where indeed he was a great Man; getting an affection and eſteem from Perſons who had no dependence upon him, by his magnificent Living, and diſcourſing highly of Juſtice, and of the Proteſtant Religion; inveighing bitterly againſt Popery, and telling what he uſed to ſay to the King; and ſpeaking frankly of the overſights of the Court, that he might not be thought a Slave to it. He had been bred from his Cradle in the Court; and had that perfection of a Courtier, that as he was not wary enough in offending Men, ſo he was forward in acknowledging it, even to his Inferiors, and to impute it to his Paſſion, and ask Pardon for it; which made him be thought a well natur'd Man. Beſides, he had an Office which, at that time, entitled him to the exerciſe of ſome Rudeneſs, and the good Order of the Court had ſome dependence upon his Incivilities.

There were very few great Perſons in Authority, who were not frequently offended by him, by ſharp and ſcandalous diſcourſes, and invectives againſt them, behind their backs; for which they found it beſt to receive ſatisfaction by Submiſſions, and Profeſſions, and Proteſtations, which was a Coin he was plentifully ſupplied with for the payment of all thoſe Debts; whilſt the King retain'd only ſome kindneſs for him, without any great eſteem of him. But, from them begining of the Parliament, when he ſaw, and heard a People ſtout enough to inveigh againſt the Kings Authority, and to fall upon thoſe Perſons, whom he had always more fear'd than lov'd; and found that there were two Armies in the Kingdom, and that the King had not the entire Command of either of them; when the Decrees of the Star-Chamber, and the Orders and Acts of the Council, in all which he had concurr'd, were call'd in queſtion, and like to be made penal to thoſe, who would not redeem their paſt Errors by future Service; his Fear, which was the Paſſion always predominant in him, above all his Choler and Rage, prevail'd ſo far over him, that he gave himſelf up into the hands of the Lord *Say*, to diſpoſe of him as he thought fit, till the King took the White Staff from him, and gave it to the Earl of *Eſſex*, as hath been related at large before.

From this time, he took himſelf to be abſolv'd from all obligations, and dependence upon the Court, which he had liv'd too long in to be willing to quit; and therefore the more cloſely adher'd to Them by whoſe Power he thought he might get thither again; and for ſome time, entertain'd the hope of obtaining the other Superior White Staff; which remain'd then in the King's hand by the departure of the Earl of *Arundel* into the parts beyond the Seas. But when he ſaw that Staff given to the Duke of *Richmond*, who was then made Lord Steward of the Houſhold, he gave over thoſe weak imaginations, and concurr'd roundly in all the Lord *Say* propoſed; and was ſo weak ſtill as to believe They never meant to Rebel againſt the King; or that the King could long ſubſiſt, without putting himſelf into Their hands. When they had any thing to do in the Weſt, as the exerciſe of the Militia, or executing any other Ordinance, they ſent him into the Country, and ſhew'd him to the People under the Conduct of two or three Members of the Houſe, in whom they could Confide; and he talk'd "Of the King's evil Counſellors, who "carried him from his Parliament; and of the Malignants; and againſt Scandalous Miniſters; whilſt none of his old Friends came near him And when they were reſolv'd no longer to truſt the Iſle of *Wight* in the hands of the Earl of *Portland*, who had been long the King's Governor there, and had an abſolute power over the Affections of that People, They preferr'd the poor Earl of *Pembroke* to it, by an Ordinance of Parliament; who kindly accepted it, as a Teſtimony of their Favour; and ſo got into actual Rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is pity to ſay more of him, and leſs could not be ſaid to make him known.

Of the Earl of Eſſex. The Earl of *Eſſex* hath been enough mention'd before; his Nature, and his Underſtanding have been deſcrib'd, his former diſobligations from the Court, and then his Introduction into it, and afterwards his being diſplaced

ced from the Office he held in it, have been ſet forth; and there will be occaſion, hereafter, to renew the diſcourſe of him; and therefore it ſhall ſuffice in this place, to ſay, that a weak Judgment, and ſome Vanity, and much Pride, will hurry a Man into as unwarrantable, and as violent Attempts, as the greateſt, and moſt unlimited, and inſatiable Ambition will do. He had no Ambition of Title, or Office, or Preferment, but only to be kindly look'd upon, and kindly ſpoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own Fortune: and without doubt, no Man in his Nature more abhorr'd Rebellion than he did, nor could he have been led into it by any open and tranſparent Temptation, but by a thouſand diſguiſes and couzenages. His Pride ſupplied his want of Ambition, and he was angry to ſee any other Man more reſpected than himſelf, becauſe he thought he deſerv'd it more and did better requite it. For he was in his Friendſhips juſt, and conſtant; and would not have practiced fouly againſt thoſe he took to be Enemies. No Man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of Loyalty to the King, whilſt he thought himſelf Wiſe enough to know what Treaſon was. But the new Doctrine, and diſtinction of Allegiance, and of the King's Power in and out of Parliament, and the new Notions of Ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his Underſtanding, and made him quit his own, to follow Theirs, who, he thought, wiſh'd as well, and judg'd better than himſelf. His Vanity diſpoſed him to be his Excellency; and his Weakneſs, to believe that he ſhould be the General in the Houſes, as well as in the Field; and be able to govern their Counſels, and reſtrain their Paſſions, as well as to Fight their Battles; and that, by this means, he ſhould become the Preſerver, and not the Deſtroyer of the King and Kingdom. With this ill grounded Confidence, he Launch'd out into that Sea, where he met with nothing but Rocks and Shelves, and from whence, he could never diſcover any ſafe Port to Harbour in.

Of the Earl of Salisbury.

The Earl of *Salisbury* had been born and bred in Court, and had the advantage of a deſcent from a Father, and a Grand-father, who had been very Wiſe Men, and great Miniſters of State in the Eyes of *Chriſtendom*; whoſe Wiſdom and Virtues died with them, and their Children only inherited their Titles. He had been admitted of the Council to King *James*; from which time he continued ſo obſequious to the Court, that he never fail'd in overacting all that he was requir'd to do. No Act of Power was ever propoſed, which he did not advance, and execute his part with the utmoſt Rigour. No Man ſo great a Tyrant in his Country, or was leſs ſway'd by any motives of Juſtice or Honour. He was a Man of no words, except in Hunting, and Hawking. In matters of State, and Council, He always concurr'd in what was propoſed for the King, and cancell'd and repair'd all thoſe Tranſgreſſions, by concurring in all that was propoſed againſt Him, aſſoon as any ſuch Propoſitions were made. Yet when the King went to *York*, He likewiſe attended upon his Majeſty; and, at that diſtance, ſeem'd to have recover'd ſome Courage, and concurr'd in all Counſels which were taken to undeceive the People, and to make the proceedings of the Parliament odious to all the World. But, on a ſuddain, he cauſed his Horſes to attend him out of the Town, and having placed freſh ones at a diſtance, he fled back to *London*, with the expedition ſuch Men uſe, when they are moſt affraid; and never after denied to do any thing that was requir'd of him; and when the War was ended, and *Cromwell* had put down the Houſe of Peers, he got himſelf to be choſen a Member of the Houſe of Commons; and ſat with them, as of their own Body; and was eſteem'd accordingly.

Of the Earl of Warwick.

The Earl of *Warwick* was of the King's Council too, but was not wonder'd at for leaving the King, whom he had never well ſerv'd; nor did he look upon himſelf as obliged by that Honour, which, he knew, was conferr'd upon him in the croud of thoſe whom his Majeſty had no eſteem of, or ever propoſed to Truſt; ſo his buſineſs was to joyn with thoſe to whom he ow'd his Promotion. He was a Man of a pleaſant, and Companiable Wit, and Converſation; of an univerſal Jollity; and ſuch a licence in his Words, and in his Actions that a Man of leſs Virtue could

not be found out; ſo that one might reaſonably have believ'd, that a Man ſo qualified, would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a Nation, and Kingdom. But with all theſe faults, he had great Authority and Credit with that People, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, did all the miſchief; and by opening his doors, and making his Houſe the Rendezvous of all the Silenced Miniſters, in the time when there was Authority to Silence them, and ſpending a good part of his Eſtate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being preſent with them at their Devotions, and making himſelf merry with them, and at them, which they diſpenſed with, He became the head of That Party; and got the Style of a Godly Man. When the King revoked the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Commiſſion of Admiral, He preſently accepted the Office from the Parliament; and never quitted their Service; and when *Cromwell* disbanded that Parliament, he betook himſelf to the protection of the Protector; Married his Heir to his Daughter; and liv'd in ſo entire a Confidence, and Friendſhip with him, that when the Protector dy'd, he exceedingly lamented him. He left his Eſtate, which before was Subject to a vaſt Debt, more improv'd and repair'd, than any Man who Traffick'd in that deſperate Commodity of Rebellion.

Of the Earl of Holland.

The Earl of *Holland* had grown up under the ſhadow of the Court, and had been too long a Counſellor before, and contributed too much to the Counſels which had moſt prejudiced the Crown, to have declined waiting upon it, when it needed Attendance. But he choſe to ſtay with the Parliament; and there hath been enough ſaid of him before, and more muſt be ſaid hereafter. And therefore it ſhall ſuffice now, to ſay, that there was a very froward Fate attended all, or moſt of the Poſterity of that Bed, from whence he and his Brother of *Warwick* had their original; though he, and ſome others among them, had many very good Parts, and excellent Endowments.

Of the Earl of Mancheſter.

The Earl of *Mancheſter*, of the whole Cabal, was, in a thouſand reſpects, moſt unfit for the Company he kept. He was of a gentle, and a generous Nature; civilly bred; had Reverence and Affection for the Perſon of the King, upon whom he had attended in *Spain*; lov'd his Country with too unskilful a tenderneſs; and was of ſo excellent a Temper, and Diſpoſition, that the barbarous times, and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface thoſe Marks: Inſomuch as he was never guilty of any rudeneſs towards thoſe he was obliged to oppreſs, but perform'd always as good Offices towards his old Friends, and all other Perſons, as the iniquity of the Time, and the nature of the Employment he was in, would permit him to do; which kind of humanity could be imputed to very few.

He was at laſt diſmiſs'd, and remov'd from any Truſt, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was not Wicked enough. He married firſt into the Family of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and, by His Favour, and Intereſt, was call'd to the Houſe of Peers in the life of his Father; and made Baron of *Kimbolton*, though he was commonly treated and known by the Name of the Lord *Mandevil*; and was as much addicted to the ſervice of the Court as he ought to be. But the death of his Lady, and the Murder of that great Favorite, his ſecond Marriage with the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the very narrow, and reſtrain'd maintenance, which he receiv'd from his Father, and which would in no degree defray the expences of the Court, forced him too ſoon to retire to a Country Life; and totally to abandon both the Court, and *London*; whither he came very ſeldom in many years. And in this retirement, the diſcountenance which his Father underwent at Court, the converſation of that Family into which he was Married, the bewitching Popularity, which flow'd upon him with a wonderful torrent, and the want of thoſe Guards which a good Education ſhould have ſupplied him with, by the clear Notion of the Foundation of the Eccleſiaſtical, as well as the Civil Government, made a great impreſſion upon his Underſtanding (for his Nature was never corrupted, but remain'd ſtill in it's Integrity) and made him believe that the Court was inclin'd to hurt, and even to deſtroy the Country; and from particular Inſtances to make general, and dangerous concluſions. They who had been always Enemies to the Church prevail'd with him to leſſen his reverence for it, and having not been well inſtructed to defend it, he yielded too eaſily to thoſe who confidently aſſaulted it; and thought it had great errors,

errors, which were neceſſary to be reform'd; and that all means are lawful to compaſs that which is neceſſary. Whereas the true Logick is, that the thing deſir'd is not neceſſary, if the ways are unlawful which are propoſed to bring it to paſs. No Man was courted with more application, by Perſons of all conditions, and qualities; and his Perſon was not leſs acceptable to thoſe of ſteddy and uncorrupted Principles, than to thoſe of deprav'd inclinations. And in the end, even his Piety adminiſter'd ſome excuſe to him; for his Father's infirmities, and tranſgreſſions, had ſo far expoſed him to the inquiſition of Juſtice, that the Son found it neceſſary to procure the Aſſiſtance, and Protection of thoſe who were ſtrong enough to violate Juſtice it ſelf; and ſo he adhered to thoſe who were beſt able to defend his Father's Honour, and thereby to ſecure his own Fortune; and concurr'd with them in their moſt violent deſigns, and gave reputation to them. And the Court as unskilfully took an occaſion too ſoon to make him deſperate, by accuſing him of High Treaſon, when (though he might be guilty enough) he was without doubt, in his Intentions, at leaſt, as innocent as any of the leading Men.

It is ſome Evidence, that God Almighty ſaw his heart was not ſo malicious as the reſt, that he preſerv'd Him to the end of the confuſion; when he appear'd as glad of the King's Reſtoration, and had heartily wiſh'd it long before, and very few, who had a hand in the contrivance of the Rebellion, gave ſo manifeſt tokens of Repentance as He did; and having, for many years, undergone the jealouſy, and hatred of *Cromwell*, as one who abominated the Murder of the King, and all the Barbarous proceedings againſt the Lives of Men in cold Blood; the King upon his return receiv'd him into grace and favour, which he never after forfeited by any undutiful behaviour.

Of the Lord Say.

The laſt of thoſe Counſellors which were made after the faction prevail'd in Parliament, who were all made to advance an Accomodation, and who adhered to the Parliament, was the Lord *Say*; a Man, who had the deepeſt hand in the original Contrivance of all the Calamities which befel this unhappy Kingdom, though he had not the leaſt thought of diſſolving the Monarchy, and leſs of levelling the Ranks, and Diſtinctions of Men. For no Man valued himſelf more upon his Title, or had more Ambition to make it greater, and to raiſe his Fortune, which was but moderate for his Title. He was of a proud moroſe, and ſullen Nature; converſed much with Books, having been bred a Scholar, and (though nobly born) a Fellow of New College in *Oxford*; to which he claim'd a right, by the Alliance he pretended to have from *William* of *Wickham*, the Founder; which he made good by a far fetch'd Pedigree, through ſo many hundred years, half the time whereof extinguiſhes all relation of kindred. However upon that pretence, that College had been ſeldom without one of that Lord's Family. His parts were not quick, but ſo much above many of his own Rank, that he had always great Credit, and Authority in Parliament; and the more, for taking all opportunities to oppoſe the Court; and He had, with his Milk, ſuck'd in an implacable Malice againſt the Government of the Church. When the Duke of *Buckingham* propoſed to himſelf, after his return with the Prince from *Spain*, to make himſelf Popular, by breaking that match, and to be gracious with the Parliament, as for a ſhort time he was, he reſolv'd to embrace the Friendſhip of the Lord *Say*; who was as ſollicitous to climb by that Ladder. But the Duke quickly found him of too Imperious, and pedantical a Spirit, and to affect too dangerous mutations; and ſo caſt him off; and from that time he gave over any purſuit in Court, and liv'd narrowly in the Country; having converſation with very few, but ſuch who had great Malignity againſt the Church and State, and fomented their inclinations, and gave them inſtructions how to behave themſelves with caution, and to do their Buſineſs with moſt ſecurity; and was in truth the Pilot, that Steer'd all thoſe Veſſels which were freighted with Sedition to deſtroy the Government.

He found always ſome way to make profeſſions of duty to the King, and made ſeveral undertakings to do great Services, which he could not, or would not, make good; and made haſte to poſſeſs himſelf of any Preferment he could compaſs, whilſt his Friends were content to attend a more proper con-

juncture. So he got the Maſterſhip of the Wards ſhortly after the beginning of the Parliament, and was as ſollicitous to be Treaſurer after the death of the Earl of *Bedford*; and, if he could have ſatisfied his Rancour in any degree againſt the Church, he would have been ready to have carried the Prerogative as high as ever it was. When he thought there was miſchief enough done, he would have ſtopped the current, and have diverted farther Fury; but he then found he had only Authority and Credit to do hurt; none to heal the wounds he had given; and fell into as much Contempt with thoſe whom he had led, as he was with thoſe whom he had undone.

Of Sir Henry Vane *the elder*

The laſt of the Counſellors who ſtayed with the Parliament, was Sir *Henry Vane*; who had ſo much excuſe for it, that, being thrown out of Court, he had no whither elſe to go; and promis'd himſelf to be much made of by Them, for whoſe ſakes only he had brought that infamy upon himſelf. He was of very ordinary parts by Nature, and had not cultivated them at all by Art; for he was Illiterate. But being of a ſtirring and boiſterous diſpoſition, very induſtrious, and very bold, he ſtill wrought himſelf into ſome employment. He had been acquainted with the viciſſitudes of Court, and had undergone ſome ſevere Mortification, by the diſfavour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the beginning of the King's Reign. But the Duke was no ſooner dead (which made it believ'd that he had made his Peace in his life time, for the King was not, in a long time after, reconciled to any Man who was eminently in the Duke's diſfavour) but he was again brought into the Court, and made a Counſellor and Controller of the Houſehold; which place he became well, and was fit for, and if he had never taken other preferment, he might probably have continued a good Subject. For he had not inclination to change, and in his judgment he had liked the Government both of Church, and State; and only deſired to raiſe his Fortune, which was not great, and which he found many ways to improve. And he was wont to ſay, "That "he never had deſired other preferment; and believ'd, that Marquis *Hamil-* "*ton* (with whom he had never kept fair quarter) when he firſt propoſed to "him to be Secretary of State, did it to affront him; well knowing his want "of Ability for the diſcharge of that Office. But, without doubt, as the fatal preferring him to that place was of unſpeakable prejudice to the King, ſo his receiving it was to his own deſtruction. His malice to the Earl of *Strafford* (who had unwiſely provoked him, wantonly, and out of contempt) tranſported him to all imaginable thoughts of Revenge; which is a Gueſt, that naturally diſquiets, and tortures thoſe who entertain it, with all the perplexities they contrive for others; and That diſpoſed him to ſacrifice his Honour and Faith, and his Maſter's intereſt, that he might ruin the Earl, and was buried Himſelf in the ſame ruin; for which being juſtly chaſtiſed by the King, and turn'd out of his Service, he was left to his own deſpair; and though he concurr'd in all the malicious deſigns againſt the King, and againſt the Church, he grew into the hatred, and contempt, of thoſe who had made moſt uſe of him; and dyed in univerſal reproach, and not contemn'd more by any of his Enemies, than by his own Son; who had been his principal Conductor to Deſtruction.

We now paſs to the Tranſactions in the Treaty it ſelf, which was in the beginning of the Year 1643.

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE

History of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK VII.

Mic. III. xi.

The heads thereof judge for reward, and the Prieſts thereof teach for hire, and the Prophets thereof divine for Money: Yet will they lean upon the Lord, and ſay, Is not the Lord among us? none evil can come upon us.

Mic. VII. iv.

The beſt of them is as a brier; the moſt upright is ſharper than a thorn-hedge: The day of thy watchmen, and thy Viſitation cometh; now ſhall be their perplexity.

The Sum of the demands and conceſſions of both ſides upon the firſt Article of the Treaty.

WHEN the Treaty was firſt conſented to by the two Houſes, they order'd that it ſhould be upon the firſt Propoſition made by his Majeſty, and the firſt Propoſition made by Themſelves, and that thoſe ſhould be firſt concluded on, before they proceeded to Treat upon any of the other Propoſitions. So that the Commit-tee, in the firſt place, applied themſelves to his Majeſty, upon his own firſt Propoſition, which was, "That his own Revenue, Magazines, Towns, "Forts, and Ships, which had been taken, or kept from him by Force, ſhould "be forthwith reſtored to him. To which the Committee anſwer'd, That "the two Houſes had made uſe of his Majeſty's own Revenue but in a ve-"ry ſmall proportion, which in a good part had been employ'd in the main-"tenance of his Children, according to the allowance eſtabliſh'd by himſelf. "And the Houſes would ſatisfy what ſhould remain due to his Majeſty of "thoſe Sums, which they had receiv'd; and would leave the ſame to him "for the time to come. And they deſired likewiſe, that his Majeſty would "reſtore what had been taken for his uſe, upon any of the Bills aſſign'd to "other purpoſes by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, or out of the proviſion made "for the War of *Ireland*: That all the Arms, and Ammunition taken out of "his Magazines ſhould be deliver'd into his Stores, and whatſoever ſhould "be wanting they would ſupply in kind, according to the Proportions they "had receiv'd; But they propoſed, the Perſons, to whoſe charge thoſe pub-

" lick Magazines ſhould be committed, being nominated by his Majeſty, " might be ſuch, as the two Houſes of Parliament might Confide in, and " that his Majeſty would reſtore all ſuch Arms and Ammunition, as had been " taken for his uſe, from the ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Towns.

" That the two Houſes would remove the Garriſons out of all Towns, " and Forts in their hands, wherein there were no Garriſons before theſe " Troubles, and ſlight all Fortifications made ſince that time, and thoſe " Towns, and Forts, to continue in the ſame condition they were in be- " fore; and that thoſe Garriſons ſhould not be renewed or the Fortifica- " tions repair'd without conſent of his Majeſty, and both Houſes of Par- " liament. That the Towns, and Forts, which were within the juriſdic- " tion of the Cinque Ports, ſhould be deliver'd into the hands of ſuch a " Noble Perſon, as the King ſhould appoint to be Warden of the Cinque " Ports, being ſuch a one as they ſhould Confide in. That *Portſmouth* " ſhould be reduced to the number of the Garriſon, as was at that time " when the Lords and Commons undertook the cuſtody of it; and that " all other Forts, Caſtles, and Towns, in which Garriſons had been kept, " and had been ſince the beginning of theſe Troubles taken into Their " care, and cuſtody, ſhould be reduced to the ſame eſtabliſhment they had " in the year 1636, and ſhould be ſo continued; and that all thoſe " Towns, Forts, and Caſtles, ſhould be deliver'd up into the hands of " ſuch Perſons of Quality, and Truſt, to be likewiſe nominated by his " Majeſty, as the two Houſes ſhould Confide in. That the Warden of the " Cinque Ports, and all Governours, and Commanders of Towns, Caſtles, " and Forts, ſhould keep the ſame Towns, Caſtles, and Forts, reſpective- " ly, for the Service of his Majeſty, and the ſafety of the Kingdom; and " that they ſhould not admit into them any Forreign Forces, or any " other Forces, rais'd without his Majeſty's Authority, and Conſent of " the two Houſes of Parliament; and they ſhould uſe their utmoſt endea- " vour to ſuppreſs all Forces whatſoever raiſed without ſuch Authority, " and Conſent; and they ſhould ſeiſe all Arms, and Ammunition, pro- " vided for any ſuch Forces.

" They likewiſe propos'd to the King that he would remove the " Garriſon out of *New-Caſtle*, and all other Towns, Caſtles, and Forts, " where any Garriſons had been placed by him ſince theſe Troubles; " and that the Fortifications might be likewiſe ſlighted, and the Towns " and Forts left in ſuch ſtate as they were in the year 1636; and that " all other Towns and Caſtles in his hands, wherein there had been for- " merly Garriſons, might be committed to ſuch Perſons nominated by " him, as the Houſes ſhould Confide in, and under ſuch Inſtructions as " were formerly mention'd; and that the new Garriſons ſhould not be " renew'd, or the Fortifications repair'd, without the conſent of the King " and both Houſes of Parliament. That the Ships ſhould be deliver'd in- " into the charge of ſuch a Noble Perſon, as the King ſhoud nominate " to be Lord High Admiral of *England*, and the two Houſes Confide in; " who ſhould receive that Office by Letters Patents, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerit*, and " ſhould have power to nominate, and appoint all Subordinate Comman- " ders and Officers, and have all other powers appertaining to the Office " of High Admiral; which Ships he ſhould employ for the defence of the " Kingdom, againſt all Forreign Forces whatſoever, and for the ſafeguard " of Merchants, ſecuring of Trade, and the guarding of *Ireland*, and the in- " tercepting of all ſupplies to be carried to the Rebels; and ſhould uſe his " utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs all Forces, which ſhould be raiſed by any " Perſon without his Majeſty's Authority, and Conſent of the Lords and " Commons in Parliament, and ſhould ſeize all Arms, and Ammunition, " provided for ſupply of any ſuch Forces.

To this Anſwer, by which they required at leaſt to go whole Sharers with him in his Soveraignity, the King replied, " That he knew not what " proportion of his Revenue had been made uſe of by his two Houſes, but " he had reaſon to believe, if much of it had not been uſed, very much re- " main'd ſtill in their hands; his whole Revenue being ſo ſtopp'd, and " ſeized on, by the orders of one or both Houſes, even to the taking of his

" Money

" Money out of his Exchequer, and Mint, and Bonds (forced from his " Cofferers Clerk) for the Proviſions of his Houſhold; that very little " had come to his uſe for his own ſupport, but he would be well con- " tented to allow whatſoever had been employed in the maintenance of " his Childſen, and to receive the Arrears due to himſelf, and to be ſure " of his own for the future. He was likewiſe willing to reſtore all Mo- " nies taken for his uſe, by any Authority from him, upon any Bills aſſign'd " to other purpoſes, being aſſured he had receiv'd very little or nothing " that way: and he expected likewiſe, that ſatisfaction ſhould be made by " them for all thoſe ſeveral vaſt ſums, receiv'd, and diverted to other pur- " poſes, by orders of one or both Houſes, which ought to have been paid " by the Act of Pacification to his Subjects of *Scotland*, or employ'd for " the diſcharge of the debts of the Kingdom; or, by other Acts of Par- " liament, for the relief of his poor Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, For " what concern'd his Magazines, he was content that all the Arms, and " Ammunition, taken out of his Magazines, which did remain in the hands " of both Houſes, or of Perſons employ'd by them, ſhould be, as ſoon " as the Treaty was concluded, deliver'd into the Tower of *London*; and " that whatſoever ſhould be wanting of the Proportions taken by them, " ſhould be ſupplied by them, with all convenient ſpeed in kind; which, " he ſaid, ſhould be committed to, and continued in, the Cuſtody of the " ſworn Officers, to whoſe places the ſame belong'd: And if any of thoſe " Officers had already forfeited, or hereafter ſhould forfeit that Truſt, by " any miſdemeanours, his Majeſty would by no means defend them from " the Juſtice of the Law. That he always intended to reſtore ſuch Arms, " and Ammunition, which he had been compell'd to take from any Per- " ſons, and Places, when his own had been taken from him; and would " make them recompence as ſoon as his own Stores were reſtored to " him.

" To whatſoever they propoſed for the ſlighting all Fortifications, and " reducing all Garriſons, which had been made ſince the beginning of the " Troubles, and leaving them in the State they were before, the King " fully, and abſolutely conſented; and that the old Caſtles, and Garriſons, " ſhoud be reduced to their Ancient proportion, and eſtabliſhment; but " for the Governours, and Commanders of them, he ſaid, that the Cinque " Ports were already in the Cuſtody of a Noble Perſon, againſt whom he " knew no juſt exception, and who had ſuch a legal intereſt therein, that " he could not, with Juſtice, remove him from it, until ſome ſufficient cauſe " were made appear to him: But he was very willing, if he ſhould at any " time be found guilty of any thing that might make him unworthy of that " Truſt, that he might be proceeded againſt according to the Rules of Ju- " ſtice. That the Government of the Town of *Portſmouth*, and all other " Forts, Caſtles, and Towns, as were formerly kept by Garriſons, ſhould " be put into the hands of ſuch Perſons, againſt whom no juſt exceptions " could be made; all of them being, before theſe Troubles, by Letters, Pa- " tents granted to ſeveral Perſons, againſt any of whom he knew not any " exceptions, who ſhould be remov'd if juſt cauſe ſhould be given for the " ſame. The Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all other Governours, and " Commanders of the Towns, and Caſtles, ſhould keep their Charges, as " by the Law they ought to do, and for the King's Service, and ſafety of the " Kingdom; and they ſhould not admit into any of them Foreign Forces, or " other Forces raiſed, or brought into them contrary to the Law; but ſhould " uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs ſuch Forces, and ſhould ſeize all " Arms and Ammunition, which by the Laws, and Statutes of the Kingdom, " they ought to ſeize.

To that part which concern'd the Ships, the King told them, " That " he expected his own Ships ſhould be deliver'd to him, as by the Law " they ought to be; and that when he ſhould think fit to nominate a Lord " High Admiral of *England*, it ſhould be ſuch a Perſon againſt whom no " juſt exception could be made; and if any ſhould be, he would alwa s leave " him to his due Tryal, and Examination; and he would grant his Office " to him by ſuch Letters Patents, as had been uſed. In the mean time he

" would govern the Admiralty by Commiſſion, as had been in all times ac-
" cuſtom'd; and whatſoever Ships ſhould be ſet out by Him or his Authority,
" ſhould be employ'd for the defence of the Kingdom againſt all Foreign
" Forces whatſoever, for the Safeguard of Merchants, Securing of Trade,
" Guarding of *Ireland*, and the intercepting of all Supplies to be carried to
" the Rebels; and they ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs all
" Forces, which ſhould be raiſed, by any Perſon whatſoever, againſt the
" Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, and to ſeize all Arms and Ammuni-
" tion provided for the ſupply of any ſuch Forces.

It is evident to all Men where the difference now lay between them, being whether the King would reſerve the diſpoſal of thoſe Offices and Places of Truſt to Himſelf, which all Kings had enjoy'd, and was indeed a part of his Regality, or whether he would be content with ſuch a Nomination, as, being to paſs, and depend upon their approbation, no Man ſhould ever be admitted to them, who was nominated by Him. The Committee, upon his Majeſty's Anſwer, deſir'd to know, " whether he did intend, that both Houſes
" ſhould expreſs their Confidence of the Perſons, to whoſe truſt thoſe Places
" were to be committed; for that they were directed by their Inſtructions,
" that, if his Majeſty was pleaſed to aſſent thereunto, and to nominate Per-
" ſons of Quality to receive the charge of them, that they ſhould certify it
" to both Houſes of Parliament, that thereupon they might expreſs their
" Confidence, in thoſe perſons, or humbly deſire his Majeſty to name others,
" none of which perſons to be remov'd during three years next enſuing, with-
" out juſt cauſe to be approv'd by both Houſes; and if any ſhould be ſo re-
" mov'd, or die within that ſpace, the perſons to be put in their places, to
" be ſuch, as the two Houſes ſhould Confide in. The King anſwer'd, " That
" he did not intend, that the Houſes ſhould expreſs Their Confidence of the
" perſons, to whoſe Truſts thoſe places ſhould be committed, but only that
" they ſhould have liberty, upon any juſt exception, to proceed againſt any
" ſuch perſons according to Law; his Majeſty being reſolv'd not to protect
" them againſt the publick Juſtice. When any of the places ſhould be void,
" he well knew the Nomination, and free Election of thoſe, who ſhould ſuc-
" ceed, to be a right belonging to, and inherent in his Majeſty; and having
" been enjoy'd by all his Royal Progenitors, He could not believe his well
" affected Subjects deſir'd to limit him in that Right; and deſir'd they would
" be ſatisfied with this Anſwer, or give him any reaſons to alter his Reſolu-
" tion, and he would comply with them.

They told him, " There could be no good and firm Peace hoped for,
" if there were not a cure found out for the Fears and Jealouſies; and they
" knew none ſure, but this which They had propoſed. The King reply'd,
" That he rather expected reaſons grounded upon Law, to have ſhew'd him,
" by the Law, that he had not that Right he pretended, or that They had
" a Right Superior to His, in what was now in queſtion; or that they
" would have ſhew'd him ſome legal reaſon, why the Perſons truſted by him
" were incapable of ſuch a Truſt; than that they would only have inſiſted
" upon Fears, and Jealouſies, of which as he knew no ground, ſo he muſt be
" ignorant of the Cure. That the Argument they uſed might extend to the
" depriving him of, or at leaſt sharing with him in, all his juſt Regal Power;
" ſince Power, as well as Forces, might be the object of Fears and Jealouſies,
" and there would be always a Power left to hurt, whilſt there was any left
" to protect and defend. He told them, " If he had as much inclination, as
" he had more right, to Fears and Jealouſies, he might with more reaſon have
" inſiſted upon an addition of Power, as a Security to enable him to keep his
" Forts, when he had them, ſince it appear'd it was not ſo great, but that they
" had been able to take them from him, than they to make any difficulty to
" reſtore them to him in the ſame caſe they were before. But, he ſaid, as
" he was himſelf content with, ſo, he took God to Witneſs, his greateſt de-
" ſire was, to obſerve always and maintin the Law of the Land; and expe-
" cted the ſame from his Subjects; and believ'd the mutual obſervance of
" that Rule, and neither of them to fear what the Law fear'd not to be, on
" both parts, a better Cure for that dangerous Diſeaſe of Fears and Jealou-
" ſies, and a better means to eſtablish a happy and perpetual Peace, than for

" him

" him to diveſt himſelf of thoſe Truſts, which the Law of the Land had ſet-
" tled in the Crown alone, to preſerve the Power, and Dignity of the
" Prince, for the better Protection of the Subject, and of the Law, and to
" avoid thoſe dangerous diſtractions, which the Intereſt of any Sharers with
" him, would have infallibly produced.

The Committee neither offer'd to Anſwer his Majeſty's Reaſons, nor to oppoſe other Reaſons to weigh againſt them; but only ſaid, " That they " were Commanded by their Inſtructions, to inſiſt upon the deſires of both " Houſes formerly expreſs'd. To which the King made no other Anſwer, " than that he conceiv'd it all the Juſtice in the World for him to inſiſt, that " what was by Law his own, and had been contrary to Law taken from him, " ſhould be fully reſtored to him, without conditioning to impoſe any new limi-
" tations upon Him, or his Miniſters, which were not formerly requir'd from
" them by the Law; and he thought it moſt unreaſonable, to be preſs'd to dimi-
" niſh his own juſt Rights Himſelf, becauſe Others had violated and uſurped
" them. This was the ſum of what paſs'd in the Treaty upon that Propoſition.

To the firſt Propoſition of the two Houſes, " That his Majeſty would " be pleaſed to disband his Armies, as they likewiſe would be ready to disband " all their Forces, which they had raiſed, and that he would be pleaſed " to return to his Parliament: The King anſwer'd, " That he was as ready " and willing that all Armies ſhould be disbanded, as any Perſon whatſoe-
" ver; and conceiv'd the beſt way to it, would be a happy and ſpeedy conclu-
" ſion of the preſent Treaty; which, if both Houſes would contribute as
" much as He would do to it, would be ſuddainly effected. And as He de-
" ſir'd nothing more than to be with his two Houſes, ſo He would repair thi-
" ther aſſoon as he could poſſibly do it with his Honour and Safety.

The Committee ask'd him, " If by a happy and ſpeedy concluſion of " the preſent Treaty, he intended a concluſion upon the two firſt Propoſi-
" tions, or a concluſion of the Treaty in all the Propoſitions of both parts. The King, who well knew it would be very ungracious to deny the di banding of the Armies, till all the Propoſitions were agreed, ſome whereof would require much time, anſwer'd, " That he intended ſuch a concluſion of, or in
" the Treaty, as there might be a clear evidence to Himſelf, and his Sub-
" Subjects, of a future Peace, and no ground left for the continuance, or growth
" of thoſe bloody Diſſenſions; which, he doubted not, might be obtain'd,
" if both Houſes would conſent that the Treaty ſhould proceed without far-
" ther interruption, or limitation of days. They ask'd him, " What he in-
" tended ſhould be a clear evidence to him, and his good Subjects, of a future
" Peace, and no ground left for the continuance, and growth of thoſe bloody
" Diſſenſions? His Majeſty told them, If the concluſion of the preſent
" Treaty upon his firſt Propoſition, and the firſt Propoſition of both
" Houſes, ſhould be ſo full, and perfectly made, that the Law of the Land
" might have a full, free, and uninterrupted courſe, for the defence, and
" preſervation of the Rights of his Majeſty, and of themſelves, and the reſt
" of his Subjects, there would be thence a clear evidence to Him, and all
" Men, of a future Peace; and it would be ſuch a concluſion as he in-
" tended, never meaning that both Armies ſhould remain undisbanded
" until the Propoſitions on both ſides were fully concluded. To the other
" clauſe of their own Propoſition concerning the King's return to the Parlia-
ment, they ſaid, " They had no Inſtructions to treat upon it; which the King much wonder'd at; and finding that they had no other Authority to Treat, or Debate what was neceſſary to be done in order to disbanding, but only to preſs him to appoint a day for the actual disbanding, and that the Forces in the North, where he had a great Army, and they had none, might be firſt disbanded, he endeavour'd to draw them to ſome Propoſitions upon his return to the Parliament; from whence expedients would naturally reſult, if they purſued that heartily, which would conclude a general Peace. And it ſeem'd very ſtrange, that, after ſo many diſcourſes of the King's abſence from the Houſes, from whence they had taught the People to believe that moſt of the preſent Evils flow'd, and proceeded, when a Treaty was now enter'd upon, and that was a part of their own firſt Propoſition, that their Committee ſhould have no Inſtructions, or Authority

to Treat upon it. After this, they receiv'd new Inſtructions, "To de-
"clare to his Majeſty the deſire of both Houſes, for his coming to his
"Parliament; which, they ſaid, they had often expreſs'd with full offers of
"ſecurity to his Royal Perſon, agreeable to their Duty and Allegiance, and
"they knew no cauſe why he might not repair thither with Honour and
"Safety. When the King found he could not engage them in that Argument
to make any particular Overture, or Invitation to him; and that the Com-
mittee, who expreſs'd willingneſs enough, had not in truth the leaſt power
to promote, or contribute to an accommodation, leſt they ſhould make the
People believe, that he had a deſire to continue the War, becauſe he con-
ſented not to their Propoſition of disbanding the Armies, he ſent this Meſſage,
by an expreſs of his own, to the two Houſes, after he had firſt communicated
it to their Committee.

Oxford, April 12th. 1643. ~~1683.~~

His Majeſty's Meſſage to the two Houſes of Apr. 12. 1643.

"To ſhew to the whole World, how earneſtly his Majeſty longs for
"Peace, and that no ſucceſs ſhall make him deſire the continuance of his Ar-
"my to any other end, or for any longer time, than that, and until, things
"may be ſo ſettled, as that the Law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted
"courſe, for the Defence, and Preſervation of the Rights of his Majeſty, both
"Houſes, and his good Subjects:

1. "Aſſoon as his Majeſty is ſatisfied in his firſt Propoſition concer-
"ning his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Forts, in which he deſires
"nothing, but that the juſt, known, legal Rights of his Majeſty (devolv'd to
"him from his Progenitors) and of the perſons truſted by him, which have
"violently been taken from both, be reſtor'd unto him, and unto them;
"unleſs any juſt and legal exception againſt any of the perſons truſted by him
"(which are yet unknown to his Majeſty) can be made appear to
"him.

2. "Aſſoon as all the Members of both Houſes ſhall be reſtor'd to the
"ſame capacity of Sitting, and Voting in Parliament, as they had upon
"the firſt of *January* 1641; the ſame, of right, belonging unto them by
"their Birth-rights, and the free Election of thoſe that ſent them; and having
"been Voted from them for adhering to his Majeſty in theſe diſtractions;
"his Majeſty not intending that this ſhould extend either to the Biſhops, whoſe
"Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to ſuch, in whoſe places, upon new
"Writs, new Elections have been made.

2. "Aſſoon as his Majeſty, and both Houſes, may be ſecur'd from ſuch
"Tumultuous Aſſemblies, as to the great breach of the privileges, and
"the high diſhonour of Parliaments, have formerly aſſembled about both
"Houſes, and aw'd the Members of the ſame; and occaſion'd two ſeveral
"Complaints from the Lords Houſe, and two ſeveral deſires of that Houſe
"to the Houſe of Commons, to joyn in a Declaration againſt them; the
"complying with which deſire might have prevented all theſe miſerable diſtra-
"ctions, which have enſued; which ſecurity his Majeſty conceives, can be
"only ſettled by adjourning the Parliament to ſome other place, at the
"leaſt twenty Miles from *London*, the choice of which his Majeſty leaves to
"both Houſes:

"His Majeſty will moſt chearfully and readily conſent, that both Ar-
"mies be immediately disbanded, and give a preſent meeting to both his
"Houſes of Parliament at the time, and place, at, and to which, the Parlia-
"ment ſhall be agreed to be Adjourn'd: His Majeſty being moſt confident, that
"the Law will then recover due Credit and Eſtimation; and that upon a
"free Debate, in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, ſuch proviſions
"will be made againſt Seditious preaching, and printing againſt his Majeſty,
"and the eſtabliſh'd Laws, which have been one of the chief cauſes of
"the preſent diſtractions, and ſuch care will be taken concerning the legal,
"and known Rights of his Majeſty, and the property and liberty of his
"Subjects, that whatſoever hath been publiſh'd, or done, in or by colour of
"any illegal Declaration, Ordinance, or Order of one or both Houſes, or
"any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raiſe arms
"without his Majeſty's conſent, will be in ſuch manner recalled, diſclaimed,

and

" and provided againſt, that no ſeed will remain for the like to ſpring out of " for the future, to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the " very being of it. And in ſuch a Convention his Majeſty is reſolv'd, by " his readineſs to conſent to whatſoever ſhall be propoſed to him, by Bill, for " the real good of his Subjects (and particularly for the better diſcovery " and ſpeedier Conviction of Recuſants; for the Education of the Childern " of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion; for the prevention " of practices of Papiſts againſt the State; and the due Execution of " the Laws, and true Levying of the Penalties againſt them) to make known " to all the World, how cauſeleſs thoſe Fears, and Jealouſies have been, which " have been raiſed againſt him; and by that ſo diſtracted this miſerable King- " dom. And if this offer of his Majeſty be not conſented to (in which " he asks nothing for which there is not apparent Juſtice on his ſide, and in " which he defers many things highly concerning both Himſelf, and People, " till a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which in Juſtice he " might now require) his Majeſty is confident, that it will then appear to all " the World, not only who is moſt deſirous of Peace, and whoſe fault it is " that both Armies are not now disbanded; but who have been the true " and firſt cauſe, that this Peace was ever interrupted, or thoſe Armies raiſ- " ed, and the beginning, or continuance of the War; and the deſtruction, " and deſolation of this poor Kingdom (which is too likely to enſue) will " not, by the moſt intereſted, paſſionate, or prejudicate Perſon, be imputed " to his Majeſty.

To this Meſſage the two Houſes return'd no Anſwer to the King, but requir'd the Committee to return to *Weſtminſter* (having been in *Oxford* with his Majeſty juſt twenty days) with ſuch poſitive circumſtances, that the Houſe of Commons enjoyn'd Their Members to begin their Journey the ſame day; which they obey'd; though it was ſo late, that they were forced to very inconvenient Accommodations; and at their return, ſome of them were look'd upon with great Jealouſy; as Perſons engaged by the King, and diſinclin'd to the Parliament; and this Jealouſy prevail'd ſo far, that Mr. *Martin* open'd a Letter from the Earl of *Northumberland* to his own Lady, preſuming he ſhould therein have diſcover'd ſome combination; and this inſolence was not diſliked.

Many were of opinion, that the King was too ſevere in this Treaty, and inſiſted to much upon what is his own by Right, and Law; and that if he would have diſtributed Offices and Places liberally to particular Men, which had been a condeſcenſion in policy to be ſubmitted to, he might have been repoſſeſs'd of his own power. And I have heard this alledg'd by many, who at that time were extremely violent againſt all ſuch Artifices. The Committee themſelves (who at that time perfectly abhorr'd the proceedings of the Parliament, or rather the power, and ſuperiority of the Earl of *Eſſex*) ſeem'd exceedingly deſirous of ſuch an accommodation, as all good Men deſir'd; and to believe, that if the King would have condeſcended ſo far, as to nominate the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Lord High Admiral, that it would have made ſo great a diviſion in the Houſes, that the Treaty would have been continued, and his Majeſty been ſatisfied in all the other propoſitions. And the Earl of *Northumberland*, to private Friends, did make as full Profeſſions of future Service to his Majeſty, and as ample Recognitions of paſs'd Errors, and Miſtakes, as could reaſonably be expected from a wary Nature, before he could be ſure what reception ſuch Profeſſions, and Vows would find. But the King thought the power and Intereſt of that Committee would be able to do little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the Treaty, in which they ſeem'd heartily to engage themſelves. And he was reſolv'd at leaſt to have a probable Aſſurance of the concluſion, before he would offer ſuch conceſſions, as taking no effect, might prove prejudicial to him: As particularly, the nominating the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Admiral (though he would willingly have done it, as the price and pledge of an Honourable Peace) would have diſcontented all who had, how unreaſonably ſoever, promiſed themſelves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unſeaſonable eaſineſs (from which imputation it concern'd the King, at that time, as much to purge himſelf, as of unmercifulneſs and

revenge) upon promiſes, and hopes, to have readmitted a Man to a charge, and truſt, he had ſo fatally betray'd, and broken, againſt as ſolemn promiſes, and obligations, at the leaſt, as he could now enter into; and therefore it concern'd the King, to be ſure of ſome advantage, in lieu of this viſible hazard.

I am one of thoſe who do believe that this obligation, at this time, lay'd upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, with ſuch other circumſtances of kindneſs, as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude, and faithfulneſs in him (for as, originally, he had, I am perſwaded, no evil purpoſes againſt the King; ſo he had now ſufficient diſdain and indignation againſt thoſe who got him to tread their Ways, when he had not their Ends) and that it would have made ſome rent and diviſion in the two Houſes (which could not but have produced ſome benefit to the King) and that it might probably have procured ſome few days addition for the continuance of the Treaty; the avow'd ground of denying it, being, becauſe the King had not, in the leaſt degree conſented to any one thing propoſed by them: But, I confeſs, I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a Peace, or given the King any advantage, or benefit in the War: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touch'd before. For, beſides that the ſtirring and Active Party, who carried on the War, were neither gracious to the Earl of *Northumberland*, nor He to them, their Favourite at Sea being then the Earl of *Warwick*, who had the poſſeſſion of the Fleet, and whom alone they believ'd fit to be truſted with the Navy; whoever calls to mind what was done in the Houſes, during the time of the Treaty, and by Their directions; that by their own Authority they directed all the Lands of Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, to be ſequeſter'd, and inhibited their Tenants to pay any Rent to them; that under pretence of ſearching for Arms, and taking away ſuperſtitious, Pictures, they cauſed the Queen's Chapel at *Somerſet* Houſe (where ſhe was to exerciſe her devotion, if they ever meant ſhe ſhould return again to *London*) to be moſt licentiouſly rifled; in which Licenſe with impunity, her Lodgings were plunder'd, and all her furniture, and goods of Value, taken away and imbezell'd; that there was an Order made in the Houſe of Commons, when they ſent Their Meſſengers every day to *Oxford* without any Formality, or Controul, "That whatſoever Perſon ſhould come from *Oxford*, or any part of the King's Army "to *London*, or the parts adjacent, without the Warrant of both Houſes of "Parliament, or of the Lord General the Earl of *Eſſex*, he ſhould be apprehended as a Spy and Intelligencer, and be proceeded againſt according to the "rules and grounds of War; by Virtue of which Order of the Houſe of Commons only, and without any communication that notice might be taken of it, a Servant of the King's, for diſcharging the duty of his place, was executed; which ſhall be anon remember'd; all which except the execution of that Man, was tranſacted during the time of the Treaty at *Oxford*.

Whoſoever remembers the other Propoſition upon which the Treaty was founded, and the Bills then preſented to the King for his Royal Aſſent; that there was no unreaſonable thing demanded in the nineteen Propoſitions, which was not comprehended in theſe fourteen, and many additions made that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of Arch Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, and the whole frame of the Government of the Church; and another Bill for the calling an Aſſembly of Divines, nominated by themſelves (which was a preſumption, as contrary to the Policy and Government of the Kingdom, as the moſt extravagant Act they had done) conſiſting of Perſons the moſt deeply engaged in the moſt unwarrantable Acts that had been done; and yet his Majeſty was requir'd to promiſe to paſs ſuch other Bills for ſettling of Church-Government, as, upon conſultation with that Aſſembly of Divines, ſhould be reſolv'd on by both Houſes of Parliament: That all the other Bills then preſented to the King for his Royal Aſſent, and inſiſted on, by their fourth propoſition, though they had ſpecious and popular Titles, contain'd many Clauſes in them, contrary

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to common Equity, and the Right of the Subjects, and introduced proceedings very different from the known Juſtice of the Kingdom; and therefore, beſides the time and circumſtances of the paſſing thoſe Acts (when the Nation was in blood) not like to meet with his Majeſty's Approbation; I ſay, whoſoever remembers, and conſiders all this (to ſay nothing of the limitations by which their Committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity, than to deliver the Reſolutions of the two Houſes, and to receive the King's Anſwer, which might as effectually have been done, by any one ſingle ordinary Meſſenger) cannot, I conceive, believe, that the King's conſenting to make any one Perſon among them High Admiral of *England*, would have been a means to have reſtored the Kingdom to a preſent Peace, and the King to his juſt Rights and Authority. And if all theſe conſiderations be not ſufficient to render that ſuppoſition improbable, that, which follows next in order of Story, will abundantly confute it.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches to Beſiege* Reading Apr. 15. *being the laſt day of the Treaty.*

On *Saturday* the 15th. of *April*, which was the very day on which the Treaty expired at *Oxford*, being the laſt of the twenty days, which were firſt aſſign'd, and to which no importunity of the King's could procure an Addition, the Earl of *Eſſex* march'd with his whole Army from *Windſor*, and ſat down before *Reading*; which preparation would not have been ſo exactly made, and the reſolution ſo punctually taken, if they had meant any reaſonable conceſſions from the King, ſhould have fruſtrated that vaſt charge, and determin'd all farther Contentions. The Earl had never before been in the head of ſo gallant an Army, which conſiſted of about ſixteen thouſand Foot, and above three thouſand Horſe, in as good an Equipage, and ſupplied with all things neceſſary for a Siege, as could be expected from an Enemy which knew no wants, and had the Command of the Tower of *London*, and all other Stores of the Kingdom. In the Town were above three thouſand Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe, conſiſting of near three hundred; the Fortifications were very mean to endure a form'd Siege, being made only to ſecure a Winter Quarter, and never intended for a ſtanding Garriſon. And it is very true, that it was reſolv'd at a Council of War at *Oxford*, "That before the "end of *April* (before which time it was conceiv'd the Enemy would not adventure to take the Field) "Sir *Arthur Aſton* ſhould ſlight thoſe Works, and "draw off his Garriſon to the King; and that which made it leſs able to bear a Siege, than the weakneſs of their Works, was their want of Ammunition; for they had not forty Barrels of Powder; which could have held a briſk and a daring Enemy but a ſhort time. And as this defect proceeded not from want of foreſight, ſo it was not capable of being ſupplied, at leaſt in that proportion as was worthy the name of a Supply. For the King had no Port to Friend, by which he could bring Ammunition to *Oxford*; neither had he been yet able to ſet up any Manufacture for any conſiderable Supply. So that what he brought up with him after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which was the remainder of the four hundred Barrels brought by the Ship call'd the *Providence*, before the ſetting up of his Standard, had ſerv'd for all his expeditions, being diſtributed into the ſeveral Garriſons; and was ſtill to furniſh all his growing occaſions; and that Magazine now at *Reading* (which was no greater than is before mention'd) was yet double to what was in any other place, *Oxford* only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred Barrels of Powder, and in no one place Match proprtionable to that little Powder; And this defect is wholely to be imputed to the lowneſs, and ſtreightneſs of the King's condition; for there was no want of Induſtry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent and ſupply it.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the Town look'd upon the Enemy with Courage and Contempt enough; and to ſay the truth, both Officers and Soldiers were as good, as in the infancy of a War could be expected; and they had no apprehenſion of want of Victual, with which they were abundantly ſtored. The Soldiers without, were for the moſt part, newly levied, and few of their Officers acquainted with the way and order of Aſſaulting Towns; and this was the firſt Siege that happen'd in *England*. Upon the firſt ſitting down before it, after they had taken a full View of the ground, their General adviſed with his Council of War, in what manner he ſhould proceed, whether by Aſſault, or Approach; in which there was great diverſity

revenge) upon promiſes, and hopes, to have readmitted a Man to a charge, and truſt, he had ſo fatally betray'd, and broken, againſt as ſolemn promiſes, and obligations, at the leaſt, as he could now enter into; and therefore it concern'd the King, to be ſure of ſome advantage, in lieu of this viſible hazard.

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to common Equity, and the Right of the Subjects, and introduced proceedings very different from the known Juſtice of the Kingdom; and therefore, beſides the time and circumſtances of the paſſing thoſe Acts (when the Nation was in blood) not like to meet with his Majeſty's Approbation; I ſay, whoſoever remembers, and conſiders all this (to ſay nothing of the limitations by which their Committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity, than to deliver the Reſolutions of the two Houſes, and to receive the King's Anſwer, which might as effectually have been done, by any one ſingle ordinary Meſſenger) cannot, I conceive, believe, that the King's conſenting to make any one Perſon among them High Admiral of *England*, would have been a means to have reſtored the Kingdom to a preſent Peace, and the King to his juſt Rights and Authority. And if all theſe conſiderations be not ſufficient to render that ſuppoſition improbable, that, which follows next in order of Story, will abundantly confute it.

On *Saturday* the 15th. of *April*, which was the very day on which the Treaty expired at *Oxford*, being the laſt of the twenty days, which were firſt aſſign'd, and to which no importunity of the King's could procure an Addition, the Earl of *Eſſex* march'd with his whole Army from *Windſor*, and ſat down before *Reading*; which preparation would not have been ſo exactly made, and the reſolution ſo punctually taken, if they had meant any reaſonable conceſſions from the King, ſhould have fruſtrated that vaſt charge, and determin'd all farther Contentions. The Earl had never before been in the head of ſo gallant an Army, which conſiſted of about ſixteen thouſand Foot, and above three thouſand Horſe, in as good an Equipage, and ſupplied with all things neceſſary for a Siege, as could be expected from an Enemy which knew no wants, and had the Command of the Tower of *London*, and all other Stores of the Kingdom. In the Town were above three thouſand Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe, conſiſting of near three hundred; the Fortifications were very mean to endure a form'd Siege, being made only to ſecure a Winter Quarter, and never intended for a ſtanding Garriſon. And it is very true, that it was reſolv'd at a Council of War at *Oxford*, "That before the "end of *April* (before which time it was conceiv'd the Enemy would not adventure to take the Field) "Sir *Arthur Aſton* ſhould ſlight thoſe Works, and "draw off his Garriſon to the King; and that which made it leſs able to bear a Siege, than the weakneſs of their Works, was their want of Ammunition; for they had not forty Barrels of Powder; which could have held a briſk and a daring Enemy but a ſhort time. And as this defect proceeded not from want of foreſight, ſo it was not capable of being ſupplied, at leaſt in that proportion as was worthy the name of a Supply. For the King had no Port to Friend, by which he could bring Ammunition to *Oxford*; neither had he been yet able to ſet up any Manufacture for any conſiderable Supply. So that what he brought up with him after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which was the remainder of the four hundred Barrels brought by the Ship call'd the *Providence*, before the ſetting up of his Standard, had ſerv'd for all his expeditions, being diſtributed into the ſeveral Garriſons; and was ſtill to furniſh all his growing occaſions; and that Magazine now at *Reading* (which was no greater than is before mention'd) was yet double to what was in any other place, *Oxford* only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred Barrels of Powder, and in no one place Match proprtionable to that little Powder; And this defect is wholely to be imputed to the lowneſs, and ſtreightneſs of the King's condition; for there was no want of Induſtry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent and ſupply it.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches to Beſiege* Reading Apr. 15. *being the laſt day of the Treaty.*

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the Town look'd upon the Enemy with Courage and Contempt enough; and to ſay the truth, both Officers and Soldiers were as good, as in the infancy of a War could be expected; and they had no apprehenſion of want of Victual, with which they were abundantly ſtored. The Soldiers without, were for the moſt part, newly levied, and few of their Officers acquainted with the way and order of Aſſaulting Towns; and this was the firſt Siege that happen'd in *England*. Upon the firſt ſitting down before it, after they had taken a full View of the ground, their General adviſed with his Council of War, in what manner he ſhould proceed, whether by Aſſault, or Approach; in which there was great diverſity

of opinions. "The Works were weak; the Number of the Aſſailants ſuffi-
"cient; all materials in readineſs; they believ'd the Soldiers in the Town
"full of Apprehenſions, and a very conſiderable Party of the Inhabitants
"diſaffected to the Garriſon, who in the time of a Storm would be able to
"beget a great diſtraction. They might be able to Storm it in ſo many places
"at once, that the number of the Soldiers within would not be able to defend
"all; and if they prevail'd in any One, their whole Body of Horſe might
"enter, and be immediately Maſters of the Town. If they prevail'd this way,
"their Army would have that Reputation, and carry that terror, with it, that
"no power of the King's would hereafter be able to abide it; but they might
"march over the Kingdom, and ſubdue every part of it; whereas if they
"delayed their work, and proceeded by way of Approach, theſe in the
"Town would recover heart, and after they had digeſted the preſent Fears
"and Apprehenſions, contemn their danger; and their own Soldiers, who were
"yet freſh and vigorous, would every day abate in Courage, and their
"Numbers in a few weeks leſſen as much by ſickneſs and duty, as they ſhould
"probably do by an Aſſault. On the other hand it was objected, "That the
"Army conſiſted moſt of new Levies (and in truth there were not, of all that
gallant Army that was at *Edge-hill*, among the Foot, three thouſand Men)
"who would be hardly brought to begin upon ſo deſperate Service; that
"it was the only Army the Parliament had, upon which all their hopes, and
"welfare depended; and if, in the Spring, it ſhould receive an Eminent foil,
"they would not recover their Courage again all the Summer. That
"they were not only to look upon the taking of *Reading*, but, purſuing that
"in a reaſonable way, to keep themſelves in a poſture and condition to end
"the War by a Battle with all the King's Forces; which would no doubt
"apply themſelves to their relief; and no place under Heaven could be
"ſo commodious for them to try their Fortune in, as That. Whereas if they
"ſhould haſtily engage themſelves upon an Aſſault, and receive a Repulſe,
"and ſhould be afterwards forced to riſe to Fight with the King, they
"ſhould never make their Men ſtand; and then their Cauſe was loſt. As
"for the danger of Sickneſs among the Soldiers, who were not acquainted with
"hardſhip, it was urged, "That though it were earlier in the year than
"the Armies uſually march'd into the Field, yet they had much better accom-
"modation and proviſion than Armies uſe to have; their Horſe (to whom
"that time of the year is commonly moſt hazardous, through the want
"of Forrage) being plentifully provided for with Hay and Oats by the benefit
"of the River, and all ſupplies being ſent for the Foot out of *London*.

And in truth 'tis hardly credible what vaſt quantities (beſides the Proviſions made in a very regular way by the Commiſſioners) of excellent Victual ready dreſs'd, were every day ſent in Wagons and Carts from *London* to the Army, upon the voluntary contributions from private Families, according to their Affections to the good Work in hand: the Common People being perſwaded, that the taking of *Reading* would deſtroy all the King's hopes of an Army; and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon theſe Arguments and Debates (in which all theſe reaſons were conſider'd on both ſides) the Major part of the Council inclined, and with that the General complied, to purſue the buſineſs by Approach. It was reported, that the Officers of Horſe in the Council were all for a Storm, and the Foot Officers for approaching. The chief Care and Overſight of the Approaches was committed to *Philip Skippon*, a Man often mention'd in the firſt part of this Hiſtory, who had been an old Officer, and of good experience in the low Counties, and was now made Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, by the abſolute power of the two Houſes; and without the chearful concurrence of the Earl of *Eſſex*; though Sir *John Merrick*, who had executed that place by his Lordſhip's choice from the beginning, was preferr'd to be General of the Ordnance.

The Approaches advanced very faſt, the ground being in all places as fit for that work as could be, and the Town lying ſo low, that they had eaſily raiſed many Batteries, from whence they ſhot their Cannon into the Town at a near diſtance, but without any conſiderable execution; there being fewer loſt by that Service, than will be believ'd, and but one man of Note, Lieutenant Colonel *D' Ews* a young Man of notable Courage, and Vivacity,

ty, who had his Leg ſhot off by a Cannon Bullet, of which he ſpeedily and very chearfully dyed. From the Town there were frequent Sallies with good Succeſs; and very many Soldiers, and ſome Officers, of the Enemy were kill'd; more, hurt; who were ſent to Hoſpitals near *London*; and thoſe that were ſent to *London*, as many Cart-Loads were, were brought in the night, and diſpoſed with great ſecrecy, that the Citizens might take no notice of it; the Stratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly ſet down, though purſued then with great induſtry; inſomuch as ſome were puniſh'd for reporting that there were many Soldiers kill'd, and hurt before *Reading*; and it was a mark of Malignity to believe thoſe reports: So unfit the People were to be truſted with all truths.

Within a week after the beginning of the Siege, Sir *Arthur Aſton* the Governour being in a Court of Guard near the Line which was neareſt to the Enemies Approaches, a Cannon ſhot accidently lighted upon the top of it, which was cover'd with Brick-tyle, a piece whereof, the ſhot going through, hit the Governour in the head, and made that impreſſion upon him, that his ſenſes ſhortly fail'd him, ſo that he was not only diſabled afterwards from executing in his own Perſon, but incompetent for Counſel or Direction; ſo that the chief Command was devolv'd to Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was the eldeſt Colonel of the Garriſon. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the King, for there was not in his Army an Officer of greater Reputation, and of whom the Enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at *Oxford*, a Party from thence under the Command of Mr *Willmot* the Lieutenant General of the Horſe, without any ſignal oppoſition, put in a ſupply of Powder, and a Regiment of five hundred Foot into the Town, and receiv'd Advertiſement from thence of the Governour's hurt, and that they muſt expect to be reliev'd within a week, beyond which time they ſhould not be able to hold out. How ill the King was provided for ſuch an expedition, will beſt appear by remembring how his Forces were then ſcatter'd, and the preſent poſture he was then in at *Oxford*.

The nimble and the ſucceſsful marches of Sir *Willian Waller*, whom We left triumphing in *Wales*, after his ſtrange ſurprize of the Lord *Herbert*'s Forces near *Gloceſter*, cauſed the King to ſend Prince *Maurice* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great ſucceſs as ſpeed, after his ſucceſs at *Hynam*; and to make the ſhame of thoſe Officers the leſs, with the ſpirit of Victory doubled upon him, he came before *Hereford*, a Town very well affected, and reaſonably well Fortified, having a Strong Stone Wall about it, and ſome Cannon, and there being in it ſome Soldiers of good Reputation, and many Gentlemen of Honour, and Quality; and three or four hundred Soldiers, beſides the Inhabitants well Armed; yet, without the loſs of one Man on either ſide, to the admiration of all, who then heard it, or ever ſince heard of it, he perſwaded them fairly to give up the Town, and yield themſelves Priſoners upon Quarter; which they did, and were preſently by him ſent for their better ſecurity to *Briſtol*.

Sir William Waller *takes* Hereford:

From thence he march'd to *Worceſter*, where his conqueſts met ſome ſtop; for though the Town was not ſo ſtrong, nor the Garriſon ſo great (I mean of Soldiers; for the Inhabitants were more) as *Hereford*, nor one Officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy War, the Inhabitants had the Courage to reſolve not to admit any Summons or Meſſenger from him; and when his Drum, againſt all ſigns made to him from the Walls not to Approach, did notwithſtanding refuſe to return without delivering his Meſſage, they ſhot at him, and kill'd him; and when Sir *William Waller* himſelf, to revenge that Affront, march'd with his whole Body towards them (there being only an old Gate without Bridge, or Work before it, to hinder his entrance into the Town) they entertain'd him ſo roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loſs of ſome Officers, and about twenty Common Men; after which, his Men having not been accuſtom'd to ſuch uſage, he got over the *Severn* again, and with quick night marches, ſo avoided Prince *Maurice* (who took no leſs pains to meet with him) that with ſome few light Skirmiſhes, in which he receiv'd ſmall loſs, he carried his Party ſafe, and full of Reputation, through *Gloceſter* to the Earl of *Eſſex's*

Comes before Worceſter: *is repulſed;*

Army before *Reading*; himſelf being ſent for to *London*, upon a deſign that muſt be hereafter mention'd.

The great want at *Oxford* (if any one particular might deſerve that Style, where all neceſſary things were wanted) was Ammunition; and the only hope of ſupply was from the North; yet the paſſage from thence ſo dangerous, that a Party little Inferiour in ſtrength to an Army was neceſſary to convey it; for, though the Earl of *New-caſtle*, at that time, was Maſter of the Field in *York ſhire*, yet the Enemy was much Superior in all the Counties between that County and *Oxford*; and had planted many Garriſons ſo near all the Roads, that the moſt private Meſſengers travell'd with great hazard, three being intercepted for one that eſcaped. To clear theſe obſtructions, and not without the deſign of guarding and waiting on the Queen to *Oxford*, if her Majeſty were ready for that Journey, at leaſt to ſecure a neceſſary ſupply of Powder, Prince *Rupert* reſolv'd in Perſon to march towards the North, and about the beginning of *April* (the Treaty being then at *Oxford*, and there being hopes that it would have produced a good effect, at leaſt that the Earl of *Eſſex* would not have taken the Field till *May*) his Highneſs, with a Party of twelve hundred Horſe and Dragoons, and ſix or ſeven hundred Foot, march'd towards *Lichfield*; which if he could reduce, and ſettle there a Garriſon for the King, lay moſt convenient for that Northern Communication; and would with it diſſolve other little adjacent holds of the Enemies, which contributed much to their interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through *Bromicham*, a Town in *Warwick-ſhire* before mention'd, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected Diſloyalty to the King, as any place in *England*. It is before remember'd, that the King in his march from *Shrewsbury*, notwithſtanding the eminent malignity of that People, had ſhew'd as eminent compaſſion to them; not giving way that they ſhould ſuffer by the undiſtinguiſhing licence of the Soldier, or by the ſeverity of his own Juſtice; which clemency of his, found ſo unequal a return, that, the next day after his remove thence, the Inhabitants of that place ſeiſed on his Carriages, wherein were his own Plate, and Furniture; and Conveyed them to *Warwick* Caſtle; and had from that time, with unuſual induſtry and vigilance, apprehended all Meſſengers who were employed, or ſuſpected to be ſo, in the King's Service; and though it was never made a Garriſon by direction of the Parliament, being built in ſuch a form, as was indeed hardly capable of being Fortified, yet they had ſo great a deſire to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the King's good Subjects, that they caſt up little ſlight works at both ends of the Town, and Barricadoed the reſt, and voluntarily engaged themſelves not to admit any intercourſe with the King's Forces.

Prince Rupert *marches towards the North.*

In this poſture Prince *Rupert* now found them, having in the Town with them at that time a Troop of Horſe, belonging to the Garriſon of *Lichfield*, which was grown to that ſtrength, that it infeſted thoſe parts exceedingly; and would in a ſhort time have extended it ſelf to a powerful Juriſdiction. His Highneſs hardily believing it poſſible, that when they ſhould diſcover his Power, they would offer to make Reſiſtance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more Important deſign, ſent his Quarter-Maſters thither to take up his Lodging; and to aſſure them, "That if they behaved themſelves peaceably, they ſhould not ſuffer for "what was paſt: But they had not Conſciences good enough to believe him, and abſolutely refuſed to let him Quarter in the Town; and from their little Works, with Mettle equal to their Malice, they diſcharged their ſhot upon him; but they were quickly over-power'd, and ſome parts of the Town being fired, they were not able to contend with both Enemies; and, diſtracted between both, ſuffer'd, the Aſſallant to enter without much loſs; who took not that vengeance upon them they deſerv'd, but made them expiate their Tranſgreſſions with paying a leſs Mulct, than might have been expected from their Wealth, if their Wickedneſs had been leſs.

Takes Bromicham

In the Entrance of this Town, and in the too eager purſuit of that looſe Troop of Horſe that was in it, the Earl of *Denbigh* (who from the beginning of the War, with unwearied pains, and exact ſubmiſſion to diſcipline

cipline and order, had been a Voluntier in Prince *Rupert*'s Troop, and been engag'd with ſingular Courage in all enterprizes of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the Head and Body with Swords, and Poll-Axes; of which, within two or three days, he died. Had it not been for this ill accident (and to remember the diſmal inequality of this contention, in which always ſome Earl, or Perſons of great Honour or Fortune fell, when after the moſt ſignal Victory over the other ſide, there was ſeldom loſt a Man of any known Family, or of other Reputation, than of Paſſion for the Cauſe in which he fell) I ſhould not have mention'd an Action of ſo little moment, as was this of *Bromicham*; which I ſhall yet enlarge with the remembrance of a Clergy Man, who was here kill'd at the entering of the Town, after he had not only refuſed quarter, but provoked the Soldier by the moſt odious revilings, and reproaches of the Perſon and Honour of the King, that can be imagin'd, and renouncing all Allegiance to him; in whoſe pockets were found ſeveral Papers of Memorials of his own obſcene, and ſcurrilous behaviour with ſeveral Women, in ſuch looſe expreſſions, as modeſt ears cannot endure. This Man was the principal Governour, and Incendiary of the rude People of that place againſt their Soveraign. So full a qualification was heightned meaſure of malice and diſloyalty for this Service, that it weighed down the infamy of any other leud and vicious behaviour.

From *Bromicham*, the Prince, without longer ſtay than to remove two or three ſlight Garriſons in the way, which made very little reſiſtance march'd to *Lichfield*, and eaſily poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Town, which lay open to all Comers; but the Cloſe (containing the Cathedral Church, and all the Clergy Men's Houſes) was ſtrongly fortified, and reſolv'd againſt him. The Wall, about which there was a broad, and deep Mote, was ſo thick, and ſtrong, that no Battery the Prince could raiſe, would make any impreſſion; the Governour, one Colonel *Rouſwell*, very reſolute; and the Garriſon of ſuch Men as were moſt tranſported with Superſtition to the Cauſe in which they engaged, and in Number equal to the ground they were to keep, and their Proviſions ample for a longer time than it was fit the Prince ſhould ſtay before it. So that it was believ'd, when his Highneſs had in vain endeavour'd to procure it by Treaty, he would not have engaged before it; for his ſtrength conſiſted, upon the matter, wholely in Horſe; his Foot and Dragoons being an inconſiderable Force for ſuch an Attempt. But whether the Difficulties were not thoroughly diſcern'd, and weigh'd at firſt, or whether the importance of the place was thought ſo great, that it was worth an equal hazard, and adventure, he reſolv'd not to move 'till he had tried the uttermoſt; and to that purpoſe, drew what addition of Force he could out of the Country, to ſtrengthen his handful of Foot; and perſwaded many Officers, and Voluntiers of the Horſe to alight, and bear their parts in the Duty; with which they chearfully and gallantly comply'd; and in leſs than ten days, he had drawn the Mote dry, and prepar'd two Bridges for the graff. The Beſieged omitted nothing that could be perform'd by vigilant, and bold Men; aud kill'd, and wounded many of the Beſiegers; and diſappointed, and ſpoiled one Mine they had prepared. In the end, early in the Morning, the Prince having prepared all things in readineſs for the Aſſault, he ſprung another Mine; which ſucceeded according to wiſh, and made a breach of twenty foot in the Wall, in a place leaſt ſuſpected by thoſe within; yet they defended it with all poſſible Courage and Reſolution, and kill'd and hurt very many; ſome, Officers of prime Quality; whereof the Lord *Digby*, Colonel *Gerrard*, Colonel *Wagſtaffe*, and Major *Leg*, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had enter'd the breach, they continued the diſpute ſo fiercely within (the narrowneſs of the breach, and the aſcent not ſuffering many to enter together, and no Horſe being able to get over) that after they had kill'd Colonel *Uſher*, and ſome other good Officers, and taken others Priſoners (for both Colonel *Wagſtaffe*, and *William Leg* were in their hands) they compell'd the Prince to conſent to very honourable Conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himſelf a gainer by the Bargain. And ſo the Garriſon march'd out with fair reſpect, and the Prince's teſtimony of their having made a Couragious Defence; his Highneſs being very glad of his Conqueſt, though the purchaſe had ſhrewd-

and Lichfield, *and returns to the Kings.*

ly ſhaken his Troops, and robb'd him of many Officers and Soldiers he much valued. At this time, either the day before, or the day after this Action, Prince *Rupert* receiv'd a poſitive Order from the King, "To make "all poſſible haſte, with all the ſtrength he had, and all he could draw toge- "ther from thoſe parts, to the Relief of *Reading*; which was in the danger We but now left it. Upon which his Highneſs, committing the Government of *Lichfield* to Colonel *Baggot*, a Son of a good and powerful Family in that County, and appointing his Troops to make what haſte was poſſible after him, himſelf with a few Servants came to *Oxford* to attend the King, whom he found gone towards *Reading*.

The importunity from that Garriſon for Relief, was ſo peremptory, and the concernment ſo great in their Preſervation, that the King found it would not bear the neceſſary delay of Prince *Rupert*'s returning with his Forces; and therefore his Majeſty in Perſon, with thoſe Horſe and Foot which he could ſpeedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in *Oxford*, or in any o- ther Garriſon, advanced towards *Reading*; hoping, and that was the utmoſt of his hope, that he might with the Aſſiſtance of the Garriſon, be able to force one Quarter, and ſo draw out his Men; and by the advantage of thoſe Rivers which divided the Enemy, and by the Paſſes, be able to retire to *Oxford*; for being joyn'd, he could not have equalled one half of the Enemies Army. When the King drew near the Town, the day being paſs'd whereon they had been promiſed, or had promiſed themſelves Relief, he was encounter'd by a Party of the Enemy, which defended their Poſt, who being quickly ſeconded by Supplies of Horſe and Foot from all their Quarters, after a very ſharp Conflict, in which many fell on both ſides, the King's Party, Commanded by the Earl of *Forth* himſelf [the General] conſiſting of near one thouſand Muſqueteers, were forced to retire to their Body; which they did the ſooner, becauſe thoſe of the Town made no ſemblance of endeavouring to joyn with them; which was what they principally rely'd upon. The reaſon of that was, the Garriſon not ſeeing their Relief coming, had ſent for a Parley to the Enemy, which was agreed to, with a Truce for ſo many hours, upon which Hoſtages were deliver'd; and a Treaty begun, when the King came to Relieve it. Upon the view of the Enemies ſtrength, and intrenchment, all were of opinion that the ſmall Forces of the King would not be able to raiſe the Siege, or to joyn with thoſe in the Town; and in this Melancholick concluſion his Majeſty retired for the preſent, reſolving to make any other reaſonable At- tempt the next day. In the mean time, ſome Soldiers found means to eſcape out of the Town, and Colonel *Fielding* himſelf in the Night came to the King, and told him the State they were in; and "That they were in Treaty, and "believ'd he might have very good Conditions, and liberty to march away "with all their Arms and Baggage; which was ſo welcome News, that the King bid him, Prince *Rupert* being then preſent, "That if he could procure "ſuch Conditions, he ſhould accept them: for indeed the Men and the Arms were all that the King deſir'd, the loſs of either of which was like to prove fa- tal to him. The King continued ſtill at *Nettlebeck*, a Village ſeven or eight Miles diſtant from *Reading*, to attend the ſucceſs of the Treaty; reſolving, if it ſucceeded not, to try the utmoſt again for their Redemption; but all Men praying heartily for liberty to march off upon the Treaty, the next day theſe Articles were agreed on.

Reading *ſurrender'd upon Articles* Apr. 27.

1. "That the Governour, Commanders, and Soldiers, both Horſe and Foot, "might march out with Flying Colours, Arms, and four Pieces of Ordnance, "Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, light Match, Bullet in Mouth, Drums "beating, and Trumpets ſounding.

2. "That they might have free paſſage to his Majeſty's City of *Oxford*, "without interruption of any of the Forces under the Command of his Excel- "lency the Earl of *Eſſex*; provided the ſaid Governour, Commanders, and "Soldiers, uſe no Hoſtility until they come to *Oxford*.

3. "That what Perſons were accidentally come to the Town, and ſhut up "by the Siege, might have liberty to paſs without interruption; ſuch Perſons "only excepted, as had run away from the Army under the Command of the "Earl of *Eſſex*.

4. "That they ſhall have fifty Carriages for Baggage, ſick, and hurt "Men.

5. "That

5. "That the Inhabitants of the Town of *Reading* ſhould not be preju-
" diced in their Eſtates, or Perſons, either by Plundering or Impriſonment;
" and that they who would leave the Town, might have free leave, and
" paſſage, ſafely to go to what place they would, with their goods, within
" the ſpace of ſix Weeks after the Surrender of the Town.
6. That the Garriſon ſhould quit the Town by twelve of the Clock the
" next Morning; and that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould provide a Guard for the
" Security of the Garriſon Soldiers, when they begun to march.

Upon theſe Articles, ſign'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Town was deliver'd on the 27th day of *April* (being within a fortnight after the Siege begun) and the Garriſon march'd to the King, who ſtay'd for them, and with him to *Oxford*. But at their coming out of the Town, and paſſing through the Enemies Guards, the Soldiers were not only reviled, and reproachfully uſed, but many of them diſarm'd, and moſt of the Waggons plunder'd, in the preſence of the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, and the Chief Officers; who ſeem'd to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unrulineſs of the Common Men being ſo great. As this breach of the Articles was very notorious, and inexcuſable, ſo it was made the riſe, foundation, and excuſe for barbarous injuſtice of the ſame kind throughout the greateſt part of the War; inſomuch as the King's Soldiers afterward, when it was their part to be preciſe in the obſervation of Agreements, mutinouſly remember'd the violation at *Reading*; and thereupon exerciſed the ſame Licence; from thence, either ſide having ſomewhat to object to the other, the requiſite honeſty and juſtice of obſerving Conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after Violated.

There had been, in the Secret Committee for the carrying on the War, forming thoſe deſigns, and adminiſtring to the expences thereof, a long debate with great difference of opinion, whether they ſhould not march directly with their Army to Beſiege *Oxford*, where the King, and the Court was, rather than *Reading*; and if they had taken that Reſolution, as Mr. *Hambden*, and all they who deſir'd ſtill to ſtrike at the Root, very earneſtly inſiſted upon, without doubt they had put the King's Affairs into great confuſion. For, beſides that *Oxford* was not tollerably Fortified, nor the Garriſon well provided for, the Court, and multitude of Nobility, and Ladies, and Gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of Alarm very ill. But others, who did not yet think their Army well enough compoſed to reſiſt all temptations, nor enough ſubdued in their inclinations to Loyalty, and Reverence towards the Perſon of the King, had no mind it ſhould Beſiege the very place where the King himſelf was; and the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, who was yet the Soul of the Army, had no mind to that Enterpriſe: and ſo the Army march'd, as hath been ſaid, directly to *Reading*, with the ſucceſs that is mention'd.

Though, at the inſtant, the Parliament was highly pleas'd with the getting the Town, and the King as well contented, when he ſaw his entire Garriſon ſafely joyn'd to the reſt of his Army (for it cannot be denied the joy was univerſal through the King's Quarters, upon the Aſſurance that they had recover'd near four thouſand good Men, whom they had given for loſt) yet, according to the Viciſſitudes in War, when the Accounts are caſt up, either Party grew quickly diſſatisfied with it's ſucceſs. The King was no ſooner return'd to *Oxford*, but upon conference between the Officers and Soldiers, there grew a Whiſper, "That there had not been fair carriage, and that *Reading* had been betray'd, and from thence made a noiſe through *Oxford*; and the very next day, and at the ſame time, Colonel *Fielding*, upon whom the diſcourſes reflected, came to the King to deſire, "That an Account might
" be taken of the whole buſineſs at a Council of War for his Vindication;
and the Common Soldiers, in a diſorderly manner, "To require Juſtice againſt Him for betraying, and delivering up the Town to the Rebels; which they avow'd with ſo much confidence, with the mention of ſome particulars, "As the having frequent intercourſe with the Earl of *Eſſex*, and
" hindering and forbidding the Soldiers to iſſue out of the Town to joyn with the
" King, when he came to relieve them, although their Officers had drawn them
" up to that purpoſe, and were ready to lead them; and the like; with ſome raſh, and paſſionate words diſreſpectful to his Majeſty; ſo that he gave preſent order for his Commitment, the Tryal at a Court of War; the King

himſelf being marvellouſly incenſed againſt him, for that Clauſe in the third Article, which gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to the Town, and ſhut up by a Siege, to paſs without interruption. wherein there was an exception of ſuch Perſons who had run away from the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and by virtue of that exception ſome Soldiers were taken after the rendering of the Town, and were executed. And though the Colonel excuſed himſelf, "As being no more concern'd to Anſwer for the Articles, "than every Member of the Council of War, by which they were agreed; "yet it was alledged, "That the Councel of War had been induced to "conſent to thoſe Articles, upon the Colonel's averment, that the King "had ſeen them, and approv'd of them. Whereas his Majeſty had never ſeen any Articles in writing, but only conſented, that they ſhould march away with their Arms and Baggage, if the Enemy agreed to thoſe Conditions. I have not known the King more afflicted, than he was with that Clauſe, which he call'd no leſs: "Than giving up thoſe poor Men, who "out of Conſcience of their Rebellion, had betaken themſelves to his Pro-"tection, to be Maſſacred and Murder'd by the Rebels, whom they had "deſerted; and for the vindication of himſelf therein, he immediately pu-"bliſh'd a Proclamation, in which he took notice of that Clauſe; and de-clar'd to all the World:

Colonel Fielding *order'd to be tried for the Surrender.*

"That he was not privy to, or, in the leaſt degree, conſenting to that "exception, but held the ſame moſt prejudicial to his Service, and deroga-"tory to his Honour; and that he would always chooſe to run any ha-"zard or danger, the Violence or Treaſon of his Enemies could threa-"ten, or bring upon him, rather than he would withdraw, or deny his "Protection to any, who, being convinced in their Conſcience of their "diſloyalty, ſhould return to their Duty, and betake themſelves to his Ser-"vice. And as he had referr'd to a Court of War, the full examination "of all the particular proceedings, in the delivery of that Town, that Ju-"ſtice might be done accordingly; ſo he did declare, that he would al-"ways proceed with all ſeverity againſt ſuch, as ſhould, by the like di-"ſhonourable Conditions, expoſe his Subjects, and bereave them of his "Protection that had return'd to their Obedience to him.

At the Tryal, it was objected againſt the Colonel, "That the Town "might have been longer defended, there being no want of neceſſary Pro-"viſion, and as much Powder, at the giving it up, as there was when the "Enemy came firſt before it; for beſides the firſt ſupply, ſixteen Barrels "were put in during the Skirmiſh, when the King came to relieve it: "That ſeveral Colonels preſs'd very earneſtly to Sally, when the King's "Forces were engaged, and that they were expreſsly hinder'd, and for-"bidden by Him: That he frequently gave his Paſs to a Woman to go "out of the Town, who went into the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and return'd "again: That he perſwaded the Council of War to conſent to the Arti-"cles, by proteſting that the King had well approv'd them, and reproach'd "thoſe Officers who were of another opinion; with ſome other particu-lars of Licenſe and Paſſion, which reflected more upon his Diſcretion, than his Honeſty, or Conduct.

He juſtified himſelf "To have done nothing towards the delivery of "the place, but upon full conſideration, advice, and approbation of the "Council of War: That he was in his own Conſcience, and Judgment "ſatisfied, that the ſubſtance of the Articles were advantageous for his "Majeſty's Service; and though it was true, by that laſt ſupply of Am-"munition, their Store was near as much as when the Siege begun; yet "it was in all but thirty two Barrels, which would have laſted but few "hours, if the Enemy, who had approach'd within little more than Piſtol-"ſhot of ſome parts of their Works, ſhould attack them in that manner "as they had reaſon to expect; and if they had held out longer, when "it had appear'd that the King was not ſtrong enough to relieve them, "they ſhould not have been admitted to ſuch Conditions: and therefore, "that he believ'd a hazard of ſo great a concernment, was not to be run, "when he well knew his Majeſty's former Reſolution of ſlighting the "Garriſon; and that it would not be now done above a fortnight ſooner

"than

" than was intended: That he had no knowledge of his Majesty's ap-
" proach, till the Forces were engaged, when a Truce was concluded, and
" their Hostages in the Enemies hands; and therefore, that he conceiv'd it a-
" gainst the Law of Arms to make any attempt from the Town; and before
" they could sufficiently deliberate it in Council, his Majesty's Forces retir'd:
" That the Woman to whom he gave a Pass, was one he often imploy'd as a
" Spy, with very good effect; and he did believe, the advantage he receiv'd
" by it, was greater than she could carry to the Enemy by any informa-
" tion she could give: That he did perswade the Council of War to consent to
" the Conditions, because he believ'd them very profitable to his Majesty, and
" he had averr'd only his Majesty's approbation of the general Substance
" of the Articles, never applied it to the Clause of the third Article, which
" he much desir'd to have alter'd, but could not obtain the consent of the
" Enemy. If he had been intemperate, or passionate to any, who were of
" another opinion, or had used any passionate expression in the Debate, it
" proceeded only from his Zeal to the Service, and his apprehension of the
" loss of so many good Men, upon whom he well knew the King much
" depended: That he might have committed many Indiscretions, for which
" he desir'd pardon, but had not fail'd in point of Fidelity: That by the unfor-
" tunate hurt of the Governour, the Command was devolv'd upon him by
" his right of Seniority, not any Ambitious design of his own: That he had,
" from time to time, acquainted Sir *Arthur Aston* with the State, and Con-
" dition they were in, and though his indisposition of Health was such, that
" he would not give positive Orders, he seem'd to approve of all that was done;
" and though, for the former reason, he refused to sign the Articles, yet they
" were read to him, and he express'd no dislike of them. The truth of it is,
" Sir *Arthur Aston* was believ'd by many, not to be in so incompetent a Con-
dition to Command as he pretended; and that albeit his Head was so much swoln, that he might not in Person venture upon any execution, yet his understanding, or senses, were not much distemper'd, or discompos'd; and that he only positively wav'd medling, out of dislike of the Condition they were in. And it is true, that, when he came to *Oxford*, he could speak as reasonable of any matter, as ever I knew him before, or after.

Notwithstanding all the defence the Colonel could make for himself, and that there was not indeed any colour of proof, that he had acted any thing treacherously, he was, upon an Article " For not obeying Orders (for in this agitation he had receiv'd some such, which he had not precisely observ'd) " Sentenced to lose his head; which judgment, after long and great intercession, was, in the end, remitted by the King; but his Regiment disposed to another; and He never restor'd to that Command. And though he had been always before of an unblemish'd Ruputation for Honesty, and Courage; and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the Troubles, and been hurt in the Service, and he appear'd afterwards as a Voluntier, with the same Courage, in the most perilous Actions, and obtain'd a principal Command in another of the King's Armies, he never recover'd the misfortune and blemish of this Imputation. And yet I must profess for my part, being no stranger to what was then alledg'd and prov'd on either Party, I do believe him to have been free from any base compliance with the Enemy, or any cowardly declension of what was reasonable to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, aud so difficult a thing it is to play an after-Game of Reputation, in that nice and jealous Profession.

The Inconveniences, and Mischiefs, that resulted to the King from this accident, were greater than were at that time taken notice of; for from this, the Factions in Court, Army, and City (which afterwards grew very troublesome to the King) were dated, and took their original; great Animosities grew between the Officers of the Army; some being thought to have been too passionate, and sollicitous in the prosecution of the Colonel, and too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of Common Soldiers in demanding Justice on their Officer; for from such a kind of Clamour it begun: Others again were as much condemn'd for a palpable avow'd protection of him, thereby to shew their power, that a Person they favour'd, should not suffer; and of both these, some were more Violent than they should have

been; which ſeveral inclinations equally poſſeſs'd the Court, ſome believing that he was really guilty of Treachery, though not ſo clearly prov'd; and therefore that, being within the Mercy of the Law, upon another Article, no Mercy ought to be ſhew'd to him; others as really ſuppoſing him Innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity, ſeverely to take the forfeiture, upon ſuch a point, as few Officers of the Army did not know themſelves guilty in: Theſe ſuppoſing the former too full of rigour, and uncharitableneſs; and They again accuſing the Other of too much lenity, and indulgence; whilſt many Gentlemen of Honour, and Quality, whoſe Fortunes were Embark'd with the King, grew extremely, jealous, that the Parliament had corrupted ſome of the King's Officers with rewards; and that others had power to protect them from puniſhment, and diſcovery; and the Soldiers again as much incenſed, that their lives muſt be ſacrificed, upon Caſual and Accidental Treſpaſſes, to the animoſity and jealouſy of thoſe who run not the ſame dangers with them.

But theſe Indiſpoſitions, and Diſtempers, were the effects of the exigents of that time (I wiſh the humours had been impair'd when the times mended) and very many who ſaw the King's Condition very low in an inſtant, and believ'd the Rebels to be moſt flouriſhing, would look no farther for a reaſon, than the loſs of *Reading*; though they had all ſtill but the Town; which was never intended to be kept. It is moſt certain, that the King himſelf was ſo far from believing the Condition he was in to be tolerable, that, upon the news of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s advance towards *Oxford* within four or five days after the loſs of *Reading*, he once reſolv'd, and that by the advice of the Chief Officers of his Army, to march away towards the North, to joyn with the Earl of *New-Caſtle*. And if the Earl of *Eſſex* had, at that time, but made any ſhew of moving with his whole Body that way, I do verily perſwade my ſelf, *Oxford* it ſelf, and all the other Garriſons of thoſe parts, had been quitted to them; but thoſe fears were quickly compoſed, by an Aſſurance of the Earl's ſtay at *Reading*; and that he was not in a poſture for a preſent march, and that his Numbers had been ſhrewdly leſſen'd by the Siege: whereupon the King reſolv'd to abide him, and give him Battle about *Oxford*, if he advanced; and, in the mean time, encamped his Foot upon the Down, about a Mile from *Abingdon*; which was the head Quarter of his Horſe.

When the Seaſon of the year grew ripe for taking the Field, the Earl of *Eſſex* found that his too early march had nothing advanced his Affairs; the Soldiers having perform'd ſo ſtrict duty, and lodging upon the ground, in froſt and rain, before *Reading*, had produced great ſickneſs and diſeaſes in his Army, which had waſted abundance of his Men; ſo that he wanted rather another Winter Quarter to recover, and recruit his Men, than an opportunity to engage them in Action; which he found would be too often adminiſter'd. He ſent daily importunities to the Parliament for ſupplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furniſhed with to ſatisfy him; new Diviſions and Animoſities aroſe There, to perplex their Counſels. Their Triumph upon the taking of *Reading*, which they had celebrated with loud feſtivity, and made the City believe that all thoſe benefits would attend it, which they knew would be moſt grateful to them, appear'd now, without any fruit; the King had all his Forces and Army entire, and had only loſt a Town that he never meant to keep, and which They knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the Field, when Theirs was deſtitute of health, and all thoſe accommodations, which muſt enable them to march: and their General, every day reiterated his complaints, and reproach'd them with the unskilful Orders they had ſent him, by which againſt all the Advice and Arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity.

The diſreſpectful, and abſurd breaking off the Treaty with the King, was urged by their Commiſſioners; who thought themſelves diſobliged by it, and publiſh'd the King's gracious diſpoſition, and the temper of the Council in *Oxford* to be different from what the Parliament deſired it ſhould be believ'd. They complain'd of Jealouſies which had been entertain'd of their Integrity; and the Earl of *Northumberland* having diſcover'd as is ſaid before, that *Harry Martin* had open'd a Letter, which he had writ from *Oxford*

ford to his Lady, took him aſide, after a conference in the Painted Chamber between the two Houſes, and queſtion'd him upon it; and the other giving him ſome rude Anſwers in juſtification of what he had done, the Earl Cudgell'd him in that preſence; upon which many Swords were drawn, to the great reproach and ſcandal of the Parliament.

Theſe, and the like Inſtances of diſtraction, and confuſion, brought the Reputation of that Party low; and made it look'd upon, as like to deſtroy it ſelf without an Enemy; whilſt the King's Party, at that diſtance, ſeem'd to be more united, and to have recover'd their Spirits, of which they receiv'd frequent evidence by the News of ſome of their Quarters being beat up, and many of their Men loſt by the unexpected Incurſions of the King's Horſe; whereof ſome Parties by Night marches, and unuſual Lanes, went often near *London*, and took many Priſoners, who thought themſelves ſecure, in their Houſes, and in Journeys they made; who were put to ranſome themſelves with good Sums of Money; ſo that, after all thoſe Mountains of promiſes, and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the City more importuned for Money, and the Parliament viſibly more neceſſitated for want of it, then they had been before; and inſtead of diſperſing the King's Army, and bringing the King back to his Parliament, a ſuddain direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a Line about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and to Fortify it; leſt the King's Forces might break in upon them; which made the People ſuſpect the State of their Affairs to be worſe than in truth it was; yet ſo far were they from any thoughts of Peace, and Accommodation, that the Houſe of Commons raged more furiouſly than ever, and every day engaged themſelves in concluſions more monſtrous, than they had yet enter'd upon. For the ſupply of the Charge of the War, they propoſed ſettling and impoſing an Exciſe upon ſuch Commodities as might beſt bear it; which was a burden the People of *England* had hitherto reproach'd other Nations with, as a Mark of Slavery, and never fear'd by themſelves; and for the exerciſe of the Soveraign Power, they reſolv'd it fit to make a new Great Seal, to be always reſident with the Houſes. But the Lords were not yet arriv'd at that preſumption, but plainly refuſed to concur with them in either.

Whilſt both Armies lay quiet, the One about *Reading*, the Other about *Abingdon* or *Oxford*, without attempting one upon the Other, or any Action, ſave ſome ſmall Enterpriſes by Parties (in which the King got advantage; as particularly the young Earl of *Northampton* fortunately encounter'd a Party of Horſe and Foot from *Northampton*, which thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attempt upon *Banbury*: But he having Routed their Horſe, kill'd above two hundred of their Foot, and took as many more Priſoners, moſt whereof were ſhrewdly hurt, the young Earl that day ſacrificing to the Memory of his Father) the King receiv'd, from the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, by a ſtrong Party of Horſe, a good and ample ſupply of Ammunition; the want whereof all Men look'd upon with great Horrour. As ſoon as this was arriv'd, and the King had heard, that his Armies, both in the North, and Weſt, begun to flouriſh, and thought himſelf well provided to encounter the Earl of *Eſſex*, if he deſired it; his Majeſty reſolv'd once more to try, whether the two Houſes would incline to a reaſonable Peace; and to that purpoſe ſent a Meſſage to them by an expreſs Servant of his own, in theſe words:

The King ſends a Meſſage to the two Houſes May 20.

"Since his Majeſty's Meſſage of the 12th of *April* (in which he conceiv'd he had made ſuch an Overture for the immediate disbanding of all Armies, and compoſure of thoſe miſerable, and preſent Diſtractions, by a full and free Convention of Parliament, that a perfect and ſettled Peace would have enſued) hath in all this time, above a full Month, procured no Anſwer from both Houſes, his Majeſty might well believe himſelf abſolv'd, both before God, and Man, from the leaſt poſſible Charge of not having uſed his utmoſt endeavours for Peace; yet, when he conſiders, that the Scene of all this Calamity is in the Bowels of his own Kingdom; that all the blood, which is ſpilt, is of his own Subjects; and that what Victory ſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to give him, muſt be over thoſe

" who ought not to have lifted up their hands againſt Him; when he conſi-
" ders that theſe deſperate Civil Diſſenſions may encourage and invite a Fo-
" reign Enemy, to make a Prey of the whole Nation; that *Ireland* is in pre-
" ſent danger to be totally loſt; that the heavy Judgments of God, Plague,
" Peſtilence, and Famine, will be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural
" Contention: and that in a ſhort time, there will be ſo general a habit
" of Uncharitableneſs, and Cruelty, contracted through the whole King-
" dom, that even Peace it ſelf will not reſtore his People to their old Tem-
" per, and Security; his Majeſty cannot but again call for an Anſwer to
" that his gracious Meſſage, which gives ſo fair a riſe to end theſe unnatural
" diſtractions. And his Majeſty doth this with the more earneſtneſs, becauſe
" he doubts not the condition of his Armies in ſeveral parts; the ſtrength of
" Horſe, Foot, Artillery, his plenty of Ammunition (when ſome Men lately
" might conceive he wanted) is ſo well known, and underſtood, that it muſt
" be confeſs'd, nothing but the tenderneſs, and love to his People, and thoſe
" Chriſtian impreſſions, which always live, and he hopes always ſhall
" dwell in his heart, could move him once more to hazard a refuſal. And
" he requires them, as they will Anſwer to God, to Himſelf, and all the
" World, that they will no longer ſuffer their fellow Subjects to welter in
" each others Blood; that they would remember by whoſe Authority, and
" to what end they met in that Council, and ſend ſuch an Anſwer to his Ma-
" jeſty, as may open a door to let in a firm Peace, and Security to the whole
" Kingdom. If his Majeſty ſhall again be diſappointed of his Intentions
" therein, the blood, rapine, and deſtruction, which may follow in *England*,
" and *Ireland*, will be caſt upon the Account of thoſe who are deaf to the mo-
" tive of Peace and Accommodation.

This Meſſage was receiv'd by the Houſe of Peers (to whom it was directed) with all demonſtration of reſpect, and duty, and the Meſſenger very civilly intended by them; but when they communicated it to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired their concurrence in preparing an Addreſs to the King ſuitable to his gracious Invitations, that Houſe was ſo far from concurring with them, that they gave immediate Order (which was executed accordingly) for the Apprehenſion, and Commitment of the Gentleman who brought the Meſſage; and declared, " That they would proceed againſt " him at a Council of War, upon the Order formerly mention'd, made by them when the Treaty was at *Oxford*, " That any Perſon coming from " *Oxford* without their Generals Paſs, or one from the Houſes, ſhould be pu-
" niſh'd as a Spy; to which Orders as the Peers never conſented, ſo the King had never, till this Commitment, notice of it; and Themſelves, after the making it, had ſent ſeveral Meſſengers to the King, without any formality of Paſs or Trumpet.

The Houſe of Commons commit the Meſſenger.

The Lords did what they could, publickly and privately, to diſſwade this courſe; but they could not prevail: the Houſe of Commons finding that the very imagination that a Peace might be concluded, infinitely retarded their carrying on the War, and made not only thoſe who were yet free, not eaſy to be drawn in; but many who were engag'd, remiſs, and willing to retire; therefore they reſolv'd to proceed with that Vigour, and Reſolution, that no reaſonable Man ſhould believe it poſſible for the King to gain a Peace but by Subduing Them, which ſeem'd at leaſt equally impoſſible. To this purpoſe, inſtead of returning any Anſwer to the King's Meſſage, within three days after the receiving it, they impeached the Queen of High Treaſon, " For aſſiſting the King her Husband with Arms and Ammuniti-
" on, in the proſecution of the War againſt Them; an Attempt as unheard of among all the Acts of their Predeceſſors, and as ſurpriſing as any thing they had yet ventured upon: Their Clergy ſounded their Trumpets louder to War than ever, if it was poſſible, and they reſolv'd, that Aſſembly of Divines to which they had at the Treaty urg'd the King's conſent, ſhould now meet by an Ordinance of their own, with an Addition of ſome Members of either Houſe to that Number.

The Commons impeach the Queen of High Treaſon.

There had been, ſome Months before, a deſign of Prince *Rupert* upon the City of *Briſtol*, by correſpondence with ſome of the chief Inhabitants of the City,

City, who were weary of the Tyranny of the Parliament; but it had been ſo unskilfully, or unhappily carried, that, when the Prince was near the Town, with ſuch a Party of Horſe and Foot, as he made choice of, it was diſcover'd, and many Principal Citizens apprehended by *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, and then Governour of that City for the Parliament; at this time, ſpecial direction and order was ſent thither, " That he ſhould, with all ſeveri-" ty, and expedition, proceed againſt thoſe Conſpirators (as they called them) and thereupon, by a Sentence and Judgment of a Council of War, Alderman *Yeomans*, who had been High Sheriff of the City, and of great Reputation in it, and *George Bouchier* another Citizen of principal Account, were (againſt all Interpoſitions his Majeſty could make) both hanged; and all other imaginable Acts done, to let all the World ſee that there was no way to Peace but by the Sword.

A deſign diſcover'd, at London *wherein* Mr. Waller, Mr. Tomkins, *and others were concern'd.*

There fell out now an accident at *London*, which gave great Advantage to them in the fierce Proſecution of the War, a diſcovery of a Plot, which produced a publick Thankſgiving to God for their Deliverance, a wonderful Animoſity againſt the King, and a Covenant, and Union among Themſelves, and throughout the City a prejudice to all Moderate Men, who promoted an Accommodation, and a Brand upon all Overtures of Peace as Stratagems upon the City, and the Parliament. Of this Plot, there being never ſuch a form'd Relation made by thoſe who made great uſe of it, that Men can collect what the Deſign was, or that it was laid with any probable Circumſtances, by which a Succeſs might be expected, I ſhall briefly, and faithfully ſet down all that I know, have heard, or can reaſonably conjecture to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averr'd by others who I believe did not think ſo, " That I knew as much of it as moſt Men.

There was of the Houſe of Commons, one Mr. *Waller*, a Gentleman of a very good Fortune and Eſtate, and of admirable Parts, and Faculties of Wit and Eloquence, and of an imtimate Converſation, and Familiarity with thoſe who had that Reputation. He had, from the beginning of the Parliament, been look'd upon by all Men, as a Perſon of very entire Affections to the King's Service, and to the eſtabliſh'd Government of Church and State; and by having no manner of Relation to the Court, had the more Credit and Intereſt to promote the Rights of it. When the Rupture grew ſo great between the King and the two Houſes, that very many of the Members withdrew from thoſe Councils, He, among the reſt, with equal diſlike abſented himſelf; but at the time the Standard was ſet up, having Intimacy and Friendſhip with ſome Perſons now of nearneſs about the King, with the King's Approbation, he return'd again to *London*; where he ſpoke, upon all Occaſions, with great ſharpneſs, and freedom; which (now there were ſo few there that uſed it, and there was no danger of being over Voted) was not reſtrain'd; and therefore uſed as an Argument againſt thoſe, who were gone upon pretence " That they " were not ſuffer'd to declare their Opinion freely in the Houſe; which could " not be believ'd, when all Men knew, what Liberty Mr. *Waller* took, and ſpoke " every Day with impunity, againſt the Senſe, and Proceedings of the Houſe. This won him a great Reputation with all People who wiſh'd well to the King; and he was look'd upon as the boldeſt Champion the Crown had in both Houſes; ſo that ſuch Lords, and Commons, as really deſir'd to prevent the ruin of the Kingdom, willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a Man reſolute in their ends, and beſt able to promote them. And it may be they believ'd his Reputation at Court ſo good, that he would be no ill Evidence There, of other Men's Zeal, and Affection; and ſo all Men ſpoke their minds freely to him, both of the general diſtemper, and of the paſſions, and ambition of particular Perſons: All Men knowing him to be of too good a Fortune, and too wary a Nature, to engage himſelf in deſigns of danger or hazard.

Mr. *Waller* had a Brother in Law, one Mr. *Tomkins*, who had married his Siſter, and was Clerk of the Queen's Council, of very good fame for Honeſty, and Ability. This Gentleman had good Intereſt, and Reputation in the City, and converſed much with thoſe who diſliked the Proceedings of the Parliament, and wiſh'd to live under the ſame Government they were born; and from thoſe Citizens receiv'd Information of the Temper of the People, upon Accidents, in the publick Affairs. And Mr. *Waller*, and He, with

that confidence that uſes to be between Brethren of the ſame good Affections, frequently imparted their Obſervations, and Opinions to each other; the one relating, how many in both Houſes inclined to Peace; and the other making the ſame Judgment upon the Correſpondence he had, and Intelligence he receiv'd from the moſt ſubſtantial Men of *London*; and both of them again communicated what one receiv'd from the other, to the Company they uſed to converſe with; Mr. *Waller* imparting the wiſhes, and power of the well affected Party in the City, to the Lords and Gentlemen whom he knew to be of the ſame mind; and Mr. *Tomkins* acquainting thoſe he durſt truſt of the City, that ſuch and ſuch Lords and Gentlemen, who were of ſpecial Note, were weary of the Diſtractions, and would heartily, and confidently contribute to ſuch an honourable, and honeſt Peace, as all Men knew would be moſt acceptable to the King. And from hence they came reaſonably to a concluſion, that if ſome means were found out to raiſe a confidence in thoſe who wiſh'd well, that they ſhould not be oppreſs'd by the extravagant Power of the deſperate Party; but that if they would ſo far aſſiſt one another, as to declare their Opinions to be the ſame, they ſhould be able to prevent, or ſuppreſs thoſe Tumults, which ſeem'd to countenance the Diſtractions; and the Houſes would be induced to Terms of Moderation.

In this time the Lord *Conway*, being return'd from *Ireland*, incenſed againſt the *Scots*, and diſcontented with the Parliament here, finding Mr. *Waller* in good eſteem with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and of great Friendſhip with the Earl of *Portland*, he enter'd into the ſame familarity; and, being more of a Soldier, in the diſcourſes adminiſter'd Queſtions, and Conſiderations, neceſſary to be underſtood by Men that either meant to uſe Force, or to Reſiſt it; and wiſh'd "That they who had Intereſt, and Acquaintance in "the City, would endeavour by a mutual Correſpondence to inform them-"ſelves of the diſtinct Affections of their Neighbours, that, upon any exi-"gent, Men might foreſee whom they might truſt; and theſe diſcourſes being again deriv'd by Mr. *Waller* to Mr. *Tomkins*, He, upon Occaſion, and conference with his Companions, inſiſted on the ſame Arguments; and they again converſing with their Friends, and Acquaintance (for of all this buſineſs, there were not above three who ever ſpoke together) agreed, "That "ſome well affected Perſons, in every Pariſh, and Ward, about *London*, "ſhould make a Liſt of all the Inhabitants; and thereupon to make a reaſona-"ble gueſs of their ſeveral Affections (which at that time was no hard thing for obſerving Men to do) and thence a Computation of the Strength and Power of that Party, which was notoriouſly violent againſt any Accommodation.

I am perſwaded the utmoſt project of this Deſign was (I ſpeak not what particular Men might intend, or wiſh upon their own fancies) to beget ſuch a Combination among the Party well affected, that they would refuſe to conform to thoſe Ordinances of the twentieth part, and other Taxes for the ſupport of the War; and thereby, or by joynt Petitioning for Peace, and diſcountenancing the other who Petition'd againſt it, to prevail with the Parliament to incline to a Determination of the War. And it may be, ſome Men might think of making Advantage of any Caſual Commotion, or preventing any miſchief by it; and thereupon that enquiry where the Magazines lay, and diſcourſe of wearing ſome diſtinguiſhing Tokens, had been rather caſually mention'd, than ſeriouſly propoſed. For it is certain, very many who were Conſcious to themſelves of Loyal Purpoſes to the King, and of Hearty diſlike of the Parliament's Proceedings, and obſerv'd the violent, revengeful, ruinating Proſecution of all Men, by thoſe of the engaged Party, were not without ſad Apprehenſions that, upon ſome Jealouſy, and Quarrel pickt, even a general Maſſacre might be attempted of all the King's Friends; and thereupon, in ſeveral diſcourſes, might touch upon ſuch expedients, as might in thoſe Seaſons be moſt beneficial to their ſafety. But that there was ever any form'd deſign, either of letting in the King's Army into *London*, which was impoſſible to be contriv'd; or of raiſing an Army there, and ſurpriſing the Parliament, or any one Perſon of it, or of uſing any Violence, in, or upon the City. I could never yet ſee Cauſe to believe; and if there had, they would have publiſh'd ſuch a Relation of it, after Mr. *Waller* had confeſs'd to them, all he knew, had heard, or fancied to himſelf, as might have conſtituted

ſtituted ſome reaſonable underſtanding of it; and not have contented themſelves with making concluſions from Queſtions that had been asked, and Anſwers, made by Perſons unknown, and forcing expreſſions uſed by one, to relate to actions of another, between whom there had been never the leaſt acquaintance, or correſpondence; and joyning what was ſaid at *London* to ſomewhat done at *Oxford*, at another time, and to another purpoſe: for before I finiſh this diſcourſe, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of another Action, which, how diſtinct ſoever from this that is related, was woven together to make one Plot.

From the King's coming to *Oxford*, many Citizens of good Quality, who were proſecuted, or jealouſly look'd upon in *London*, had reſorted to the King, and hoping, if the Winter produced not a Peace, that the Summer would carry the King before that City with an Army, they had entertain'd ſome diſcourſe "Of raiſing, upon their own Stocks of Money and Credit, "ſome Regiments of Foot, and Horſe, and joyning with ſome Gentlemen "of *Kent*, who were likewiſe inclined to ſuch an undertaking: Among theſe "was Sir *Nicholas Criſp*, a Citizen of good Wealth, great Trade, and an "active Spirited Man, who had been lately proſecuted with great ſeverity by the Houſe of Commons; and had thereupon fled from *London*, for appearing too great a Stickler in a Petition for Peace in the City. This Gentleman induſtriouſly preſerv'd a correſpondence ſtill there, by which he gave the King often very uſeful Intelligence, and aſſured him "Of a very conſiderable "Party, which would appear there for him, when ever his own Power ſhould "be ſo near as to give them any Countenance. In the end, whether invited by his Correſpondents there, or truſting his own ſprightly inclinations and reſolutions too much, and concluding that all who were equally Honeſt, would be equally Bold, he deſir'd his Majeſty, "To grant a Commiſſion to "ſuch Perſons, whom He would nominate, of the City of *London* under the "Great Seal of *England*, in the nature of a Commiſſion of Array, by virtue "whereof, when the Seaſon ſhould come, his Party there would appear "in diſcipline, and order; and that this was deſir'd by thoſe, who beſt knew "what Countenance and Authority was requiſite; and being truſted to "them would not be executed at all, or elſe at ſuch a time as his Majeſty "ſhould receive ample fruit by it; provided it were done with ſecrecy, equal "to the hazard they ſhould run who were employ'd in it.

The King had this exception to it, "The improbability that it could do "good, and that the failing might do hurt to the Undertakers. But the Promoter was a very Popular Man in the City, where he had been a Commander of the Train'd-bands, till the Ordinance of the Militia remov'd him; which rather improv'd, than leſſen'd, his Credit; and he was very confident, it would produce a notable advantage to the King: however, They deſir'd it who were there, and would not appear without it; and therefore the King conſented to it; referring the nomination of all Perſons in the Commiſſion to him; who, he verily believ'd, had proceeded by the Inſtruction and Advice of thoſe that were neareſt the concernment; and for the ſecrecy of it, the King referr'd the preparing, and diſpatch of the Commiſſion to Sir *Nicholas Criſp* himſelf, who ſhould aquaint no more with it, than he found requiſite; ſo without the privity, or advice of any Counſellor, or Miniſter of State then moſt truſted by his Majeſty, he procured ſuch a Commiſſion as he deſir'd (being no other than the Commiſſion of Array in *Engliſh*) to be ſign'd by the King, and ſeal'd with the Great Seal.

This being done, and remaining ſtill in his Cuſtody, the Lady *Aubigney*, by a Paſs, and with the conſent of the Houſes, came to *Oxford* to tranſact the Affairs of her own Fortune with the King upon the death of her Husband, who was kill'd at *Edge-Hill*; and ſhe having in few days diſpatch'd her buſineſs there, and being ready to return Sir *Nicholas Criſp* came to the King, and beſought him, "To deſire that Lady (who had a Paſs, and ſo could promiſe "her ſelf ſafety in her Journey) to carry a ſmall Box (in which that Commiſ-"ſion ſhould be) with her, and to keep it in her own Cuſtody, until a Gentle-"man ſhould call to her Ladiſhip for it, by ſuch a token; that token, he "ſaid, "He could ſend to one of the Perſons truſted, who ſhould keep it by "him, till the opportunity came, in which it might be executed. The King

accordingly wiſh'd the Lady *Aubigney*, to carry it with great care and ſecrecy; telling her, "It much concern'd his own Service; and to deliver it in ſuch manner, and upon ſuch Aſſurance, as is before mention'd: which ſhe did; and, within few days after her return to *London*, deliver'd it to a Perſon, who was appointed to call for it. How this Commiſſion was diſcover'd, I could never learn: for though Mr. *Waller* had the Honour to be admitted often to that Lady, and was believ'd by Her to be a Gentleman of moſt entire Affections to the King's Service, and conſequently might be fitly truſted with what ſhe knew, yet her Ladyſhip her ſelf, not knowing what it was ſhe carried, could not inform any Body elſe.

But about this time, a Servant of Mr. *Tomkins*, who had often curſorily over-heard his Maſter and Mr. *Waller* diſcourſe of the Argument We are now upon, placed himſelf behind a hanging, at a time they were together; and there, whilſt either of them diſcourſed the language, and, opinion of the Company they kept, over heard enough to make him believe his Information, and Diſcovery, would make him welcome to thoſe whom he thought concern'd; and ſo went to Mr. *Pym*, and acquainted him with all he had heard, or probably imagin'd. The time when Mr. *Pym* was made acquainted with it, is not known; but the circumſtances of the publiſhing it were ſuch, as fill'd all Men with Apprehenſions. It was on *Wedneſday* the 31ſt of *May*, their ſolemn Faſt-day, when, being all at their Sermon, in Saint *Margaret*'s Church in *Weſtminſter*, according to their cuſtom, a Letter or Meſſage is brought privately to Mr. *Pym*; who thereupon, with ſome of the moſt active Members, riſe from their Seats; and, after a little whiſpering together, remove out of the Church: This could not but exceedingly affect thoſe who ſtay'd behind; immediately they ſend Guards to all the Priſons, as *Lambeth*-Houſe, *Ely*-Houſe, and ſuch places, where their Malignants were in Cuſtody, with directions "To ſearch the Priſoners; and ſome other places which they thought fit ſhould be ſuſpected. After the Sermons were ended, the Houſes met; and were only then told, "That Letters were intercepted going to the King "and the Court at *Oxford*, that expreſs'd ſome notable Conſpiracy in hand, "to deliver up the Parliament, and the City into the hands of the Cavaliers; "and that the time for the execution of it drew very near. Hereupon a Committee was appointed "To examine all Perſons they thought fit; and "to apprehend ſome nominated at that time. And the ſame Night, this Committee apprehended Mr. *Waller*, and Mr. *Tomkins*; and, the next day, ſuch others as they ſuſpected.

Mr. *Waller* was ſo confounded with Fear, and Apprehenſion, that he confeſs'd whatever he had ſaid, heard, thought, or ſeen; all that he knew of himſelf, and all that he ſuſpected of others; without concealing any Perſon of what Degree, or Quality ſoever, or any diſcourſe that he had ever, upon any occaſion, entertain'd with them: What ſuch and ſuch Ladies of great Honour, to whom, upon the Credit of his great Wit, and very good Reputation, he had been admitted, had ſpoke to him in their Chambers of the proceedings in the Houſes; and how they had encouraged him to oppoſe them; what correſpondence, and intercourſe they had, with ſome Miniſters of State at *Oxford*; and how they deriv'd all Intelligence thither. He inform'd them, "That the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Conway*, had been particular "in all the agitations which had been with the Citizens; and had given "frequent Advice, and Directions, how they ſhould demean themſelves; "and that the Earl of *Northumberland*, had expreſs'd very good wiſhes to "any attempt, that might give a ſtop to the Violent Actions, and Proceed-"ings of the Houſes, and produce a good Underſtanding with the King.

When the Committee were thus furniſh'd, they took the examinations of Mr. *Tomkins*, and ſuch other as they thought neceſſary, and having at the ſame time, by ſome other means, diſcover'd (or conceal'd it till this time) that Commiſſion which is before diſcourſed of, and gotten the very Original into their hands, they kneaded both into one Plot, and Conſpiracy; and acquainting the Houſes with ſo much as they thought yet ſeaſonable to publiſh, they declar'd (without naming any Lords, or other Perſons, to be intereſſed in the deſign, ſave thoſe only who were impriſon'd; among whom the Lady *Aubigney* was one: and without communicating any of the examinations,

tions, which, they pretended, were not to be common till the Conſpirators were brought to Tryal) "That the Original of this Conſpiracy was from "the late *London* Petition for Peace, which was ſpoken of about *Chriſtmas* laſt in the Book Precedent; "And that, under pretence of Peace and Mo- "deration, a Party was to be form'd, which ſhould be able to ſuppreſs all "opponents, and to awe the Parliament: That, to this purpoſe, ſome of "thoſe who were the principal Movers, and Fomenters of that Petition, did "continue, in the Nature of a Committee, ſtill to carry on the deſign: "That they held Intelligence in both Armies, Court, and Parliament; "took a general Survey of the Numbers, and Affections of the ſeveral Inha- "bitants throughout the Wards, and Pariſhes of the City, and places adjacent; "and diſtinguiſh'd all under the titles of Men affected, or averſe to the "King; or indifferent, and Neutral Perſons, carried only by the ſucceſs; "and power of the Prevailers; That they were well inſtructed in the Num- "ber, and inclinations of the Train'd-bands of *London*; the places where "the Magazines were kept; where the Commanders for the Parliament "dwelt; had thought of places for Rendezvous, and Retreat, upon any "occaſion, and of Colours, and Marks of diſtinction between the different "Parties.

"That Mr. *Waller* and Mr. *Tomkins* were the Principal Perſons em- "ploy'd, and truſted to give advertiſement to, and correſpond with, the "King's Miniſters at *Oxford*; and receive Advertiſements and Commands from "thence, for the compleating the work; that they Two held conſtant Intel- "ligence, and Intercourſe with the Lord *Falkland* then Principal Secre- "tary to the King; and that, from Him, they receiv'd the ſignification of the "King's pleaſure; and that thoſe Directions, Counſels, and Encouragements, "had been principally ſent by thoſe Meſſengers which had been employ'd "by his Majeſty to the Parliament, under the pretence of Peace; and, "eſpecially, by Mr. *Alexander Hambden*; who came with the laſt Meſſage, "and was a Couſin german to Mr. *Waller*. That the Lady *Aubigney*, who had "been lately at *Oxford*, had brought thence a Commiſſion to them from "the King, by force of Arms to deſtroy, kill, and ſlay the Forces, rai- "ſed by the Parliament and their Adherents, as Traytors and Rebels; and "that they had lately ſent a Meſſage to *Oxford* by one *Haſſel*, a Servant of the "King's to acquaint the Lord *Falkland*, that the deſign was come to a "good perfection; unto which, Anſwer was return'd, that they ſhould ha- "ſten it with all ſpeed:

"That the particulars of the Deſign appear'd to be: 1. To ſeiſe "into their Cuſtody the King's Children: 2. To ſeiſe ſeveral Members of "both Houſes, the Lord Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, under pre- "tence of bringing them to a legal Tryal. 3. To ſeiſe upon the Out-works, "Forts, Tower of *London*, Magazines, Gates, and other places of im- "portance in the City. 4. To let in the King's Forces to ſurpriſe the City, "and to deſtroy all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe them by Authority of the Parlia- "ment. 5. By force of Arms to reſiſt all payments impoſed by Authority "of Parliament, raiſed for the ſupport of the Armies employ'd for their "juſt defence, *&c.* to ſuſpend if not alter the whole Government of "the City, and, with Aſſiſtance of the King's Force, to awe, and maſter "the Parliament.

When both Houſes were awaken'd, and ſtartled with this report, the firſt thing agreed on, was, "A day of Thankſgiving to God, for this wonderful "delivery; which ſhut out any future doubts, and diſquiſitions, whether there "had been any ſuch delivery; and, conſequently, whether their Plot was in "truth, or had been ſo framed. Then it was ſaid, "That as the deſign "was the moſt deſperate, ſo the carriage was the moſt ſubtle, and among Per- "ſons of Reputation, and not ſuſpected; and that there was reaſon to ſuſ- "pect, many Members of both Houſes were privy to it; and therefore there "ought to be all poſſible care taken to make the diſcovery perfect, and "to unite themſelves for the publick defence: that if any part were left un- "diſcover'd, it might prove fatal to the Common-wealth. This finding a full conſent, it was propounded, "That a Proteſtation might be drawn up, by "which every Member of the two Houſes might purge himſelf from any

" guilt of, or privity in, that Conſpiracy; and likewiſe oblige himſelf to re-
" ſiſt, and oppoſe any ſuch Combination. They who were under the Cha-
racter of Moderate Men, and uſually advanced all motions of Peace, and
Accommodation, durſt not oppoſe the Expedient, leſt they ſhould be con-
cluded guilty; moſt of them having had familiarity with Mr. *Waller*, and, no
doubt, upon ſundry occaſions, ſpoken with that freedom to him, as might ve-
ry well incur a ſevere interpretation, if, upon this occaſion, what they had
ſaid ſhould be ſcann'd. And ſo, before the riſing, there was framed by the
A Vow and Covenant agreed to be taken by the Members of both Houſes upon diſcovery of that deſign.
Houſe of Commons, a Vow and Covenant to be taken by the Members of
both Houſes, and afterwards by the City, and their Army; for their Jealouſy
was now ſpread over all their own Quarters; which Covenant, for the rare-
neſs of it both in Title and Style, I think neceſſary here to inſert in the very
terms; which were theſe:

A Sacred Vow, and Covenant, taken by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, upon the diſcovery of the late horrid and treacherous Deſign, for the deſtruction of this Parliament and the Kingdom: the 6th. of June 1643.

" Whereas there hath been, and now is, in this Kingdom, a Po-
" piſh, and Trayterous Plot for the Subverſion of the true Proteſtant Reform'd
" Religion, and the Liberty of the Subject; and, in purſuance thereof, a
" Popiſh Army hath been raiſed, and is now on foot in divers parts of this
" Kingdom; and whereas there hath been a treacherous and horrid deſign,
" lately diſcover'd by the great Bleſſing and eſpecial Providence of God, of
" divers Perſons to joyn themſelves with the Armies raiſed by the King,
" and to deſtroy the Forces raiſed by the Lords and Commons in Parlia-
" ment to ſurpriſe the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* with the Suburbs;
" by Arms to force the Parliament; and finding by conſtant experience,
" that many ways of force, and treachery, are continually attempted, to
" bring to utter ruin and deſtruction the Parliament, and Kingdom; and that
" which is deareſt, the true Proteſtant Religion; And that, for the pre-
" venting and withſtanding the ſame, it is fit, that all, who are true hearted,
" and lovers of their Country, ſhould bind themſelves each to other in a ſa-
" cred Vow and Covenant:

" I *A. B.* in humility, and reverence of the Divine Majeſty, declare my
" hearty ſorrow for my own Sins, and the Sins of this Nation, which have
" deſerv'd the Calamities, and Judgments, that now lie upon it; and my true
" intention is, by God's grace; to endeavour the amendment of my own
" ways; and I do farther, in the preſence of Almighty God, Declare,
" Vow, and Covenant, that, in Order to the ſecurity and preſervation of the
" true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, and Liberty of the Subject, I will not con-
" ſent to the laying down of Arms, ſo long as the Papiſts, now in open War
" againſt the Parliament, ſhall by force of Arms be protected from the Ju-
" ſtice thereof. And that I do abhor and deteſt the ſaid wicked, and treache-
" rous deſign, lately diſcover'd: And that I never gave, nor will give my Aſſent
" to the execution thereof, but will, according to my Power, and Voca-
" tion, oppoſe and reſiſt the ſame, and all other of the like Nature. And
" in caſe any other like deſign ſhall hereafter come to my knowledge, I will
" make ſuch timely diſcovery, as I ſhall conceive may beſt conduce to the pre-
" venting thereof. And whereas I do in my Conſcience believe, that the Forces,
" raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, are raiſed and continued for
" their juſt Defence, and for the Defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, and
" Liberty of the Subject, againſt the Forces raiſed by the King; that I will,
" according to my Power, and Vocation, aſſiſt the Forces raiſed and continued,
" by both Houſes of Parliament, againſt the Forces raiſed by the King with-
" out their conſent: And will likewiſe aſſiſt all other Perſons that ſhall take
" this Oath, in what they ſhall do in purſuance thereof; and will not directly,
" or indirectly, adhere unto, nor ſhall willingly aſſiſt, the Forces raiſed by
" the King, without the Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. And
" this Vow and Covenant, I make in the preſence of Almighty God, the Sear-

" cher

" cher of all Hearts, with a true intention to perform the ſame, as I ſhall " anſwer at the great day, when the ſecrets of all Hearts ſhall be diſclo- " ſed.

Though many were much ſtartled at this Covenant, and took time to conſider of it, there being in the Preamble, and poſitive part, much which very few believ'd, and in the Promiſſory part a more direct denouncing War againſt the King, than had been in plain terms before avow'd by them, and an abſolute Proteſtation againſt Peace, till the King was at their Mercy; yet the fear of being concluded guilty of the Plot, made them ſwallow all the reſt; and the example of one prevailing with many, there was not a Member of either Houſe that took it not; and being thus fetter'd, and intangled themſelves, they ſent their Committee into the City, to acquaint them with their " Happy diſcovery, and how miraculouſly " God had preſerv'd them, and to engage them in the ſame ſacred Vow, " and Covenant; which was readily ſubmitted to; and, by the Induſtry of their Clergy, ſooner than can be imagin'd, taken throughout that People. Then it was, with equal diligence, and ſolemnity, tranſmitted to their Army, that their Fears of inconvenience from thence might be likewiſe purged; and thence it grew the mark of diſtinction, to know their Friends and Enemies by; and whoſoever refuſed to take that Covenant, needed no other Charge to be concluded, and proſecuted, as the higheſt Malignant.

The ſame Vow and Covenant taken throughout the City, and Army.

Being this way ſecure from any future Clamours for Peace, they proceeded to try Mr *Tomkins*; Mr *Chaloner*, a Citizen of good Wealth and Credit, and moſt intimate with *Tomkins*; Mr *Hambden*, who brought the laſt Meſſage from the King; one *Haſſel* a Meſſenger of the King's, who paſs'd often between *London* and *Oxford*, and ſometimes carried Letters and Meſſages to the Lord *Falkland*; and ſome Citizens, whoſe names were in the Commiſſion ſent from *Oxford*; by a Council of War; by whom Mr *Tomkins* and Mr *Chaloner* were. Condemn'd to be hanged; and were both, with all circumſtances of ſeverity, and cruelty, Executed: the One, on a Gibbet, by his own Houſe in *Holborn*; where he had long liv'd with ſingular eſtimation; and the Other, by his Houſe in *Cornhil*, near the Old *Exchange*. *Haſſel* the Meſſenger ſaved them farther trouble, and dy'd in Priſon the night before his Tryal: And there being no evidence againſt Mr *Hambden*, but what Mr *Waller* himſelf gave, they gave no judgment againſt him, but kept him long after in Priſon, till he dy'd; neither proceeded they Capitally againſt thoſe Citizens whoſe names were in the Commiſſion, it not appearing that their names were uſed with their conſent, and privity; though the brand of being Malignants ſerv'd the turn for their undoing; for all their Eſtates were ſeiſed, as theirs were who had been Executed.

The Tryal and Execution of Mr Tomkins *and Mr*, Chaloner.

There is nothing clearer than that the Commiſſion ſent from *Oxford* by the Lady *Aubigney*, had not any realation to the diſcourſes paſs'd between Mr *Waller*, *Tomkins*, and thoſe Citizens, or that they who knew of one, had not any privity with the other: Which if they had Had, and intended ſuch an Inſurrection, as was alledg'd, Mr *Waller*, and Mr *Tomkins*, or ſome one of thoſe Lords who were ſuppoſed to combine with them, would have been in the Commiſſion. Or if the King's Miniſters had been engaged in the conſultation, and hoped to have raiſed a Party which ſhould ſuddenly ſeiſe upon the City, and the Parliament, they would never have thought a Commiſſion granted to ſome Gentlemen at *Oxford* (for the Major part of the Commiſſioners were there) and a few private Citizens, would have ſerv'd for that work. I am very confident; and I have very much reaſon for that confidence, that there was no more known, or thought of at *Oxford*, concerning the matter of the Commiſſion, than I have before ſet forth, nor of the other, than that Mr *Tomkins* ſometimes writ to the Lord *Falkland* (for Mr *Waller*, out of the cautiouſneſs of his own Nature, never writ word) and by Meſſengers ſignified to him, " That the Number of thoſe who deſired Peace, and abhorr'd the procee- " dings of the Houſes, was very conſiderable; and that they reſolv'd, by " refuſing, to contribute to the War, and to ſubmit to their Ordinances, to " declare and manifeſt themſelves in that manner, that the Violent Party

" in the City ſhould not have credit enough to hinder any Accommodation. And the Lord *Falkland* always return'd Anſwer, " That they ſhould expedite " thoſe Expedients, aſſoon ae might be, for that delays made the War more diffi- " cult to be reſtrain'd. And if I could find Evidence, or Reaſon, to induce me to believe, that there was any farther deſign in the thing it ſelf, or that the King gave farther countenance to it, I ſhould not at all conceal it. No Man can imagine, that if the King could have entertain'd any probable hope of reducing *London*, which was the Fomenter, Supporter, and indeed the Life of the War, or could have found any expedient, from whence he could reaſonably propoſe to diſſolve, ſcatter, and diſperſe thoſe who, under the name of a Parliament, had kindled a War againſt him, but he would have given his utmmoſt aſſiſtance, and countenance thereunto, either by publick Force, or private Contrivance.

There were very great endeavours uſed, to have proceeded with equal ſeverity againſt the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Conway* (for the accuſation of the Earl of *Northumberland*, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the Violent Party was heartily incenſed againſt him, as a Man weary of them; yet his Reputation was ſtill very great) who were both cloſe Priſoners and, to that purpoſe, their Lordſhips and Mr *Waller* were confronted before the Committee, where They as peremptorily denying, as He charging them and there being no other Witneſs but He againſt them, the proſecution, was rather let alone than declined, till after a long reſtraint they procured enlargement upon Bayl. Mr *Waller* himſelf (though confeſſedly the moſt guilty; and by his unhappy demeanour, in this time of his Affliction, he had raiſed as many Enemies as he had formerly Friends, and almoſt the ſame) after he had, with incredible diſſimulation, acted ſuch a remorſe of Conſcience, that his Tryal was put off out of Chriſtian compaſſion, till he might recover his underſtanding (and that was not, till the heat, and fury of the Proſecutors, was reaſonably abated with the Sacrifices they had made) and, by drawing Viſitants to himſelf, of the moſt powerful Miniſters of all Factions, had, by his liberality, and penitence, his receiving vulgar and vile ſayings from them with humility, and reverence, as clearer Convictions and Informations than in his Life he had ever had; and diſtributing great Sums to them for their Prayers, and Ghoſtly Counſel; ſo ſatisfied Them, that They ſatisfied others; was brought, at his ſuit, to the Houſe of Commons Bar; where (being a Man in truth very powerful in Language; and who, by What he ſpoke, and in the manner of ſpeaking it, exceedingly captivated the good Will and Benevolence of his Hearers; which is the higheſt part of an Oratour) with ſuch flattery, as was moſt exactly calculated to that Meridian, with ſuch a Submiſſion, as Their Pride took delight in, and ſuch dejection of mind, and ſpirit, as was like to couſen the Major part, and be thought ſerious; he laid before them " Their own danger, and concernment; if they " ſhould ſuffer one of their own Body, how unworthy and monſtrous ſoever, " to be tryed by the Soldiers, who might thereby grow to that power here- " after, that they would both try thoſe, They would not be willing ſhould " be tryed, and for things which they would account no Crimes; the in- " convenience, and inſupportable miſchief whereof, all wiſe Common-wealths " had foreſeen, and prevented, by exempting their own Members from " all judgments but their own: He prevailed, Not to be tryed by a Council of War; and thereby preſerv'd his dear bought Life; ſo that, in truth, he does as much owe the keeping his head to that Oration, as *Catiline* did the Loſs of His to thoſe of *Tully*: and by having done Ill very well, he, by degrees, drew that reſpect to his parts, which always carries ſome compaſſion to the Perſon, that he got leave to compound for his tranſgreſſion, and them to accept of ten thouſand pounds (which their Affairs wanted) for his liberty; whereupon he had leave to recollect himſelf in another Country (for his Liberty was to be in Baniſhment) how miſerable he had made himſelf, in obtaining that leave to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater Evidence of the ineſtimable Value of his Parts, than that he liv'd, after this, in the good Affection, and Eſteem of many, the pity of moſt, and the reproach, and ſcorn of few, or none.

Theſe

These high proceedings, at *London*, and in the Houses, were not seconded with any notable success abroad; but it appear'd plainly, by the slow coming in of Monies, and more slow coming in of Men, that the Hearts of the People were generally more devoted to Peace, than to the Continuance of those Distractions; and the Earl of *Essex*, by the great decay, and sickness of his Army, was not, in near six weeks, able to remove from *Reading*; by which many Men concluded, which could not be reasonably foreseen, that if *Reading* had held out many Days longer, he would have been compell'd to raise his Siege; and that was the Reason the Earl gave for granting so good conditions; for if he could have stayed longer before it, he well knew, they must have yielded on worse Terms; neither feared he the King would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being no other way to quiet the City of *London*, he march'd towards *Oxford*; but, in truth, rather to secure *Buckingham-shire*, which was now infested by the King's Horse, than to disquiet that Place. And to that purpose, he fixed his head Quarter at *Thame*, ten Miles from *Oxford*, and upon the very edge of the other County.

The Earl of Essex *marches to* Thame.

In the beginning of the War, the Army in *Scotland* having been lately disbanded, many Officers of that Nation, who had serv'd in *Germany* and in *France*, betook themselves to the Service of the Parliament; whereof divers were Men of good Conduct, and Courage; though there were more as bad as the Cause in which they engaged. Of the former sort Colonel *Hurry* was a Man of Name and Reputation, and an excellent Officer of Horse, and had Commanded those Horse at *Edge-hill* under *Balfour*, which had preserv'd their Army there; and finding himself afterwards not so well regarded, as, he thought, he had deserv'd, as it was no easy thing to value that People at the rate they did set upon themselves; and being without any other Affection for their Service, than their Pay inclined him to, he resolv'd to quit them, and to go to the King; in order to which, he had kept some Correspondence with the Earl of *Brainford* the King's General; under whose Command he had formerly serv'd in *Germany*. Whilst the Earl of *Essex* remain'd at *Thame*, and his Army Quarter'd thereabout, *Hurry* came to *Oxford*, in the Equipage that, became a Colonel of Horse, who had receiv'd good Pay; and the very next Day after he came, having been very graciously receiv'd by the King to give Proof that he brought his whole Heart with him, he went to Prince *Rupert*, acquainted him where the Parliament Horse lay, and how loose they were in their Quarters; and to give a Testimony of his Fidelity to the King, he desir'd to march a Voluntier with a good Party, to make an attempt upon the Enemy; and the Prince assigning a strong Party for the Service, he accompanied, and conducted them out of the Common Road, till they came to a Town; where a Regiment of the Parliament's Horse was Quarter'd; which they beat up; and kill'd, or took most of the Officers and Soldiers; and then fell upon those other Quarters, by which they had passed before, with the like Success; so return'd to *Oxford* with many Prisoners, and with notable Damage to the Enemy.

As soon as he return'd he made another Proposition to the Prince for the Attacking the Quarters near *Thame*; through which he had pass'd, when he came to *Oxford*, and so was well acquainted with the posture in which they were, and assured the Prince, " That, if he went about it time enough, before " there should be any Alteration in their Quarters, which he believ'd the Ge- " neral would quickly make, the Enterprise would be worthy of it. The Prince was so well satisfied with what he had already done, that he resolv'd to Conduct the next Adventure himself, which he did very fortunately. They went went out of the Ports of *Oxford* in the Evening upon a *Saturday*, and march'd beyond all the Quarters as far as *Wickham*, and fell in there at the farther end of the Town towards *London*, from whence no Enemy was expected, and so no Guards were kept There. A Regiment of Horse, and of Foot, were Lodged there; which were cut off, or taken Prisoners; and all the Horses and a good Booty brought away. From thence they march'd backward to another Quarter, within less than two Miles of the General's own Quarters; where his Men Lodged with the same security, they had done at *Wickham*, not expecting any Enemy that way; and so met with the same Fate the others had done; and were all kill'd, or made Pri-

Prince Rupert *beats up some of his Quarters with good success.*

ſoners. Thus having perform'd, at leaſt as much as they had propoſed to do, and being laden with Priſoners, and Booty, and the Sun being now riſing, the Prince thought it time to retire to *Oxford*, and gave Orders to march accordiugly with all convenient ſpeed, till they ſhould come to a Bridge, which was yet two Miles from them, where he had appointed a Guard to attend, to favour their Retreat.

But the Alarm had been brought to the Earl of *Eſſex*, from all the Quarters, who quickly gathered thoſe Troops together, which were neareſt; and directed thoſe to follow the Prince, and to entertain him in Skirmiſhes, till Himſelf ſhould come up with the Foot, and ſome other Troops; which he made all poſſible haſte to do. So that when the Prince had almoſt paſs'd a fair Plain, or Feild, call'd *Chalgrave* Field, from whence he was to enter a Lane, which continued to the Bridge; the Enemies Horſe were diſcover'd marching after them with ſpeed; and as they might eaſily overtake them in the Lane, ſo they muſt as eaſily have put them into great Diſorder. Therefore the Prince reſolv'd to expect, and ſtand them upon the open Field, though his Horſe were all tired, and the Sun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the Clock in the Morning in *June*. He then directed, " That the Guard of the Priſoners ſhould make what haſte they " could to the Bridge, but that all the reſt ſhould return; for ſome were enter'd the Lane; and ſo he placed himſelf and his Troops, as he thought fit, in that Field to receive the Enemy; which made more haſte, and with leſs order than they ſhould have done; and being more in Number than the Prince, and conſiſting of many of the Principal Officers, who having been preſent with the Earl of *Eſſex*, when the Alarm came, ſtayed not for their own Troops, but join'd with thoſe who were ready in the purſuit, as They thought, of a Flying Enemy, or ſuch as would eaſily be arreſted in their haſty Retreat; and having now overtaken them, meant to take Revenge themſelves for the Damage they had receiv'd that Night, and Morning, before the General could come up to have a ſhare in the Victory, though his Troops were even in View. But the Prince entertain'd them ſo roughly, that though they Charged very bravely and obſtinately, being many of their beſt Officers, of which the chiefeſt falling, the reſt ſhew'd leſs Vigour, in a ſhort time they broke, and fled, and were purſued till they came near the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Body; which being at near a miles Diſtance, and making a ſtand to receive their Flying Troops, and to be inform'd of their diſaſter, the Prince with his Troops haſten'd his retreat, and paſs'd the Lane, and came ſafe to the Bridge before any of the Earl's Forces came up; who found it then to no purpoſe to go farther, there being a good Guard of Foot, which had likewiſe lined both ſides of the Hedges a good way in the Lane. Thus the Prince, about Noon, or ſhortly after, enter'd *Oxford*, with near two hundred Priſoners, ſeven Cornets of Horſe, and four Enſigns of Foot, with moſt of the Men he caried from thence; few only having been kill'd in the Action, whereof ſome were of Name.

The Prince preſented Colonel *Hurry* to the King with a great Teſtimony of the Courage he had ſhew'd in the Action, as well as of his Counſel, and Conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dexterous, and could have been perform'd by no Man, who had not been very converſant in the Quarters of thoſe he deſtroyed. Upon which, the King honour'd him with Knighthood, and a Commiſſion to raiſe a Regiment of Horſe; and every body magnified, and extolled him, as they uſually do a Man who hath good luck, and the more, becauſe he was a *Scotch*-man, and profeſs'd a Repentance for having been in Rebellion againſt the King, he deſerves this Teſtimony and Vindication to be given him, againſt the Calumnies which were raiſed againſt him, " As if he had broken his Truſt, and deſerted the Service of the " Parliament, and betrayed them to the King, which is not true. He had own'd, and publiſh'd his diſcontents long before, and demanded redreſs, and juſtice, in ſome particulars from the Parliament, in which the Earl of *Eſſex* thought he had reaſon; and wiſh'd he might receive Satisfaction. But the Man was in his nature proud, and imperious; had raiſed many Enemies; was a Man of Licenſe, and committed many diſorders of that kind. He was however a good Officer in the Field; regular and vigilant in marching, and in his Quar-

Quarters; which the Parliament thought other Men would attain to, who had fewer Vices; and therefore granted nothing that he had defired; upon which he declared, "He would ſerve them no longer; and deliver'd up his Commiſſion to the Earl of *Eſſex*; and being then preſs'd to promiſe, that he would not ſerve the King; he poſitively refuſed to give any ſuch Engagement; and after he had ſtay'd in *London* about a Month, and had receiv'd encouragement from ſome Friends in *Oxford*, he came thither in the manner ſet down before.

The Prince's ſucceſs in this laſt march was very ſeaſonable, and raiſed the Spirits at *Oxford*, very much, and for ſome time allayed the jealouſies, and Animoſities, which too often broke out in ſeveral Factions to the diſquiet of the King. It was viſibly great in the number of the Priſoners; whereof many were of condition, and the names of many Officers were known, who were left dead upon the Field, as Colonel *Gunter*, who was look'd upon as the beſt Officer of Horſe they had, and a man of known malice to the Government of the Church; which had drawn ſome ſevere cenſure upon him before the Troubles, and for which he had ſtill meditated Revenge. One of the Priſoners taken in the Action, ſaid, "That he was confident Mr. *Hambden* "was hurt, for he ſaw him ride off the Field before the Action was done, "which he never uſed to do, with his head hanging down, and reſting his "hands upon the neck of his Horſe; by which he concluded he was hurt. The news the next day made the Victory much more important, than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loſs the Enemy had ſuſtain'd in their Quarters, by wich three or four Regiments were utterly broken and loſt, the names of many Officers, of the beſt account, were known, who were either kill'd upon the place, or ſo hurt as there remain'd little hope of their recovery.

Among the Priſoners, there were taken Colcnel *Sheffield*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Mulgrave*, and one Colonel *Beckly* a *Scotch*-man; who, being both viſibly wounded, acted their hurts ſo well, and pretended to be ſo ready to expire, that upon their Paroles neither to endeavour nor endure a reſcue, they were ſuffer'd to reſt at a private Houſe in the way, within a mile of the Field, till their Wounds ſhould be dreſs'd, and they recover ſo much ſtrength as to be able to render themſelves Priſoners at *Oxford*. But the King's Forces were no ſooner gone, than they found means to ſend to their Comrades, and were the next day ſtrong enough, to ſuffer themſelves to be removed to *Thame*, by a ſtrong Party ſent from the Earl of *Eſſex*; and, between denying that they had promiſed, and ſaying, that they would perform it, they never ſubmitted themſelves to be Priſoners, as much againſt the Law of Arms, as their taking Arms was againſt their Allegiance. But that which would have been look'd upon as a conſiderable recompence for a Defeat, could not but be thought a great addition to the Victory, which was the death of Mr. *Hambden*; who, being ſhot into the ſhoulder with a brace of Bullets, which brake the Bone, within three Weeks after, died with extraordinary pain; to as great a conſternation of all that Party, as if their whole Army had been defeated, or cut off.

Mr. Hambden *wounded in* Chalgrave Field, *of which he died.*

Many Men obſerv'd (as upon ſignal turns of great Affairs, as this was, ſuch obſervations are frequently made) that the Field in which the late Skirmiſh was, and upon which Mr. *Hambden* receiv'd his deaths wound, *Chalgrave* Field, was the ſame place in which he had firſt executed the Ordinance of the Militia, and engaged that County, in which his Reputation was very great, in this Rebellion: and it was confeſs'd by the Priſoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the Alarm that Morning, after their Quarters were beaten up, he was exceeding ſollicitous to draw Forces together to purſue the Enemy; and, being a Colonel of Foot, put himſelf among thoſe Horſe as a Voluntier, who were firſt ready; and that when the Prince made a ſtand, all the Officers were of opinion to ſtay till their Body came up, and He alone (being ſecond to None but the General himſelf in the obſervance, and application of all Men) perſwaded, and prevailed with them to advance; ſo violently did his fate carry him, to pay the Mulct in the place where he had committed the Tranſgreſſion, about a year before.

He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Buckingham-ſhire*, and born to a fair Fortune, and of a moſt civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himſelf all the Licenſe in Sports and Exerciſes, and Company, which were uſed by Men of the moſt Jolly Converſation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reſerv'd, and Melancholy Society, yet preſerving his own natural Chearfulneſs, and Vivacity, and above all, a flowing courteſy to all Men; though they who converſed nearly with him, found him growing into a diſlike of the Eccleſiaſtical Government of the Church, yet moſt believ'd it rather a diſlike of ſome Church-men, and of ſome introducements of Theirs, which he apprehended might diſquiet the publick Peace. He was rather of Reputation in his own Country, than of publick diſcourſe, or fame in the Kingdom, before the buſineſs of Ship-money: but Then he grew the Argument of all Tongues, every Man enquiring who, and what He was, that durſt, at his own charge, ſupport the Liberty, and Property of the Kingdom, and reſcue his Country, as he thought from being made a Prey to the Court, His carriage, throughout this Agitation, was with that rare temper and modeſty, that they who watch'd him narrowly to find ſome advantage againſt his Perſon, to make him leſs reſolute in his Cauſe, were compell'd to give him a juſt Teſtimony. And the Judgment that was given againſt him, infinitely more advanced Him, than the Service for which it was given. When this Parliament begun (being return'd Knight of the Shire for the County where he liv'd) the Eyes of all Men were fix'd upon him, as their *Patriæ Pater*, and the Pilot that muſt ſteer the Veſſel, through the Tempeſts, and Rocks which threaten'd it. And I am perſwaded, his Power and Intereſt, at that time, was greater to do Good or Hurt, than any Man's in the Kingdom, or than any Man of his Rank hath had in any time: for his Reputation of Honeſty was Vniverſal, and his Affections ſeem'd ſo publickly guided, that no corrupt, or private ends could byaſs them.

He was of that rare affability, and temper in Debate, and of that ſeeming humility and ſubmiſſion of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a deſire of Information, and Inſtruction; yet he had ſo ſubtle a way of Interrogating and under the Notion of Doubts, inſinuating his Objections, that he infuſed his own opinion into thoſe from whom he pretended to learn, and receive them. And even with them who were able to preſerve themſelves from his infuſions, and diſcern'd thoſe opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the Character of an Ingenious, and Conſcientious Perſon. He was indeed a very Wiſe Man, and of great parts, and poſſeſs'd with the moſt abſolute ſpirit of Popularity, and the moſt abſolute faculties to govern the People, of any Man I ever knew. For the firſt year of the Parliament, he ſeem'd rather to moderate, and ſoften the violent and diſtemper'd humours, than to inflame them. But wiſe and diſpaſſion'd Men plainly diſcern'd, that That moderation proceeded from prudence, and obſervation that the ſeaſon was not ripe, rather than that he approv'd of the moderation; and that he Begot many opinions, and motions, the Education whereof he committed to other Men; ſo far diſguiſing his own deſigns, that he ſeem'd ſeldom to wiſh more than was concluded; and in many groſs concluſions; which would hereafter contribute to deſigns not yet ſet on foot, when he found them ſufficiently backed by Majority of Voices, he would withdraw himſelf before the Queſtion, that he might ſeem not to conſent to ſo much viſible unreaſonableneſs; which produced as great a doubt in ſome, as it did approbation in others, of his Integrity. What combination ſoever had been originally with the *Scots* for the Invaſion of *England*, and what farther was enter'd into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the Government in Parliament, no Man doubts was at leaſt with the privity of this Gentleman.

After he was among thoſe Members accuſed by the King of High Treaſon, he was much alter'd; his nature and carriage ſeeming much fiercer than it did before. And without queſtion, when he firſt drew his Sword, he threw away the Scabbard; for he paſſionately oppoſed the Overture made by the King for a Treaty from *Nottingham*, and as eminently, all expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at *Oxford*; and was principally relied on, to prevent any infuſions which might be made

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into the Earl of *Eſſex* towards Peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that Party, than the General himſelf. In the firſt entrance into the Troubles, he undertook the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and perform'd the duty of a Colonel, upon all occaſions, moſt punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a Supreme Governour over all his Paſſions, and Affections, and had thereby a great power over other Mens. He was of an Induſtry and Vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the moſt Laborious; and of Parts not to be impoſed upon, by the moſt Subtle, or Sharp; and of a Perſonal Courage equal to his beſt Parts; ſo that he was an Enemy not to be wiſh'd wherever he might have been made a Friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was ſo, as any Man could deſerve to be. And therefore his death was no leſs pleaſing to the One Party, than it was condoled in the Other. In a word, what was ſaid of *Cinna*, might well be applied to Him; "He had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to perſwade, and a Hand to execute, any miſchief. His death therefore ſeem'd to be a great deliverance to the Nation.

The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army was ſo weaken'd by theſe defeats, and more by the ſickneſs that had waſted it, that it was not thought ſafe to remain longer ſo near his unquiet, and reſtleſs Enemies. The Factions, and Animoſities at *London*, required his preſence there; and he thought the Army would be ſooner recruited there, than at ſo great a diſtance; ſo that he march'd directly from *Thame* to *London*, where he found Jealouſy and Contention enough; leaving his Army Quarter'd about St. *Alban*'s. Whilſt the Affairs of the Parliament were in this Diſtraction, the King's recover'd great Reputation; and the Seaſon of the year being fit for Action, all Diſcontents, and Factious Murmurings, were adjourn'd to the next Winter.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches from* Thame *to* London: *quartering his Army, about St.* Albans.

The end of the Treaty, in which We left the Chief Commanders of the *Corniſh* Forces, with Commiſſioners of the other Weſtern Counties, was like that in other places; for notwithſtanding thoſe extraordinary obligations of Oaths, and receiving the Sacrament, circumſtances in no other Treaty, the Parliament no ſooner ſent their Votes, and Declarations to them (the ſame which are before mention'd upon the Treaties in *Yorkſhire* and *Cheſhire*) and ſome Members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all Peaceable Inclinations were laid aſide; ſo that (having in the mean time induſtriouſly levied Money, throughout *Somerſet* and *Devon*, upon Friends and Enemies; and a good Body of Men) the Night before the expiration of the Treaty and Ceſſation, *James Chudleigh* the Major General of the Rebels, brought a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot within two Miles of *Launceſton*, the head Quarter of the *Corniſh*, and the very next Morning, the Ceſſation not being determin'd till after twelve of the Clock in the Night, march'd upon the Town, where they were not ſufficiently provided for them. For though the Commanders of the *Corniſh* had employ'd their time, as uſefully as they could, during the Ceſſation, is preparing the Gentry of that Country, and all the Inhabitants, to ſubmit to a Weekly Tax for the ſupport of that Power, which defended them; over and above which, the Gentlemen, and Perſons of Quality, freely brought in all their Plate to be diſpoſed of to the Publick and though they foreſaw, after the Committee of Parliament came into the Country, that the Treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Sir *Bevil Greenvil* repair'd to *Launceſton* the day before the expiration of the Treaty, to meet any attempt ſhould be made upon them: Yet, being to Feed, and Pay their ſmall Forces out of one Country, they had been compell'd to Quarter their Men at a great diſtance, that no one part might be more oppreſs'd than was neceſſary: ſo that all that was done the firſt day, was by the advantage of Paſſes, and lining of Hedges, to keep the Enemy in Action, till the other Forces came up; which they ſeaſonably did, towards the Evening; and then the Enemy, who receiv'd great loſs in that days Action, grew ſo heartleſs, that in the Night they retir'd to *Okington*, fifteen Miles, from the place of their Skirmiſh. After which many ſmall Skirmiſhes enſued, for many days, with various ſucceſs; ſometimes the *Corniſh* advancing in *Devon*, and then retiring again; for it appear'd now, that a form'd Army was marching againſt them, ſo far Superior in Number, that there was no reaſonable hope of reſiſtance.

The King's Affairs in the Weſt.

The Earl of Stamford *marches into* Cornwal *with an Army.*

Towards the middle of *May*, the Earl of *Stamford* march'd into *Cornwal*, by the North Part, with a Body of fourteen hundred Horſe and Dragoons, and five thouſand four hundred Foot by the Poll, with a Train of thirteen Braſs Ordnance, and a Morter Piece, and a very plentiful Magazine of Victual, and Ammunition, and every way in as good an Equipage, as could be provided by Men who wanted no Money; whilſt the King's ſmall Forces, being not half the Number, and unſupplied with every uſeful thing, were at *Launceſton*; of whom the Enemy had ſo abſolute a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within ſix or ſeven Miles, that they conſider'd only how to take them after they were diſperſed, and to prevent their running into *Pendennis* Caſtle to give them farther trouble. To which purpoſe having encamped themſelves upon the flat top of a very high Hill, to which the Aſcents were very ſteep every way, near *Stratton*, being the only part of *Cornwal* eminently diſaffected to the King's Service, they ſent a Party of twelve hundred Horſe and Dragoons, under the Command of Sir *George Chudleigh*, Father to their Major General, to *Bodmin* to ſurpriſe the High Sheriff, and principal Gentlemen of the Country; and thereby; not only to prevent the coming up of any more ſtrength to the King's Party, but, under the Awe of ſuch a power of Horſe, to make the whole Country riſe for them. This deſign, which was not in it ſelf unreaſonable, proved fortunate to the King. For his Forces which march'd from *Launceſton*, with a reſolution to Fight with the Enemy, upon any diſadvantage of Place or Number (which, how hazardous ſoever, carried leſs danger with it, than retiring into the County, or any thing elſe that was in their power) eaſily now reſolv'd to Aſſault the Camp in the abſence of their Horſe; and with this reſolution, they march'd on *Monday* the fifteenth of *May*, within a Mile of the Enemy; being ſo deſtitute of all Proviſions, that the beſt Officers had but a Bisket a Man a day, for two days, the Enemy looking upon them as their own.

On *Tueſday* the ſixteenth of *May*, about five of the Clock in the Morning, they diſpoſed themſelves to their work; having ſtood in their Arms all the Night. The Number of Foot was about two thouſand four hundred, which they divided into four parts, and agreed on their ſeveral Provinces. The firſt was Commanded by the Lord *Mohun*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton*; who undertook to Aſſault the Camp on the South ſide. Next them, on the left hand, Sir *John Berkley*, and Sir *Bevil Greenvil* were to force their way; Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *Trevannion* were to Aſſault the North ſide; and, on the left hand, Colonel *Thomas Baſſet*, who was Major General of their Foot, and Colonel *William Godolphin* were to advance with their Party; each Party having two Pieces of Cannon to diſpoſe as they found neceſſary: Colonel *John Digby* Commanding the Horſe and Dragoons, being about five hundred, ſtood upon a Sandy Common which had a way to the Camp, to take any advantage he could of the Enemy, if they Charg'd; otherwiſe, to be firm as a Reſerve.

In this manner the Fight begun; the King's Forces preſſing, with their utmoſt vigour, thoſe four ways up the Hill, and the Enemies as obſtinately defending their ground. The Fight continued with very doubtful ſucceſs, till towards three of the Clock in the Afternoon; when word was brought to the Chief Officers of the *Corniſh*, that their Ammunition was ſpent to leſs than four Barrels of Powder, which (concealing the defect from the Soldiers) they reſolv'd could be only ſupplied with Courage: and therefore, by Meſſengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full Bodies, without making any more ſhot, till they reach'd the top of the Hill, nnd ſo might be upon even ground with the Enemy; wherein the Officer's Courage, and Reſolution, was ſo well ſeconded by the Soldier, that they begun to get ground in all places; and the Enemy, in wonder of the Men, who out faced their ſhot with their Swords, to quit their Poſt. Major General *Chudleigh*, who order'd the Battle, failed in no part of a Soldier; and when he ſaw his Men recoil from leſs Numbers, and the Enemy in all places gaining the Hill upon him, himſelf advanced, with a good ſtand of Pikes, upon that Party which was led by Sir *John Berkley*, and Sir *Bevil Greenvil*; and Charg'd them ſo ſmartly, that he put them into diſorder; Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, in the ſhock, being born to the Ground, but quickly reliev'd by his Companion; they

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ſo reinforced the Charge, that having kill'd moſt of the Aſſailants, and diſperſed the reſt, thy took the Major General Priſoner, after he had behaved himſelf with as much Courage, as a Man could do. Then the Enemy gave ground apace, inſomuch as the four Parties, growing nearer and nearer as they aſcended the Hill, between three and four of the Clock, they all met together upon one ground near the top of the Hill; where they embraced with unſpeakable joy, each congratulating the others ſucceſs, and all acknowledging the wonderful bleſſing of God; and being there poſſeſs'd of ſome of the Enemies Cannon, they turn'd them upon the Camp, and advanced, together to perfect the Victory. But the Enemy no ſooner underſtood the loſs of their Major General, but their hearts failed them; and being ſo reſolutely preſs'd, and their ground loſt, upon the ſecurity and advantage whereof, they wholely depended, ſome of them threw down their Arms, and others fled; diſperſing themſelves, and every Man ſhifting for himſelf: Their General, the Earl of *Stamford*, giving the example, who (having ſtood at a ſafe diſtance all the time of the Battle, environ'd with all the Horſe, which in ſmall Parties, though it is true their whole Number was not above ſix or ſevenſcore, might have done great miſchief to the ſeveral Parties of Foot, who with ſo much difficulty ſcaled the ſteep Hill) aſſoon as he ſaw the day loſt, and ſome ſay ſooner, made all imaginable haſte to *Exeter*, to prepare them for the condition they were ſhortly to expect.

The Earl is beaten near Stratton May 16.

The Conquerors aſſoon as they had gain'd the Camp, and diſperſed the Enemy, and after publick Prayers upon the Place, and a ſolemn Thankſgiving to Almighty God for their Deliverance and Victory, ſent a ſmall Party of Horſe to purſue the Enemy for a Mile or two; not thinking fit to purſue farther, or with their whole Body of Horſe, leſt Sir *George* ſhould return from *Bodmin* with his ſtrong Body of Horſe and Dragoons, and find them in diſorder; but contenting themſelves with the Victory they had obtain'd upon the place, which, in Subſtance as well as Circumſtance, was as ſignal a one, as hath happen'd to either Party ſince the unhappy diſtraction; for on the King's Party were not loſt in all above fourſcore Men; whereof few were Officers, and none above the degree of a Captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten Men dy'd afterwards of their wounds. On the Parliament ſide, notwithſtanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the Aſſailants, above three hundred were ſlain on the place, and ſeventeen hundred taken Priſoners with their Major General, and above thirty other Officers. Thy took likewiſe all their Baggage and Tents, all their Cannon, being, as was ſaid before, thirteen Pieces of Braſs Ordnance, and a Braſs Mortar-piece; all their Ammunition, being ſeventy Barrels of Powder, and all other ſorts of Ammunition proportionable, and a very great Magazine of Bisket, and other excellent Proviſions of Victuals; which was as ſeaſonable a Bleſſing as the Victory, to thoſe who, for three or four days before, had ſuffer'd great want of food as well as ſleep; and were equally tired with duty and hunger. The Army reſted that night, and the next day, at *Stratton*; all care being taken by expreſs Meſſengers, to diſperſe the news of their ſucceſs to all parts of that Country, and to guard the Paſſes upon the River *Tamar*, whereby to hinder the return of the Enemies Horſe and Dragoons. But Sir *George Chudleigh* had no ſooner, with great triumph, diſperſed the High Sheriff, and Gentlemen, who intended to have call'd the *poſſe Comitatus*, according to their good cuſtom, for the Aſſiſtance of the King's Party, and with little reſiſtance enter'd *Bodmin*, when he receiv'd the fatal News of the loſs of their Camp and Army at *Stratton*. Upon which, with as much haſte, and diſorder, as ſo great a conſternation could produce among a People not acquainted with the Accidents of War, leaving many of his Men and Horſes a Prey to the Country People, himſelf, with as many as he could get, and keep together, got into *Plymouth*; and thence, without interruption or hazard, into *Exeter*.

The Earl of *Stamford*, to make his own Conduct and Misfortune the leſs cenſur'd, induſtriouſly ſpread abroad in all places, and confidently ſent the ſame information to the Parliament, "That he had been betray'd by *James Chudleigh*; and "That, in the heat of the Battle, when the hope of the day "ſtood fair, he had Voluntarily, with a Party, run over to the Enemy;

" and immediately Charg'd the Parliament Forces; which begot in all Men a " general apprehenſion of Treachery, the Soldiers fearing their Officers, and the " Officers their Soldiers revolt; and thereupon the Rout enſued. Whereas the truth is, as he was a young Man of excellent Parts, and Courage, he perform'd the part of a right good Commander, both in his Orders, and his Perſon; and was taken Priſoner in the Body of his Enemy, whither he had Charg'd with undaunted Courage, when there was no other expedient in reaſon left. But this ſcandal ſo without colour caſt on him, and entertain'd with more credit than his ſervices had merited (for from the time of his Engagement to the Parliament, he had ſerv'd not only with full ability, but with notable ſucceſs, and was the only Man that had given any interruption to the proſperity of the *Corniſh* Army, and in a night-skirmiſh, at *Bradock* Down near *Okington*, ſtruck a greater terror into them, and diſorder'd them more than they were at any other time) wrought ſo far upon the young Man, together with the kind uſage, and reception he found as a Priſoner among the Chief Officers, who lov'd him as a Gallent Enemy, and one like to do the King good Service if he were recover'd to his Loyalty, that after he had been Priſoner about ten days, he freely declar'd, " That he was convinced in his " Conſcience, and Judgment, of the errors he had committed; and, upon promiſe made to him of the King's Pardon, frankly offer'd to joyn with them in his Maieſty's Service; and ſo gave ſome countenance to the reproach that was firſt moſt injuriouſly caſt upon him.

The truth is, he was of too good an underſtanding, and too much generoſity in his nature, to be affected to the Cauſe which he ſerv'd, or to comply with thoſe Arts, which he ſaw practiced to carry it on; and having a Command in *Ireland* when the War firſt broke out, he came thence into *England* with a purpoſe to ſerve the King; and to that end, ſhortly after his Majeſty's coming to *Oxford*, he came thither to tender his Service; but he found the Eyes of moſt Men fix'd upon him with prejudice and jealouſy there, both for his Family's ſake, which was notoriouſly diſaffected to the King, and for ſome errors of his own, in that Plot, that was ſo much ſpoken of, to bring up the Northern Army to awe the Parliament; in which buſineſs, being then a very young Man, and of a ſtirring Spirit, and deſirous of a Name, he had expreſs'd much Zeal to the King's Service, and been buſy in inclining the Army to engage in ſuch Petitions, and Undertakings, as were not gracious to the Parliament. But when that diſcovery was made by Mr *Goring*, as is before remember'd, and a Committee appointed to examine the Combination, this Gentleman, wrought upon by hopes, or fears, in his Examination, ſaid much that was diſadvantageous to the Court, and therefore, bringing no other Teſtimony with him to *Oxford*, but of his own Conſcience, he receiv'd nothing like Countenance there; whereupon he return'd to *London*, ſufficiently incenſed that he was neglected; and was quickly entertain'd, for their Weſtern employment, where his neareſt Friends were throughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former paſſion being allay'd, and his obſervation and experience convincing him, that the deſigns of the Parliament were not ſuch as were pretended, he reſign'd himſelf to thoſe who firſt conquer'd him with Force, and then with Reaſon and Civility; and, no doubt, was much wrought upon by the diſcipline, and integrity of the Forces, by whom he had been ſubdued; and with the Piety, Temper, and Sobriety of the Chief Commanders, which indeed was moſt exemplary, and worthy the Cauſe for which they were engaged; the Reputation, and Conſcience whereof, had alone carried them through the difficulties, and ſtreights, with which they were to contend.

This Army, willing to relieve their Friends of *Cornwal*, from the burden which they ſuſtain'd ſo patiently, haſten'd their march into *Devon-ſhire*, not throughly reſolv'd whether to attack *Plymouth*, or *Exeter*, or both, when Advertiſement came to them, by an Expreſs from *Oxford*, " That the " King had ſent Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, with a very " good Body of Horſe to joyn with them, and that they where advanced to " wards them as far as *Somerſet-ſhire*; and that Sir *William Waller* was deſign'd by " the Parliament, to viſit the Weſt, with a new Army, which would receive " a good recruit from thoſe who eſcaped from the Battle of *Stratton*;

" So

So that it was neceſſary for all the King's Forces in thoſe Parts to be united in a Body, aſſoon as might be; hereupon it was quickly reſolv'd to leave ſuch a Party at *Salt-aſh*, and *Milbrook* as might defend Faithful *Cornwal* from any Incurſions of *Plymouth*, and with their Army to march Eaſtward; their number increaſing daily upon the Reputation of their new wonderful Victory; many Voluntiers coming to them out of *Devon-ſhire*, and very many of their Priſoners profeſſing, they had been ſeduced, and freely offering to ſerve the King againſt thoſe who had wrong'd both; who, being entertain'd under ſome of their own converted Officers, behaved themſelves afterwards with great Honeſty and Courage. And ſo making no longer ſtay by the way, than was neceſſary for the refreſhing of their Troops, the *Corniſh* Army, for that was the ſtyle it now carried, march'd by *Exeter*, where the Earl of *Stamford*, with a ſufficient Garriſon, then was; and ſtaying only two or three days to fix ſmall Garriſons, whereby that Town, full of fear and apprehenſion, might be kept from having too great an influence upon ſo Populous a County, advanced to *Tiverton*, where a Regiment of Foot of the Parliament, under Colonel *Ware*, a Gentlman of that Country, had fix'd themſelves; hoping Sir *William Waller* would be as ſoon with them for their relief, as the *Corniſh* would be to force them; which Regiment being eaſily diſperſed they ſtay'd there to expect new Orders from the Marquis of *Hertford*.

When the loſs of *Reading* was well digeſted, and the King underſtood the declining Condition of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and that he would either not be able to advance or not in ſuch a manner, as would give him much trouble at *Oxford*: and hearing in what proſperous ſtate his hopeful Party in *Cornwal* ſtood, whither the Parliament was making all haſte to ſend Sir *William Waller*, to check their good ſucceſs; his Majeſty reſolv'd to ſend the Marquis of *Hertford* into thoſe parts, the rather becauſe there were many of the prime Gentlemen of *Wilt-ſhire*, *Dorſet-ſhire*, and *Somerſet-ſhire*, who confidently undertook, if the Marquis went through thoſe Counties, with ſuch a ſtrength as they ſuppoſed the King would ſpare to him, they would in a very ſhort time raiſe ſo conſiderable a Power, as to oppoſe any force the Parliament ſhould being able to ſend. When the Marquis was ready for his Journey, news arriv'd of the great Victory at *Stratton*; ſo that there was no danger in the Marquis's be able to joyn with that little *Corniſh* Army; and then there would appear indeed a viſible Body worthy the name of an Army. This put ſome Perſons upon deſiring, that Prince *Maurice* (who was yet in no other Quality of Command, than of a private Colonel of Horſe, but had always behav'd himſelf with great Courage and Vigilance) might be likewiſe diſpoſed into a Command of that Army. Hereupon the King aſſign'd him, and his Highneſs willingly accepted to be Lieutenant-General under the Marquis; who for many reaſons, beſides that he was actualy poſſeſs'd of it, was thought fit to have the ſuperior power over thoſe Weſtern Counties, where his Fortune lay, and the Eſtimation, and Reverence of the People to him was very great. So the Prince and the Marquis, with Prince *Maurice*'s, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*'s and Colonel *Thomas Howard*'s Regiment of Horſe (the Earl being General of the Cavalry) advanced into the Weſt; and ſtaying only ſome few days at *Salisbury*, and after in *Dorſet-ſhire*, whilſt ſome new Regiments of Horſe and Foot, which were Levying by the Gentlemen in thoſe Parts, came up to them, made all convenient haſte into *Somerſet-ſhire*, being deſirous to joyn with the *Corniſh*, aſſoon as might be; preſuming they ſhould be then beſt able to perfect their new Levies, when they were out of apprehenſion of being diſturbed by a more powerful Force. For Sir *William Waller* was already march'd out of *London*, and uſed not to ſtay longer by the way than was unavoidably neceſſary.

In the Marquis's firſt entrance into the Weſt, He had an unſpeakable loſs and the King's Service a far greater, by the death of Mr. *Rogers*, a Gentleman of a rare Temper, aud excellent Uuderſtanding; who beſides that he had a great Intereſt in the Marquis, being his Couſin-german, and ſo, out of that private Relation, as well as Zeal to the Publick, paſſionately inclined to advance the Service, had a wonderful great influence upon the County of *Dorſet*, for which he ſerv'd as one of the Knights in Parliament; and had ſo well deſign'd all things there, that *Poole*, and *Lyme* (two Port Towns in

that County, which gave the King afterwards much Trouble) if He had liv'd, had been undoubtedly reduced. But by his Death all thoſe hopes were cancell'd, the ſurviving Gentry of that Shire being, how well affected ſoever, ſo unactive, that the progreſs, that was that year made there to the King's advantage, ow'd little to their Aſſiſtance.

The Marquis of Hertford *and Prince* Maurice, *with their Forces, joyn the* Corniſh *Army at* Chard.

About the middle of *June*, Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis, with ſixteen or ſeventeen Hundred Horſe, and about one thouſand new levied Foot, and ſeven or eight Field-Pieces came to *Chard*, a fair Town in *Somerſet-ſhire*, neareſt the edge of *Devon-ſhire*; where, according to order, they were met by the *Corniſh* Army; which conſiſted of above three thouſand excellent Foot, five hundred Horſe, and three hundred Dragoons, with four or five Field-Pieces: ſo that, Officers and all, being joyn'd, they might well paſs for an Army of ſeven thouſand Men; with an excellent Train of Artillery, and a very fair proportion of Ammunition of all ſorts, and ſo good a Reputation, that they might well promiſe themſelves a quick increaſe of their Numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the Chief Officers of the *Corniſh* had not been much ſuperior to that of their Common Soldiers, who valued themſelves high, as the Men whoſe courage had alone vindicated the King's Cauſe in the Weſt, there might have been greater diſorder at their firſt firſt joyning, than could eaſily have been compoſed. For how ſmall ſoever the Marquis's Party was in Numbers, it was ſupplied with all the General Officers of a Royal Army, a General, Lieutenant-General, General of the Horſe, General of the Ordnance, a Major-General of Horſe, another of Foot, without keeping ſuitable Commands for thoſe who had done all that was paſſed, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come. So that the Chief Officers of the *Corniſh* Army, by joyning with a much leſs party than themſelves, were at beſt in the condition of Private Colonels. Yet the ſame Publick thoughts ſtill ſo abſolutely prevailed with them, that they quieted all murmurings and emulations among Inferior Officers and Common Soldiers; and were, with eqnal candour and eſtimation, valued by the Prince and Marquis, who bethought themſelves of all expedients, which might prevent any future miſunderſtanding.

Taunton was the firſt place they reſolv'd to viſit, being one of the faireſt, largeſt, and richeſt Town in *Somerſet-ſhire*; but withal as eminently affected to the Parliament, where they had now a Garriſon; but they had not yet the ſame Courage they recover'd afterwards. For the Army was no ſooner drawn near the Town, the head Quarters being at *Orchard*, a Houſe of the *Portmans*, two miles from the Town, but the Town ſent two of their ſubſtantial Inhabitants to Treat; which, though nothing was concluded, ſtruck that terror into the Garriſon (the Priſoners in the Caſtle, whereof many were Men of good Fortunes, impriſon'd there as Malignants, at the ſame time raiſing ſome commotion there) that the Garriſon fled out of the Town to *Bridge-water*, being a leſs Town but of a much ſtronger ſituation; and, with the ſame panick fear, the next day, from thence; ſo that the Marquis was poſſeſs'd, in three days, of *Taunton*, *Bride-water*, and *Dunſter*-Caſtle, ſo much ſtronger thau both the other, that it could not have been forced; yet by the dexterity of *Francis Windham*, who wrought upon the fears of the owner, and maſter of it, Mr. *Lutterel*, was, with as little blood-ſhed as the other, deliver'd up to the King; into which the Marquis put him, that took it, as Governour; as he well deſerv'd.

The Government of *Taunton* he committed to Sir *John Stawell*, a Gentleman of a very great Eſtate in thoſe parts; who, from the beginning, had heartily and Perſonally engaged Himſelf and his Children for the King; and was in the firſt form of thoſe who had made themſelves obnoxious to the Parliament. The other Government, of *Bridge-water*, was conferr'd upon *Edmund Windham*, High-Sheriff of the County, being a Gentleman of a Fortune near the place, and of a good perſonal Courage, and unqueſtionable Affection to the Cauſe. The Army ſtay'd about *Taunton* ſeven or eight days, for the ſettling thoſe Garriſons, and to receive Advertiſements of the Motion, or Station of the Enemy; in which time they loſt much of the Credit, and Reputation, they had with the Country. For whereas the Chief Commanders of the *Corniſh* Army, had reſtrain'd their Soldiers from all manner of

Licenſe

Licenſe, obliging them to ſolemn, and frequent Actions of Devotion, inſomuch as the fame of their Religion, and Diſcipline, was no leſs than of their Courage, and thereupon Sir *Ralph Hopton* (who was generally conſider'd as the General of that Army, though it was govern'd by ſuch a Commiſſion as is before remember'd) was greedily expected in his own Country, where his Reputation was ſecond to no Mans; the Horſe, that came now with the Marquis, having lived under a looſe Diſcipline, and coming now into plentiful Quarters, unviſited by an Army, eminent for their Diſaffection, were diſorderly enough to give the Enemy Credit in laying more to their Charge than they deſerv'd; and by their Licenſe hinder'd thoſe orderly Levies, which ſhould have brought in a ſupply of Money, for the regular Payment of the Army. This extravagancy produced another Miſchief, ſome jealouſy, or ſhadow of it, between the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice*; the firſt, as being better verſed in the policy of Peace, than in the Myſteries of War, deſiring to regulate the Soldier, and to reſtrain him from uſing any Licenſe upon the Country, and the Prince being thought ſo wholly to incline to the Soldier, that he neglected any Conſideration of the Country, and not without ſome Deſign of drawing the ſole Dependence of the Soldier upon him. But here were the ſeeds rather ſown of diſlike, than any viſible Diſinclination produced; for after they had ſettled the Garriſons before mention'd, they advanced, with Unity and Alacrity, Eaſtward, to find out the Enemy, which were gathered together in a conſiderable Body, within leſs than twenty Miles of them.

Whilſt ſo much time was ſpent at *Oxford*, to prepare the ſupplies for the Weſt, and in ſettling the manner of ſending them; which might have been done much ſooner, and with leſs Noiſe; the Parliament foreſaw, that if all the Weſt were recover'd from them, their Quarters would by degrees be ſo ſtreighten'd, that their other Friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had ſtill all the Weſtern Ports at their Devotion, thoſe in *Cornwal* only excepted; and their Fleets had always great benefit by it. And though moſt of the Gentry were engaged againſt them, as they were in truth in many parts throughout the Kingdom, yet the Common People, eſpecially in the Cloathing parts of *Sommerſet-ſhire*, were generally too much inclined to them. So that they could not want Men, if they ſent a Body of Horſe, and ſome Arms, to countenance them; with the laſt of which, they had ſufficiently ſtored the Sea Towns which were in their Hands. And therefore they reſolv'd, that though they could not eaſily recruit their Army, they would ſend ſome Troops of Horſe, and Dragoons, into the Weſt, to keep up the Spirits of their Friends there. And for the Conduct of this Service, they made choice of Sir *William Waller*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and a Gentleman of a Family in *Kent*.

The Parliament ſent Sir Wm. Waller, into the Weſt with an Army.

Sir *William Waller* had been well bred; and, having ſpent ſome Years abroad, and ſome time in the Armies there, return'd with a good Reputation home; and ſhortly after, having Married a young Lady, who was to Inherit a good Fortune in the Weſt, he had a quarrel with a Gentleman of the ſame Family, who had the Honour to be a menial Servant to the King in a place near his Perſon; which, in that time, was attended with Privilege and Reſpect from all Men. Theſe two Gentlemen diſcourſing with ſome warmth together, Sir *William Waller* receiv'd ſuch Provocation from the other, that he ſtruck him a blow over the Face, ſo near the Gate of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, that there were Witneſſes, who ſwore, "That it was in the Hall it ſelf, the "Courts being then ſitting; which, according to the rigour of Law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the Court, made the Proſecution to be very ſevere; inſomuch as he was at laſt compelled to redeem himſelf at a dear ranſom; the benefit whereof, was conferr'd on his Adverſary, which made the Senſe of it the more grievous; and this produced in him ſo eager a Spirit againſt the Court, that he was very open to any Temptation, that might engage him againſt it; and ſo concurring in the Houſe of Commons with all thoſe Counſels which were moſt Violent, he was employed in their firſt Military Action, for the reducing of *Portſmouth*; which he affected with great Eaſe, as is remember'd before; and when the Earl of *Eſſex* had put the Army into Winter Quarters, he had with ſome Troops, made a Cavalcade or two into the Weſt, ſo fortunately, that he had not only beat up

ſome looſe Quarters, but had ſurpriſed a fixt and fortified Quarter, made by the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland* near *Gloceſter*; in which he took above twelve hundred Priſoners with all the Officers; being a number very little inferior to his own Party; which is likewiſe particularly remember'd before. So that he got great Reputation with the Parliament and the City; and was there call'd *William the Conqueror*. And it is very true, that they who look'd upon the Earl of *Eſſex* as a Man that would not keep them company to the end of their Journey, had their Eyes upon Sir *William Waller*, as a Man more for Their turn; and were deſirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipſe the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march, with ſo great Expedition and Secrecy, that the Marquis of *Hertford* was no ſooner joyn'd to the *Corniſh* Troops (in which time *Bridgewater*, and *Dunſtar*, and ſome other places were reduced from the Parliament) before he was inform'd that Sir *William Waller* was within two days march of him, and was more like to draw ſupplies to him from *Briſtol*, and the parts adjacent, which were under the Parliament, than the Marquis could from the open Country; and therefore it was held moſt Counſellable to advance, and engage him, whilſt he was not yet too ſtrong; and by this means they ſhould continue ſtill their march towards *Oxford*; which they were now inclined to do.

Though Sir *William Waller* himſelf continued ſtill at *Bath*, yet the remainder of thoſe Horſe and Dragoons that eſcaped out of *Cornwal*, after the Battle of *Stratton*, and ſuch other as were ſent out of *Exeter* for their eaſe, when they apprehended a Siege, and thoſe Soldiers who fled out of *Taunton*, and *Bridgewater*. and other Regiments of the Country, were by *Alexander Popham*, *Strode*, and other Deputy Lieutenants of the Militia for *Somerſet*, rallied; and with the Train'd-bands, and Voluntier Regiments of the Country, drawn together, with that Confidence, that when the Marquis had taken up his Head Quarters at *Somerton*, the Enemy, before break of day, fell upon a Regiment of Dragoons, quarter'd a Mile Eaſtward from the Town; and gave ſo brisk an Alarm to the King's Army, that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the Enemy (being the firſt they had ſeen make any ſtand before them, ſince the Battle of *Stratton*) who making Stands upon the places of advantage, and maintaining little Skirmiſhes in the Rear, retired in no ill order to *Wells*; and the King's Forces ſtill purſuing, they choſe to quit that City likewiſe; and drew their whole Body, appearing in number as conſiderable as their Purſuers, to the top of a Hill, call'd *Mendip*-Hill, overlooking the City of *Wells*, which they had left. The day being far ſpeut, and the March having been long, the Marquis, with all the Foot, and Train, ſtayed at *Wells*; but Priuce *Maurice*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Sir *John Berkley*, and two Regiments of Horſe, reſolv'd to look upon the Enemy on the top of the Hill; who ſuffer'd them, without Interruption, to gain the top of the Hill level with them, and then, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large Front of their Horſe, to give their Foot and Baggage, leiſure and ſecurity, retired together as the Prince advanced. This, and the natural contempt the King's Horſe yet had of the Enemy, which in all Skirmiſhes and Charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the Prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away; and therefore follow'd them farther, over thoſe large Hills, till the Enemy, who were anon to paſs through a Lane, and a Village call'd *Chewton*, were compelled, before their entrance into the Lane, to leave their Reſerve; which faced about much thinner than it was over the Hill which opportunity and advantage was no ſooner diſcern'd, as had been foreſeen, but the Earl of *Carnarvon* (who always Charged Home) with an incomparable Gallantry Charged the Enemy, and preſs'd them ſo hard, that he enter'd the Lane with them, and Routed the whole Body of their Horſe, and follow'd the Execution of them above two Miles.

But this was like to have been a dear Succeſs; for Sir *William Waller*, who lay with his new Army at *Bath*, and had drawn to him a good ſupply out of the Garriſon at *Briſtol*, had directed this Body which was in *Somerſet*, to retire before the King's Forces till they ſhould joyn with him, who had ſent a freſh, ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons, to aſſiſt their Retreat; which by the advantage of a Hedge, had march'd without being diſcover'd:

ſo

ver'd: ſo that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, being a ſtranger in the Country and the ways, purſued the Enemy into Sir *William Waller*'s Quarters, and till himſelf was preſs'd by a freſh Body of Horſe and Dragoons; when he was neceſſitated to retire in as good order as he could, and ſent the Prince, who follow'd him, word of the danger which attended them. His Highneſs hereupon, with what haſte he could, drew back through the Village; chooſing rather, with very good reaſon, to attend the Enemy in the plain Heath, than to be engaged in a narrow paſſage: thither the Earl of *Carnarvon* with his Regiment came to him, broken and chaſed by the Enemy; who immediately drew up a large Front of Horſe and Dragoons, much ſtronger than the Prince's Party, who had only his own, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*'s Regiments, with ſome Gentlemen Voluntiers. The ſtreight, and neceſſity he was in, was very great; for as he might ſeem much too weak to Charge them, ſo the danger might probably be much greater to retire over theſe fair Hills, being purſued with a freſh Party much ſuperior in number. Therefore he took a Gallant Reſolution, to give the Enemy a brisk Charge with his own Regiment upon their advance, whilſt the Earl rallied His, and prepared to ſecond him, as there ſhould be occaſion. This was as ſoon and fortunately executed as reſolv'd; the Prince in the head of the Regiment Charging ſo vigorouſly, that he utterly broke, and routed that part of the Front that receiv'd the impreſſion. But almoſt half the Enemies Horſe, that, being extended larger than his Front, were not Charg'd, wheeled about, and Charg'd the Prince in the Rear; and at the ſame time the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with his rallied Regiment, Charg'd Their Rear; and all this ſo throughly perform'd, that they were mingled one among the other,, and the good Sword was to decide the controverſy, their Piſtols being ſpent in the cloſe. The Prince himſelf receiv'd two ſhrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his Horſe; but he was preſently reliev'd, and carried off; and the Enemy totally routed, and purſued again by the Earl of *Carnarvon*; who had a fair execution upon them, as long as the light countenanced his chaſe, and then he return'd to the head Quarters at *Wells*: there having been in theſe Skirmiſhes threeſcore or fourſcore Men loſt on the Prince's Party, and three times that number by the Enemy; the Action being too quick to take many Priſoners.

At *Wells* the Army reſted many days, as well to recover the Prince's wounds, being only cuts with Swords, as to conſult what was next to be done; for they were now within diſtance of an Enemy that they knew would Fight with them. For Sir *William Waller* was at *Bath* with his whole Army, much encreaſed by thoſe who were chaſed out of the Weſt, and reſolv'd not to advance, having all advantages of Proviſions, and Paſſes, till a new ſupply, he every day expected from *London*, were arriv'd with him. On the other ſide, the Marquis was not only to provide to meet with ſo vigilant an Enemy, but to ſecure himſelf at his Rear, that the diſaffection of the People behind him, who were only ſubdued, not converted, upon the advance of Sir *William Waller*, might not take freſh Courage. Though *Cornwal* was reaſonably ſecured, to keep off any impreſſion upon it ſelf from *Plymouth*, yet *Devon-ſhire* was left in a very unſafe poſture; there being only a ſmall Party at *Columb-John*, a Houſe of Sir *John Ackland*'s three miles off *Exeter*, to control the power of that City, where the Earl of *Stamford* was; and to diſpute not only with any commotion, that might happen in the Country, but with any power that might arrive by Sea. Upon theſe conſiderations, and the intelligence, that the Parliament had ſent directions to the Earl of *Warwick* their Admiral, "To attend the *Devon-ſhire* Coaſt with his Fleet, and take any advantage he could, the Marquis, by the advice of the Council of War, ſent Sir *John Berkley* back into *Devon-ſhire*, with Colonel *Howard*'s Regiment of Horſe, to Command the Forces which were then there, and to raiſe what Numbers more he could poſſibly, for the blocking up that City, and reducing the County; and upon his arrival there, to ſend up to the Army Sir *James Hamilton*'s Regiment of Horſe and Dragoons; which had been left in *Devon-ſhire*; and, by the Licence they took, weaken'd the King's Party; ſo that by ſending this relief thither, he did not leſſen at all his own Numbers, yet gave great ſtrength to the reducing thoſe parts, as appear'd afterwards by the ſucceſs.

After this diſpoſition, and eight or ten days reſt at *Wells*, the Army generally expreſſing a cheerful impatience to meet with the Enemy, of which, at that time, they had a greater contempt, than in reaſon they ſhould have; the Prince, and Marquis, advanced to *Frome*, and thence to *Bradford* within four Miles of *Bath*. And now no day paſſed without Action, and very ſharp Skirmiſhes; Sir *William Waller* having receiv'd from *London* a freſh Regiment of five hundred Horſe under the Command of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*; which were ſo compleatly Arm'd, that they were called by the other ſide the Regiment of Lobſters, becauſe of their bright Iron ſhells, with which they were cover'd; being perfect Curaiſſiers; and were the firſt ſeen ſo Arm'd on either ſide, and the firſt that made any impreſſion upon the King's Horſe; who, being unarm'd, were not able to bear a ſhock with them; beſides that they were ſecure from hurts of the Sword, which were almoſt the only Weapons the other were furniſh'd with.

The Contention was hitherto with Parties; in which the Succeſſes were various, and almoſt with equal loſſes: for as Sir *William Waller*, upon the firſt advance from *Wells*, beat up a Regiment of Horſe and Dragoons of Sir *James Hamilton*'s and diſperſed them; ſo, within two days, the King's Forces beat a Party of His from a Paſs near *Bath*, where the Enemy loſt Two Field-pieces, and near an hundred Men. But Sir *William Waller* had the advantage in his ground, having a good City, well furniſh'd with proviſions, to quarter his Army together in; and ſo in his choice not to Fight, but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the King's Forces muſt either diſperſe themſelves, and ſo give the Enemy advantage upon their Quarters, or keeping near together, lodge in the Field, and endure great diſtreſs of Proviſion; the Country being ſo diſaffected, that only force could bring in any ſupply or relief. Hereupon, after ſeveral attempts to engage the Enemy to a Battle upon equal terms, which having the advantage, he wiſely avoided; the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice*, advanced with their whole Body to *Marsfield*, five miles beyond *Bath* towards *Oxford*; preſuming, that, by this means, they ſhould draw the Enemy from their place of advantage, his chief buſineſs being to hinder them from joyning with the King. And if they had been able to preſerve that temper, and had neglected the Enemy, till he had quitted his advantages, it is probable they might have fought upon as good terms as they deſired. But the unreaſonable contempt they had of the Enemy, and confidence they ſhould prevail in any ground, together with the ſtreights they endured for want of Proviſions, and their want of Ammunition, which was ſpent as much in the daily Hedge Skirmiſhes, and upon their Guards, being ſo near as could have been in Battle, would not admit the patience; for Sir *William Waller*, who was not to ſuffer that Body to joyn witn the King, no ſooner drew out his whole Army to *Lanſdown*, which look'd towards *Marsfield*, but they ſuffer'd themſelves to be engaged upon great diſadvantage.

The Battle of Lanſdown July 5.

It was upon the fifth of *July* when Sir *William Waller*, as ſoon as it was light, poſſeſs'd himſelf of that Hill; and after he had, upon the brow of the Hill over the high-way, raiſed Breaſt-works with faggots and earth, and planted Cannon there, he ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe towards *Marsfield*; which quickly Alarm'd the other Army, and was ſhortly driven back to their Body. As great a mind as the King's Forces had to cope with the Enemy, when they had drawn into Battalia, and found the Enemy fixed on the top of the Hill, they reſolv'd not to attack them upon ſo great diſadvantage; and ſo retired again towards their old Quarters: which Sir *William Waller* perceiving, ſent his whole Body of Horſe and Dragoons, down the Hill, to Charge the Rear and Flank of the King's Forces; which they did throughly, the Regiment of Cuiraſſiers ſo amazing the Horſe they Charg'd, that they totally routed them; and, ſtanding firm and unſhaken themſelves, gave ſo great terror to the King's Horſe, who had never before turn'd from an Enemy, that no example of their Officers, who did their parts with invincible Courage, could make them Charge with the ſame Confidence, and in the ſame manner they had uſually done. However, in the end, after Sir *Nicholas Slanning* with three hundred Muſqueteers, had fallen upon, and beaten their Reſerve of Dragooners, Prince *Maurice*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, Rallying their Horſe, and winging them with the *Corniſh* Muſqueteers, Charg'd the Enemies

mies Horſe again, and totally routed them; and in the ſame manner receiv'd two Bodies more, and routed and chaſed them to the Hill; where they ſtood in a place almoſt inacceſſible. On the brow of the Hill there were Breaſt-works, on which were pretty Bodies of ſmall ſhot, and ſome Cannon; on either Flank grew a pretty thick Wood towards the declining of the Hill, in which ſtrong Parties of Muſqueteers were placed; at the Rear, was a very fair Plain, where the Reſerve of Horſe and Foot ſtood ranged; yet the *Corniſh* Foot were ſo far from being appall'd at this diſadvantage, that they deſired to fall on, and cried out, "That they might "have leave to fetch off thoſe Canon. In the end, order was given to attempt the Hill with Horſe and Foot. Two ſtrong Parties of Muſqueteers were ſent into the Woods, which flanked the Enemy, and the Horſe and other Muſqueteers up the Road way, which were Charg'd by the Enemies Horſe, and Routed; then Sir *Bevil Greenvil* advanced with a Party of Horſe, on his right hand, that ground being beſt for them; and his Muſqueteers on the left; himſelf leading up his Pikes in the middle; and in the face of their Canon, and Small ſhot from the Breaſt-works, gained the brow of the Hill; having ſuſtain'd two full Charges of the Enemies Horſe but in the third Charge his Horſe failing, and giving ground, he receiv'd, after other wounds, a blow on the Head with a Poll-Ax, with which he fell, and many of his Officers about him; yet the Muſqueteers Fired ſo faſt upon the Enemies Horſe, that they quitted their ground, and the two Wings, who were ſent to clear the Woods, having done their Work, and gain'd thoſe parts of the Hill, at the ſame time beat off their Enemies Foot, and became poſſeſs'd of the Breaſt works; and ſo made way for their whole Body of Horſe, Foot, and Canon, to aſcend the Hill; which they quickly did, and planted themſelves on the ground they had won; the Enemy retiring about Demy Culvering ſhot behind a Stone Wall upon the ſame Level, and ſtanding in reaſonable good order.

Either Party was ſufficiently tired, and battered, to be contented to ſtand ſtill. The King's Horſe were ſo ſhaken, that of two thouſand which were upon the Field in the morning, there were not above ſix hundred on the top of the Hill. The Enemy were exceedingly ſcatter'd too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with thoſe who had beaten them from the Hill; ſo that, exchanging only ſome ſhot from their Ordnance, they look'd one upon another till the night interpos'd. About twelve of the Clock, it being very dark, the Enemy made a ſhew of moving towards the ground they had loſt; but giving a ſmart Volly of Small-ſhot, and finding themſelves Anſwer'd with the like, they made no more noiſe; which the Prince obſerving, he ſent a Common Soldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could; who brought word, "That the Enemy had left lighted matches in "the Wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off the Field; which "was true; ſo that, aſſoon as it was day, the King's Army found themſelves poſſeſs'd entirely of the Field, and the Dead, and all others Enſigns of Victory; Sir *Wiliam Waller* being march'd to *Bath*, in ſo much diſorder and apprehenſion, that he had left great ſtore of Arms, and ten Barrels of Powder, behind him; which was a very ſeaſonable ſupply to the other ſide who had ſpent in that day's Service, no leſs than fourſcore Barrels, and had not a ſafe proportion left.

In this Battle, on the King's part, there were more Officers and Gentlemen of Quality ſlain, than Common Men; and more hurt, than ſlain. That which would have clouded any Victory, and made the loſs of others leſs ſpoken of, was the death of Sir *Bevil Greenvil*. He was indeed an excellent Perſon, whoſe Activity, Intereſt, and Reputation, was the Foundation of what had been done in *Cornwal*; and his Temper, and Affections, ſo Publick, that no accident which happen'd, could make any impreſſions in Him; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at leaſt ſeeming to do ſo. In a word, a brighter Courage, and a gentler Diſpoſition, were never married together to make the moſt chearful, and innocent Converſation. *Sir* Bevil Greenvil *ſlain.*

Very many Officers and Perſons of Quality were hurt; as the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, ſhot in the Thigh with a brace of Piſtol Bullets; Sir *Ralph Hopton* ſhot through the Arm with a Muſquet; Sir *George Vaughan*, and many others, hurt in the Head of their Troops with Swords and Poll-Axes; of

which none of name died. But the morning added much to the Melancholy of their Victory, when the Field was entirely their own. For Sir *Ralph Hopton* riding up and down the Field to viſit the hurt Men, and to put the Soldiers in order, and readineſs for motion, ſitting on his Horſe, with other Officers and Soldiers about him, near a Waggon of Ammunition, in which were eight Barrels of Powder; whether by treachery, or meer accident, is uncertain, the Powder was blown up; and many who ſtood neareſt kill'd; and many more maim'd; among whom Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Serjeant Major *Sheldon* were miſerably hurt; of which, Major *Sheldon*, who was thought to be in leſs danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the whole Army, where he was wonderfully belov'd, as a Man of an undaunted Courage, and as great gentleneſs of Nature. Sir *Ralph Hopton*, having hardly ſo much life, as not to be number'd with the dead, was put into a Litter, and then the Army march'd to their old Quarters at *Marsfield*; exceedingly caſt down with their morning's misfortune (Sir *Ralph Hopton* being indeed the Soldiers darling) where they repos'd themſelves the next day, principally in care of Sir *Ralph Hopton*; who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to Travel. In this time many of the Horſe, which had been routed in the morning, before the Hill was won, found the way to *Oxford*; and, according to the cuſtom of thoſe who run away, reported all to be loſt, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the Field; but the next day brought a punctual advertiſement from the Marquis, but, withal, a deſire of a Regiment or two of freſh Horſe, and a ſupply of Ammunition; whereupon the Earl of *Crawford* with his Regiment of Horſe, conſiſting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that way, with ſuch a Proportion of Ammunition as was deſir'd.

After a days reſt at *Marsfield*, it being underſtood that Sir *William Waller* was ſtill at *Bath* (his Army having been rather ſurpriſed and diſcomforted with the incredible boldneſs of the *Corniſh* Foot, than much weaken'd by the Number ſlain, which was no greater than on the King's part) and that he had ſent for freſh ſupply from *Briſtol*; it was concluded, rather to march to *Oxford*, and ſo to joyn with the King's Army, than to ſtay and attend the Enemy, who was ſo near his ſupplies: And ſo they march'd towards *Chippenham*. But when Sir *William Waller* had Intelligence of the blowing up of the Powder, of which he well knew there was ſcarcely enough before, and of the hurt it had done, he infuſed new Spirit into his Men; and verily believ'd, that they had no Ammunition, and that the loſs of Sir *Ralph Hopton* (whom the People took to be the Soul of that Army, the other Names being not ſo much ſpoken of, or ſo well known, and at this time beleiv'd to be dead) would be found in the Spirits of the Soldiers; and having gotten ſome freſh Men from *Briſtol*, and more from the inclinations of the three Counties of *Wilts*, *Gloceſter*, and *Somerſet*, which joyn'd about *Bath*, in the moſt abſolute diſaffected parts of all three, he follow'd the Marquis towards *Chippenham*; to which he was as near from *Bath*, as the other from *Marsfield*.

The next day, early in the morning, upon notice that the Enemy was in diſtance, the Prince, and the Marquis drew back the Army through *Chippenham*, and preſented themſelves in Battalia to the Enemy; being very well contented to Fight in ſuch a place, where the ſucceſs was to depend more on their Foot, who were unqueſtionably excellent, than on their Horſe, which were at beſt weary, though their Officers were, to Envy, forward and reſolute. But Sir *William Waller*, who was a right good chooſer of advantages, liked not that ground; relying as much upon his Horſe, who had gotten Credit, and Courage, and as little upon his Foot, who were only well Arm'd, and well Bodied, very vulgarly Spirited, and Officer'd: ſo that having ſtood all Night in Battalia, and the Enemy not coming on, the Prince and Marquis, the next day, advanced towards the *Devizes*; Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, with great Spirit and Prudence, ſecuring the Rear with ſtrong Parties of Muſqueteers; with which he gave the Enemy, who preſs'd upon them very ſmartly, ſo much Interruption, that Sir *William Waller*, deſpairing of overtaking, ſent a Trumpet to the Marquis, with a Letter; offering a pitch'd Field at a place of his own chooſing, out of the way. The which being eaſily underſtood to be only a Stratagem to beget a delay in the march, the Marquis carried the

Trumpet

Trumpet three or four Miles with him, and then ſent him back with ſuch an Anſwer as was fit. There were, all this day, perpetual and ſharp Skirmiſhes in the Rear; the Enemy preſſing very hard, and being always with loſs repulſed, till the Army ſafely reach'd the *Devizes*.

Then the caſe was alter'd for their retreat to *Oxford*, the Enemy being upon them with improvement of Courage, and improvement of numbers; Sir *William Waller* having diſperſed his Warrants over the Country, ſignifying, "That he had beaten the Marquis, and requiring the People "To riſe in "all places for the apprehenſion of his ſcatter'd, and diſpers'd Troops; which "confidence, Men conceiv'd could not proceed from leſs than a manifeſt Victory; and ſo they flock'd to him as the Maſter of the Field. The Foot were no more now to make the retreat, the ſituation of the place they were now in, being ſuch as they could move no way towards *Oxford*, but over a Campagne of many Miles, where the ſtronger in Horſe muſt needs prevail.

Hereupon, it was unanimouſly adviſed, and conſented to, that the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice* ſhould that night break through, with all the Horſe, to *Oxford*; and that Sir *Ralph Hopton* (who, by this, was ſuppoſed paſt danger of death, and could hear and ſpeak well enough, though he could not ſee or ſtir) with the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was General of the Artillery, the Lord *Mohun*, and other good Officers of Foot, ſhould ſtay there with their Foot and Cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themſelves, for a few days, till the General might return with relief from *Oxford*; which was not above thirty Miles off. This reſolution was purſued; and, the ſame night, all the Horſe got ſafe away into the King's Quarters, and the Prince, and Marquis, in the morning, came to *Oxford*; by which time Sir *William Waller* had drawn all his Forces about the *Devizes*. The Town was open, without the leaſt Fortification, or Defence, but ſmall Ditches and Hedges; upon which the Foot were placed, and ſome pieces of Cannon conveniently planted. The Avenues, which were many, were quickly Barricadoed to hinder the entrance of the Horſe, which was principally apprehended. Sir *William Waller* had ſoon notice of the remove of the Horſe; and therefore, intending that purſuit no farther, he brought his whole Force cloſe to the Town, and beleaguer'd it round; and having raiſed a Battery upon a Hill near the Town, he pour'd in his ſhot upon it without intermiſſion, and attempted to enter in ſeveral other places with Horſe, Foot, and Cannon; but was in all places more reſolutely reſiſted, and repulſed. At the ſame time, having Intelligence (as his Intelligence was always moſt exact in whatſoever concern'd him) of the Earl of *Crawford*'s marching with a ſupply of Powder, according to order, after the firſt Battle of *Landſdown*, he ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons to intercept him; who before he knew of the alterations which had happen'd, and of the remove of the Horſe towards *Oxford*, was ſo far engaged, that he hardly eſcaped with the loſs of his Ammunition, and a Troop or two of his Horſe.

Upon this improvement of his ſucceſs, Sir *William Waller* reckon'd his Victory out of queſtion; and thereupon ſent a Trumpet into the Town to ſummon the Beſieged, to let them know, "That he had cut off their relief, "and that their State was now deſperate; and therefore adviſed them to ſub-"mit themſelves to the Parliament, with whom he would mediate on their "behalf. They in the Town were not ſorry for the Overture; not that they apprehended, it would produce any Conditions they ſhould accept, but that they might gain ſome time of reſt by it: for the ſtreights they were in, were too great for any minds not prepared to preſerve their Honour at any rates. When the Enemy came firſt before the Town, and the Guards was ſupplied with Ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of Match left in the Store; whereupon diligent Officers were directed to ſearch every Houſe in the Town, and to take all the Bed-cords they could find, and to cauſe them to be ſpeedily beaten, and boyled. By this ſuddain expedient, there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundred weight of ſuch ſerviceable Match, as very well endur'd that ſharp ſervice. The compaſs of the ground they were to keep, was ſo large, and the Enemy preſs'd ſo hard upon all places, that their whole Body were upon perpetual duty together, neither Officer or Soldier, having any time for reſt; and the activity of

the Chief Officers was moſt neceſſary to keep up the Courage of the Common Men, who well enough underſtood the danger they were in, and therefore they were very glad of this Meſſage; and retnrn'd, "That they would "ſend an Officer to Treat, if a Ceſſation were agreed to during the time of "the Treaty; which was conſented to, if it were ſuddainly expedited.

On the Party of the Beſieged were propoſed ſuch terms, as might take up moſt time in the Debate, and might imply Courage and Reſolution to hold out. Sir *William Waller*, on the other hand, offer'd only Quarter, and Civil uſage to the Officers, and leave to the Common Soldiers to return to their Houſes without their Arms, except they would voluntarily chooſe to ſerve the Parliament. Theſe being terms many of the Officers would not have ſubmitted to in the laſt extreme, the Treaty ended; after thoſe in the Town had gained what they only look'd for, ſeven or eight hours ſleep, and ſo long time ſparing of Ammunition. The truth is, Sir *William Waller*, was ſo confident that they were at his Mercy, that he had written to the Parliament, "That their work was done, and That by the next Poſt, he would ſend the "Number and Quality of his Priſoners; neither did he imagine it poſſible, that any relief could have been ſent from *Oxford*; the Earl of *Eſſex*, to whom he had ſignified his ſucceſs, and the poſture he was in, lying with his whole Army at *Thame*, within tenMiles of it. But the importance was too well underſtood by the King to omit any thing that might, with the utmoſt hazard, be attempted for the redeeming thoſe Men who had wrought ſuch wonders for him. And therefore, aſſoon as the Marquis, and Prince, arriv'd at *Oxford*, with the ſad and unexpected news, and relation of the diſtreſs of their Friends, though the Queen was then on her march towards *Oxford*, and the King had appointed to meet her two days Journey for her ſecurity, his Majeſty reſolv'd to take only his own Guards of Horſe, and Prince *Rupert's* Regiment for that expedition; and ſent the Lord *Wilmot* with all the reſt of the Horſe, to march that very day in which the advertiſement came to him, towards the *Devizes*; ſo that the Marquis and the Prince coming to *Oxford* on the *Monday* morning, the Lord *Wilmot*, that night, moved towards the work; and Prince *Maurice* returning with him as a Voluntier, but the Lord *Wilmot* Commanding in Chief, appear'd, on the *Wedneſday* about noon, upon the plain within two Miles of the Town.

The Lord *Wilmot* had with him fifteen hundred Horſe, and no more, and two ſmall Field-pieces, which he ſhot off to give the Town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair Campagne about the Town, when the Enemy ſhould riſe from before it, he ſhould be able in ſpight of them to joyn with the Foot, and ſo to have a fair Field for it; which would be ſtill diſadvantageous enough, the Enemy being Superior by much in Horſe, very few of thoſe, who had broken away from the *Devizes* (except the Prince himſelf, the Earl of *Carnarvon*, and ſome other Officers) being come up with them, becauſe they were tired, and diſperſed. The Enemy, careful to prevent the joyning of this Party of Horſe with the Foot, and fully advertiſed of their coming, drew off, on all parts, from the Town; and put themſelves in Battalia upon the top of a fair Hill, called *Roundway*-Down; over which the King's Forces were neceſſarily to march, being full two Miles off the Town; they within conceiv'd it hardly poſſible, that the relief, they expected from *Oxford*, could ſo ſoon arrive; all the Meſſengers, who were ſent to give notice of it, having miſcarried by the cloſeneſs of the Siege, and therefore ſuſpected the warning Pieces from the Plain, and the drawing off the Town by the Enemy, to be a Stratagem to couſen the Foot from thoſe Poſts they defended, into the open Field; and ſo, very reaſonably, being in readineſs to march, they waited a ſurer Evidence, that their Friends were at hand; which ſhortly arriv'd; and aſſur'd them, "That the Prince was "near and expected them.

It will be eaſily conceived, with what alacrity they advanced to meet him; but Sir *William Waller* had purpoſely choſe that ground to hinder that conjunction, and advanced ſo faſt on the Lord *Wilmot*, that without ſuch removes, and traverſes, as might give his Men ſome apprehenſion that Lord could not expect the Foot from the Town; and therefore he put his Troops in order upon that ground to expect the Enemies Charge, who were ſomewhat more than Muſquet-ſhot off in order of Battle.

Here

Here Sir *William Waller*, out of pure Gayety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for being in excellent order of Battle, with ſtrong wings of Horſe to his Foot, and a good Reſerve placed, and his Cannon uſefully planted, apprehending ſtill the conjunction between the Horſe and the Foot in the Town, and gratifying his Enemy with the ſame Contempt, which had ſo often brought inconveniencies upon them, and diſcerning their number Inferior to that he had before (as he thought) maſter'd, he march'd with his whole Body of Horſe, from his Foot, to Charge the Enemy; appointing Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* with his Cuiraſſiers apart, to make the firſt Impreſſion; who was encounter'd by Sir *John Byron*, in whoſe Regiment the Earl of *Carnarvon* Charg'd as a Voluntier; and after a ſharp Conflict, in which Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* receiv'd many wounds, that impenetrable Regiment was Routed, and, in a full Career, chaſed upon their other Horſe. At the ſame time, the Lord *Wilmot* Charging them from diviſion to diviſion, as they were ranged, in half an hour, ſo ſuddain Alterations the accidents of War introduce, the whole entire Body of the Triumphant Horſe were ſo totally Routed, and Diſperſed, that there was not one of them to be ſeen upon that large ſpacious Down; every Man ſhifting for himſelf with greater danger by the Precipices of that Hill, than he could have undergone by oppoſing his purſuer. But as it was an unhappy ground to fly, ſo it was as ill for the purſuer; and after the Rout, more periſh'd by falls and bruiſes from their Horſes, down the Precipices, than by the Sword. The Foot ſtood ſtill firm, making ſhew of a gallant Reſiſtance; but the Lord *Wilmot* quickly ſeiſed their Cannon, and turn'd them upon them, at the ſame time that the *Corniſh* Foot, who were by this come from the Town, were ready likewiſe to Charge them; upon which their hearts failed; and ſo they were Charged on all ſides, and either kill'd, or taken Priſoners, very few eſcaping; the *Corniſh* retaining too freſh a Memory of their late diſtreſſes, and revenging themſelves on thoſe who had contributed thereunto. Sir *William Waller* himſelf, with a ſmall Train, fled into *Briſtol*, which had ſacrificed a great part of their Garriſon in his Defeat; and ſo were even ready to expire at his Entry into the Town, himſelf bringing the firſt news of his diſaſter.

The Battle of Roundway *Down, wherein Sir* William Waller *is Routed.*

This glorious Day, for it was a day of Triumph redeem'd for that time the King's whole Affairs, ſo that all Clouds that ſhadow'd them ſeem'd to be diſpell'd, and a bright light of ſucceſs to ſhine over the whole Kingdom. There were in this Battle ſlain, on the Enemies part, above ſix hundred on the place; nine hundred Priſoners taken, beſides two or three hundred retaken and redeem'd whom they had gathered up in the Skirmiſhes, and purſuit; with all their Cannon, being eight Pieces of Braſs Ordnance; all their Arms, Ammunition, Waggons, Baggage, and Victual; eight and twenty Foot Enſigns, and nine Cornets; and all this by a Party of fifteen hundred Horſe, with two ſmall Field-pieces (for the Victory was perfect, upon the matter, before the *Corniſh* came up; though the Enemies Foot were ſuffer'd to ſtand in a Body uncharged, out of Ceremony, till They came; that they might be refreſh'd with a ſhare in the Conqueſt) againſt a Body of full two thouſand Horſe, five hundred Dragoons, and near three thouſand Foot, with an excellent Train of Artillery; ſo that the *Corniſh* had great reaſon to think their deliverance, and Victory at *Roundway*, more ſignal and wonderful, than the other at *Stratton*, ſave that the firſt might be thought the Parent of the latter, and the loſs on the King's Party was leſs; for in This there was ſlain very few; and, of Name, none but *Dudley Smith*, an Honeſt and Valiant young Gentleman; who was always a Voluntier with the Lord *Wilmot*, and amongſt the firſt upon any Action of Danger.

Beſides the preſent Fruit of this Victory, the King receiv'd an Advantage from the Jealouſy, that, from thence, grew among the Officers of the Parliament Armies. For Sir *William Waller* believ'd himſelf to be abſolutely betray'd, and ſacrificed by the Earl of *Eſſex*, out of envy of the great things he had done, which ſeem'd to eclipſe His Glories; and complain'd "That "he lying with his whole Army within ten miles of *Oxford*, ſhould ſuffer "the Chief ſtrength of that place to march thirty miles to deſtroy him, with-"out ſo much as ſending out a Party to follow them, or to Alarm *Oxford*, "by which they would have been probably recalled. On the other Hand,

the Earl, diſdaining to be thought his Rival, reproach'd the other with "Un-
"ſoldiery neglects, and want of Courage, to be beaten by a Handful of Men,
"and to have deſerted his Foot and Cannon, without engaging his own
"Perſon in one Charge againſt the Enemy. Wherever the Fault was, it was never forgiven; but from the Enmity that proceeded from thence, the King often afterwards reaped very notable, and ſeaſonable advantages; which will be remember'd in their places.

This bleſſed Defeat happen'd to be upon the ſame Day, and upon the ſame time of the Day, when the King met the Queen upon the Field near *Keinton*, under *Edge-hill*, where the Battle had been fought in *October* before; and before their Majeſties came to *Oxford*, they receiv'd the Happy News of it. It is eaſy to imagine the Joy with which it was received, all Men raiſing their fallen Spirits to too great a Height, as though they ſhould now go through all the work without farther Oppoſition; and this tranſport to either extremes was too natural upon all the Viciſſitudes of the War; and it was ſome allay to the welcome News of the Victory to ſome Men, that it had been obtain'd under the Command and Conduct of *Wilmot*; who was very much in Prince *Rupert*'s diſeſteem, and not in any notable degree of favour with the King, but much belov'd by all the good Fellowſhip of the Army; which was too great a Body. It was now time for the King's Army, Victorious in ſo many Encounters, to take the Field: Upon What Enterpriſe, was the Queſtion. This overthrow of *Waller* had infinitely ſurpriſed, and encreaſed the Diſtractions at *London*. They had ſeen the Copy of the Warrants, which his vanity had cauſed to be diſperſed, after the Action at *Lanſdown*; in which he declared, "That he had Routed the Marquis's Army,
"and was in purſuit of them; and therefore Commanded the Juſtices of
"Peace, and Conſtables, to give order for the Apprehenſion of them, as
"they fled diſperſed; and expected every Day, that the Marquis would be ſent up Priſoner; and now to hear that his whole invincible Army was defeated, and himſelf fled, upon the matter, alone (for ill news is for the moſt part made worſe, as the beſt is reported to be better than it is) brought them to their Wits end; ſo that they could little advance the recruiting the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army; who in his Perſon likewiſe grew more ſullen towards them, and reſented their little regard of him, and grew every day more converſant with the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Holland*, and others who were moſt weary of the War, and would be glad of Peace upon eaſy Terms.

The King meets the Queen near Keinton; *ſhe coming with a great Recruit.*

The King's Army receiv'd a fair addition, by the conjuncture with thoſe Forces which attended the Queen; for her Majeſty brought with her above two thouſand Foot, well Arm'd, and one thouſand Horſe, and ſix pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars, and about one hundred Waggons. So that as ſoon as their Majeſties came to *Oxford*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had ſpent his time about *Thame*, and *Aylesbury*, without any Action after that Skirmiſh in which Mr. *Hambden* was ſlain, ſave by ſmall Parties of which there was none of Name, or Note, but one handſome ſmart conflict between a Party of five hundred Horſe and Dragoons, Commanded by Colonel *Middleton*, a *Scotch*-man, on the Parliament Party, and a Regiment of Horſe, Commanded by Sir *Charles Lucas*, on the King's; where, after a very Soldierly conteſt, and more blood drawn than was uſual upon ſuch Actions, the King's Party prevailed, returning with ſome Priſoners of Name, and the ſlaughter of one hundred of the Enemy, not without ſome loſs of their own: The Earl, I ſay, retired with his Army broken, and diſheartned to *Uxbridge*, giving over any thought of fighting with the King, till he ſhould be recruited, with Horſe, Men, and Money; and ſuffering no leſs in the talk of the People (who began to aſſume a great freedom in diſcourſe) for not interpoſing to hinder the Queen's march to *Oxford*, and joyning with the King, than for ſitting ſtill ſo near *Oxford*, whilſt the Lord *Wilmot* went from thence to the ruin of Sir *William Waller*.

The Earl of Eſſex *retires from* Thame *with his Army to* Uxbridge.

After which Defeat the Lord *Wilmot* retired to *Oxford* to attend his Majeſty; and the *Corniſh* Army (for that Name it deſervedly kept ſtill, though it receiv'd ſo good an encreaſe by the Marquis, and Prince's joyning with them) drew back, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Bath*, which was ſoon quitted to them, upon the overthrow of *Waller*; that Garriſon being withdrawn to rein-

reinforce *Briſtol*. At *Bath* they reſted, and refreſh'd themſelves, till they might receive new Orders from the King; who, upon full advice, and conſideration of the State he was in, and the broken condition of the Enemy, reſolv'd to make an attempt upon the City of *Briſtol*; to which Prince *Rupert* was moſt inclined, for his being diſappointed, in a former deſign; and where there were many well affected to the King's Service from the beginning, and more ſince the execution of thoſe two eminent Citizens. And the diſeſteem generally had of the Courage of *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the Governour, made the deſign to be thought the more reaſonable; ſo the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice* return'd to *Bath*, upon agreement to appear, on ſuch a day, with their whole ſtrength before *Briſtol*, on the *Somerſet-ſhire* ſide, when Prince *Rupert* with the *Oxford* Forces would appear before it, on the *Gloceſter-ſhire* ſide.

Briſtol *Beſieged by Prince* Rupert.

On the four and twentieth of *July*, both Armies ſat down before it; Quartering their Horſe in that manner, that none could go out or in to the City, without great hazard of being taken; and the ſame day with the aſſiſtance of ſome Seamen, who were prepared before, they ſeized all the Ships that were in *King-road*; which were not only laden with goods of great value, as Plate, Money, and the beſt ſort of all Commodities, which thoſe who ſuſpected the worſt had ſent abroad, but with many Perſons of Quality; who, being unwilling to run the hazard of a Siege, thought that way to have ſecured themſelves, and to have eſcaped to *London*; and ſo were all taken Priſoners. The next day, Prince *Rupert* came to his Brother, and the Marquis, and a general Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies being Aſſembled, it was Debated, " In what manner they ſhould proceed, by Aſſault or Approach.

There were in the Town five and twenty hundred Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe and Dragoons; the Line about the Town was finiſh'd; yet in ſome places the graff was wider, and deeper than in others. The Caſtle within the Town was very well prepared, and ſupplied with great ſtore of Proviſions to endure a Siege. The opinions were ſeveral: The Officers of the *Corniſh* were of Opinion, " That it was beſt to proceed by way of Ap-
" proach; becauſe, the ground being very good, it would in a very ſhort time
" be done; and ſince there was no Army of the Enemy in a poſſibility to re-
" lieve it, the ſecureſt way would be the beſt; whereas the Works were ſo good,
" that they muſt expect to loſe very many Men; and if they were beaten off,
" all their Summer hopes would be deſtroyed; it not being eaſy, again to make
" up the ſpirit of the Army for a new Action. Beſides, they alledg'd, the
" well affected Party in the City, which was believ'd to be very great,
" would after they had been cloſely Beſieged three or four days, have a
" greater influence upon the Soldier, and be able to do more towards the Sur-
" render, than they could upon a Storm; when they would be equally ſen-
" ſible of the diſorder of the Soldier, and their own damage by plunder, as the
" other; and the too late example of the executed Citizens, would keep Men
" from offering at any inſurrection in the City.

On the other hand, Prince *Rupert*, and all the Officers of His Army very earneſtly deſir'd to Aſſault it; alledg'd, " The Work to be eaſy, and the
" Soldiers fitter for any briſk attempt, than a dull patient deſign; and that
" the Army would be more weaken'd by the latter, than the former: that the
" City, not having yet recover'd the conſternation of Sir *William Waller's*
" Defeat, was ſo full of horror, that it would make a very weak Defence:
" that there was no Soldier of experience in the Town, and the Governour
" himſelf not like to endure the terror of a Storm: whereas, if they gave them
" time to conſider, and to look long upon them with a Wall between,
" they would grow confirm'd, and reſolute, and courage would ſupply the
" place of Skill; and having plenty of all kinds of Proviſions within the Town,
" they would grow ſtrong, and peremptory, whilſt the Beſiegers grew leſs vigo-
" rous, and diſhearten'd. Theſe reaſons, and the Prince's importunity,
with ſome inſinuations of knowing more than was fit to be ſpoken, as if ſomewhat would be done within the Town, that muſt not be mention'd, and a glorious contempt of danger, prevailed ſo far, that it was conſented to, on all parts, to Aſſault the Town the next morning at three places on the *Somerſet ſhire* ſide, and at three places on the *Gloceſter-ſhire* ſide, at the break of day.

The truth is, both opinions, with regard to their different circumſtances, were in themſelves reaſonable: for the *Gloceſter ſhire* ſide, where Prince *Rupert* was, might be ſtorm'd, the graff being ſhallow, and the Wall, in ſome places, low, and weak; which could not be eaſily Approach'd, by reaſon the ground was rocky, and the Redoubts high and very ſtrong, which overlook'd the ground; on the other ſide, the ground was very eaſy to Approach, and as inconvenient, and dangerous to Storm, by reaſon of a plain level before the Line, and a broad and deep graff, and the line throughout, better flanker'd than the other.

The next Morning, with little other Proviſions fit for ſuch a Work, than the Courage of the Aſſailants, both Armies fell on. On the Weſt ſide, where the *Corniſh* were, they aſſaulted the Line in three places; one diviſion led by Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, aſſiſted with Colonel *John Trevannion*, Lieutenant Colonel *Slingsby*, and three more Field Officers; too great a number of ſuch Officers to conduct ſo ſmall a Party as five hundred Men, if there had not been an immoderate diſdain of danger, and appetite of glory: Another diviſion, on the right hand, was led by Colonel *Buck*, aſſiſted by Colonel *Wagſtaff*, Colonel *Bernard Aſtley*, who commanded the Regiment of the Lord Marquis *Hertford*, with other Field Officers: And the third diviſion, on the left hand, led by Sir *Thomas Baſſet*, who was Major General of the *Corniſh*. Theſe three diviſions fell on together with that Courage, and Reſolution, as nothing but death could controul; and though the middle diviſion got into the graff, and ſo near filled it, that ſome mounted the Wall, yet by the prodigious diſadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the Beſieged made within, they were driven back with a great ſlaughter; the Common Soldiers, after their Chief Officers were kill'd, or deſperately wounded, finding it a bootleſs attempt.

On Prince *Rupert*'s ſide, it was Aſſaulted with equal Courage, and almoſt equal loſs, but with better ſucceſs; for though that diviſion led on by the Lord *Grandiſon*, Colonel General of the Foot, was beaten off, the Lord *Grandiſon* himſelf being hurt; and the other, led by Colonel *Bellaſis*, likewiſe had no better fortune; yet Colonel *Waſhington*, with a leſs Party, finding a place in the Curtain (between the places Aſſaulted by the other two) weaker than the reſt, enter'd, and quickly made room for the Horſe to follow. The Enemy; as ſoon as they ſaw the Line enter'd in one place, either out of fear, or by Command of their Officers, quit their Poſts; ſo that the Prince enter'd with his Foot and Horſe into the Suburbs; ſending for one thouſand of the *Corniſh* Foot, which were preſently ſent to ſecond him; and march'd up to *Fromegate*, loſing many Men, and ſome very good Officers, by ſhot from the Walls, and Windows; inſomuch as all Men were much caſt down to ſee ſo little gotten with ſo great a loſs; for they had ſtill a more difficult entrance into the Town, than they had yet paſſed, and where their Horſe could be of no uſe to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of Generals, and Soldiers, the City beat a Parley; which the Prince willingly embracing, and getting their Hoſtages into his hands, ſent Colonel *Gerrard* and another Officer to the Governour to Treat. The Treaty began about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, and, before ten at night, theſe Articles were agreed on, and ſign'd by all Parties.

It is Surrender'd upon Articles.

1. "That the Governour, *Nathaniel Fiennes* together with all the Offi-
" cers both of Horſe and Foot, now within, and about the City of *Briſtol*,
" Caſtle, and Forts, may march out to morrow morning by nine of the Clock,
" with their full Arms, Bag and Baggage, provided it be their own Goods:
" And that the Common Foot Soldiers march out without Arms, and the
" Troopers with their Horſes, and Swords, leaving their other Arms behind
" them, with a ſafe Convoy to *Warmiſter*; and after not to be moleſted in their
" March, by any of the King's Forces, for the ſpace of three days.

2. "That there may be Carriages allowed and provided to carry away their
" Bag and Baggage, and ſick and hurt Soldiers.

3. "That the King's Forces march not into the Town, till the Parliament
" Forces are march'd out; which is to be at nine of the Clock.

4. "That all Priſoners in the City be deliver'd up; and that Captain
" *Eyers*, and Captain *Cookein*, who were taken at the *Devizes*, be releaſed. 5.

5. " That Sir *John Horner*, Sir *John Seymour*, Mr. *Edward Stevens*, and all " other Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens and other Perſons, that are now in " the City, may, if they pleaſe, with their Goods, Wives, and Families, Bag " and Baggage, have free liberty to return to their own homes, or elſewhere, " and there to reſt in ſafety, or ride, and travel with the Governour and For- " ces: and ſuch of them, and their Families, as ſhall be left behind, by rea- " ſon or ſickneſs or other cauſe, may have liberty, ſo ſoon as they can conve- " niently, to depart this Town with ſafety; provided that all Gentlemen, and " other Perſons, ſhall have three days liberty to reſide here, or depart with " their Goods, which they pleaſe.

6. " That all the Inhabitants of the City ſhall be ſecured in their Perſons, " Families, and Eſtates, free from plundering, and all other violence, or " wrong whatſoever.

7. " That the Charters, and Liberties of this City may be preſerv'd; and " that the Ancient Government thereof, and preſent Governours, and Offi- " cers, may remain and continue in their former condition, according to his " Majeſty's Charters, and Pleaſure.

8. " That, for avoiding Inconveniencies and Diſtractions, the quartering " of Soldiers be referr'd or left to the Mayor, and Governour of the ſame " City for the time being.

9. " That all ſuch, as have carried any Goods into the Caſtle may have " free liberty to carry the ſame forth.

10. " That the Forces, that are to march out, are to leave behind them all " Cannon, and Ammunition, with their Colours, and ſuch Arms as is before " expreſs'd.

The next morning, (if not before) for the truth is, from the time that the Treaty was firſt offer'd, they in the Town kept no Guards, nor obſerv'd any order; but their Soldiers run away to the Prince, and many of His Soldiers went into the Town) his Highneſs was poſſeſs'd of *Briſtol*, the Enemy then marching away. Here the ill example of *Reading*, in the breach of the Articles, was remember'd, and unhappily follow'd; for all that Garriſon was now here. So that they, with ſome Colour of right, or retaliation, and the reſt, by Their example, uſed great Licenſe to the Soldiers, who ſhould have been ſafely conducted; which reflected much upon the Prince, though he uſed his utmoſt power to ſuppreſs it; and charged Colonel *Finnes* to be acceſſary to his own wrong, by marching out of the Town an hour before his appointment; and thereby his Convoy was not ready; and at another Gate than was appointed and agreed on. And as the Articles were thus unhappily violated to thoſe who went away, ſo they were not enough obſerv'd to thoſe who ſtayed, and to the City it ſelf: for many of Colonel *Finnes*'s Soldiers taking conditions, and entering with the King's Army, inſtructed their new Friends, who were moſt diſaffected; ſo that one whole Street upon the Bridge, the Inhabitants whereof lay under ſome brand of Malignity, though, no doubt, there were many honeſt Men among them, was almoſt totally plunder'd; which, becauſe there was but little Juſtice done upon the Tranſgreſſors, was believ'd to be done by connivance from the Officers, and more diſcredited the King's Forces, and his Cauſe, than was then taken notice of, or diſcover'd. It was a noble attribute given to the brave *Fabricius*, *Qui aliquid eſſe crederet & in hoſtem nefas*. I wiſh I could excuſe thoſe ſwervings from Juſtice, and Right, which were too frequently practiſed againſt Contracts, under the notion, that they, with whom they were made, were Rebels, and could not be too ill uſed; when, as the cauſe deſerv'd, ſo it needed all the ingenuity, and integrity, in the Propugners of it, to keep deſpair from the Guilty, who were by much too numerous for the Innocent.

This reduction of *Briſtol* was a full tide of proſperity to the King, and made him Maſter of the ſecond City of his Kingdom, and gave him the undiſturb'd poſſeſſion of one of the richeſt Counties of the Kingdom (for the Rebels had now no ſtanding Garriſon, or the leaſt viſible influence upon any part of *Somerſet ſhire*) and render'd *Wales* (which was before well affected, except ſome Towns in *Pembroke-ſhire*) more uſeful to him; being freed of the fear of *Briſtol*, and conſequently of the charge, that always attends thoſe fears; and reſtored

to the Trade with *Briſtol*; which was the greateſt ſupport of thoſe parts. Yet the King might very well have ſaid, what King *Pyrrhus* heretofore did, after his ſecond Battle, by the City of *Aſculum*, with the *Romans*, where he won the Victory; "If We win another at this Price, We are utterly un-"done. And truly his Majeſty's Loſs before this Town, was ineſtimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am perſwaded there were ſlain, upon the ſeveral Aſſaults, of Common Men, but ſuch as were tried and incomparable Foot, about five hundred; and abundance of excellent Officers, whereof many were of prime Command, and Quality.

On the *Corniſh* ſide, fell, beſides Major *Kendall*, and many other Inferior Officers, excellent in their degree; Colonel *Buck*, a modeſt and a ſtout Commander, and of good experience in War; who having got over the Graff, and even to the top of the Wall, was knock'd down with a Halbert, and periſh'd in the Graff: Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *John Trevannion*, the Life and Soul of the *Corniſh* Regiment, whoſe Memories can never be enough celebrated; who being led by no impulſion, but of Conſcience, and their own obſervation of the ill practices and deſigns of the great Conductors (for they both were of the Houſe of Commons) engaged themſelves with the firſt in the oppoſition; and as ſoon as Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and thoſe other Gentlemen came into *Cornwal*, joyn'd with them; and being both of ſingular Reputation, and good Fortunes there, the one in Poſſeſſion, the other in Reverſion after his Father, they engaged their Perſons and Eſtates in the Service; rather doing great things, than affecting that it ſhould be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themſelves to all Infirmities, and condeſcending to all Capacities, for removing all obſtructions, which accidentally aroſe among thoſe, who could only proſper by being of one mind. Sir *Nicholas Slanning* was Governour of *Pendennis* Caſtle, upon the credit and ſecurity whereof, the King's Party in that Country firſt depended, and by the Command it had of the Harbour of *Falmouth*, was, or might be, ſupplied with all that was neceſſary. He was indeed a young Man of admirable Parts, a ſharp and diſcerning Wit, a ſtayed and ſolid Judgment, a gentle and moſt obliging Behaviour, and a Courage ſo clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments, would have render'd him very conſiderable: They were both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendſhip to one another, and to Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, whoſe body was not yet buried; they were both hurt almoſt in the ſame minute, and in the ſame place; both ſhot in the thigh with Muſquet Bullets; their bones broken, the one dying preſently, the other ſome few days after; and both had the Royal ſacrifice of their Sovereign's very particular Sorrow, and the concurrence of all good Mens; and, that which is a greater ſolemnity to their memories, as it fares with moſt great and virtuous Men, whoſe loſs is better underſtood long afterwards, they were as often lamented, as the accidents in the publick Affairs made the Courage, and Fidelity of the *Corniſh* of greateſt ſignification to the Cauſe.

On the North ſide, of Prince *Rupert*'s Army, fell very many good Officers, the chief of whom was Colonel *Harry Lunsford*, an Officer of extraordinary Sobriety, Induſtry and Courage; near whom, his excellent Lieutenant Colonel *Moyle* was likewiſe hurt, and died within few days, both ſhot out of a Window after they had enter'd the Suburbs. There were hurt, the Lord Viſcount *Grandiſon*, Nephew to the Great Duke of *Buckingham*, who was Colonel General of the King's Foot; Colonel *John Bellaſis*, ſince Lord *Bellaſis*; Colonel *Bernard Aſhley*; Colonel Sir *John Owen*; and many other Officers of name, of whom none of Quality died of their wounds but the Lord *Grandiſon*; whoſe loſs can never be enough lamented. He was a young Man of ſo virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; ſo great a Lover of Juſtice, and Integrity, that no example, neceſſity, or even the barbarity of this War, could make him ſwerve from the moſt preciſe Rules of it; and of that rare Piety and Devotion, that the Court, or Camp, could not ſhew a more faultleſs Perſon, or to whoſe example young Men might more reaſonably conform themſelves. His Perſonal Valour, and Courage of all kinds (for he had ſometimes indulged ſo much to the Corrupt opinion of Honour, as to venture himſelf in Duels) was very eminent, inſomuch as he was accuſed of being too Prodigal of his Perſon

ſon; his Affection, and Zeal, and Obedience to the King, was ſuch as became a Branch of that Family. And he was wont to ſay, "That if he had "not underſtanding enough to know the uprightneſs of the Cauſe, nor Loy- "alty enough to inform him of the Duty of a Subject, yet the very obliga- "tions of Gratitude to the King, on the behalf of his Houſe, were ſuch, "as his Life, was but a due Sacrifice; and therefore, he no ſooner ſaw the War unavoidable, than he engaged all his Brethren, as well as himſelf in the Service; and there were then three more of them in Command in the Army, where he was ſo unfortunately cut off.

Aſſoon as the news of the taking of *Briſtol* came to the King at *Oxford*, after a ſolemn Thanſgiving to God for the Succeſs, which was immediately and publickly perform'd, his Majeſty aſſembled his Privy Council, to conſider how this great Bleſſing in War, might be applied to the procuring a happy Peace; and that this might be the laſt Town he ſhould purchaſe at the price of Blood. It was evident, that, as this laſt Victory added great luſtre, and beauty to the whole face of his Affairs, ſo it would produce an equal paleneſs, and be an ominous preſage to the Parliament; where the Jealouſies and Apprehenſions between themſelves grew higher, and new remedies ſtill propoſed, which were generally thought worſe than the diſeaſe.

Upon the news of the Lord *Fairfax*'s being Defeated in the North, which came about this time, they reſolv'd to ſend a Committee of the two Houſes into *Scotland*, "To deſire their Brethren of that Kingdom preſently to ad- "vance with an Army for their Relief; which was thought ſo deſperate a Cure, that the Lords naming the Earl of *Rutland*, and Lord *Grey* of *Warke*, for that Embaſſy, the Earl upon indiſpoſition of Health procured a releaſe; and the other, who had never declined any employment they would confer on him, ſo peremtorily refuſed to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower; and in the end, they were compelled to depute only Commoners to that Service: and ſo Sir *William Armyne*, young Sir *Henry Vane*, and two more, aſſiſted with Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Nye*, two of their powerful Clergy, were embarked in that Negotiation; upon which, they who ſent them, were ſo far from being confident, and ſo little ſatisfied, that they ſhould be driven to bring in Forreign Forces, with the purpoſe whereof they had ſo long traduced the King, that there was, ſome few deſperate Perſons, only excepted, even a univerſal deſire of Peace; and the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf writing to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, of the defects in his Army, and of his wants of Horſe, Men and Money, adviſed, "That they would "think of ſending ſome reaſonable Propoſitions to the King, for the procur- "ing a Safe Peace; which being the firſt intimation, he had ever given to that purpoſe, together with his familiarity, and correſpondence with thoſe Lords, who were known paſſionately to deſire an accommodation, gave them ſad apprehenſions; which were encreaſed by ſome ſevere Meſſages they receiv'd from him, for his Vindication from the foul Aſperſions, and Calumnies, which were generally and publickly laid on him, for his unactivity after the winning *Reading*, whilſt the Queen march'd ſecurely to *Oxford*, and Sir *William Waller* was deſtroy'd; as if "He would think of ſome way of righting "Himſelf, if They were not ſenſible on His behalf.

The two Houſes ſend Commiſſioners into Scotland for relief.

How to work upon theſe diſcompoſed humours, and to reduce them to ſuch temper, that they might conſent to the Kingdoms Peace, was the Argument of the King's conſultations: but by what expedient to promote this, was the difficulty. After the breach of the laſt Treaty, and when the King had in vain labour'd to revive it, and could not procure any Anſwer from them to his laſt Meſſages; but inſtead thereof his Meſſenger impriſon'd, Try'd before a Council of War for his Life, and ſtill in cuſtody, and a Declaration, "That whoſoever ſhould be employ'd by his Majeſty, on any Meſ- "ſage to them, without their leave, ſhould be proceeded againſt as a Spy, (ſo that though they pretended to be his great Council, they upon the matter now proteſted againſt any relation to his Majeſty) he adviſed with his Council, "What might be fit for him to do, to leſſen the Reverence and "Reputation of them with the People: for the ſuperſtition towards the name of a Parliament was ſo general, that the King had wiſely forborn to charge the two Houſes with the Treaſon, and Rebellion which was raiſed,

but imputed it to particular Perſons, who were moſt viſibly and actually engaged in it. Some were of opinion, " That, all the Members who ſtay'd " there, and ſate in either Houſe, being guilty of ſo many Treaſonable Acts, " thereby the Parliament was actually diſſolv'd, by the ſame reaſon, as a " Corporation, by great Miſdemeanour and Crime, might forfeit their Char- " ter; and therefore that the King ſhould, by his Proclamation, declare the " diſſolution of it, and then conſider whether it were fit to call another: but this opinion was generally diſliked, both " Becauſe it was conceiv'd " not to be juſt; for the Treaſon of thoſe who were preſent, could not for- " feit the right of thoſe who were away; neither was it evident, that all " that were preſent, conſented to the ill that was done; and the King's " declaring a Parliament to be diſſolv'd, contrary to an Act of Parliament, " was believ'd, would prove an Act ſo ungracious to the People, for the con- " ſequences of it, that the King would be an exceeding loſer by ſuch an at- " tempt: and that many, in ſuch a caſe, would return thither, who out of " Conſcience had withdrawn from that Aſſembly.

In Concluſion, the advice was unanimous, " That his Majeſty ſhould de- " clare the Orders, and Proceedings of one or both Houſes to be void, by " reaſon the Members did not enjoy the Freedom and Liberty of Parlia- " ment; and therefore ſhould require his good Subjects, no longer to be miſled " by them: and, to that purpoſe, the King had iſſued his Proclamation ſix Weeks before this happy turn in his Affairs, ſo that he could not now ſend a Meſſage to them, as to two Houſes of Parliament, leſt he might ſeem to retract his former Judgment of them, which was concluded to be both regular and juſt. Upon the whole matter, leſt his Majeſty might be underſtood to be ſo much elated with his good ſucceſſes, and the encreaſe of his ſtrength, that he aimed at no leſs than a perfect Victory, and the ruin of thoſe who had incenſed him (by which inſinuation they who could not forgive themſelves, endeavour'd to make all others deſperate) he was reſolv'd to publiſh ſuch a Declaration to the whole Kingdom, that both Houſes, and their Army, could not but take notice of, and might, if they were inclined to it, thence take a riſe to make any Overtures to him towards an attonement. To that purpoſe, the next day after he receiv'd the aſſurance of the taking of *Briſtol*, his Majeſty publiſh'd this enſuing Declaration; which I ſhall enter in his own words.

His Majeſty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects, after his Victories over the Lord Fairfax *in the North, Sir* William Waller *in the Weſt; and the taking of* Briſtol *by his Majeſty's Forces.*

The King's Declaration after his late ſucceſſes.

" As the grievances and loſſes of no particular Perſons, ſince theſe miſe- " rable bloody diſtempers have diſquieted this poor Kingdom, can be com- " pared to the loſs and damage We our ſelf have ſuſtain'd, there having been " no Victory obtain'd but in the Blood of our own Subjects, nor no Ra- " pine or Violence committed, but to the impoveriſhment and ruin of our " own People; ſo, a bleſſed and happy Peace cannot be ſo acceptable and " welcome to any Man, as to Us. Almighty God, to whom all the ſecrets " of our Heart are open, who hath ſo often and ſo miraculouſly preſerv'd Us, " and to whoſe Power alone We muſt attribute the goodneſs of our pre- " ſent Condition (how unhappy ſoever it is with reference to the Publick Ca- " lamities) knows, with what unwillingneſs, with what anguiſh of Soul, We " ſubmitted our ſelf to the neceſſity of taking up Defenſive Arms. And " the World knows with what juſtice and bounty We have repaired our " Subjects, for all the preſſures and inconveniencies they had born, by ſuch " excellent Laws, as would for ever have prevented the like; and with " what earneſtneſs and importunity We deſir'd to add any thing, for the eſta- " bliſhment of the Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the Kingdom. How all " theſe have been diſturbed, invaded, and almoſt deſtroy'd by Faction, " Sedition, and Treaſon, by thoſe, who have neither Reverence to God, " nor Affection to Men, but have ſacrificed both to their own Ends and Am- " bition, is now ſo evident, that We hope, as God hath wonderfully ma- " niſeſted his care of Us, and his defence of His and Our moſt juſt Cauſe; " ſo

" ſo, he hath ſo far touch'd the Hearts of our People, that their Eyes are " at laſt open'd to ſee how miſerably they have been ſeduced, and to abhor " thoſe Perſons, whoſe Malice and Subtilty had ſeduced them to Diſhonour " Him, to rebel againſt Us, and to bring much Miſery and Calamity upon their " Native Country.

" We well remember the Proteſtation voluntarily made by Us, in the " head of that ſmall Army we were Maſter of in *September* laſt, to defend " and maintain the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion: And if it ſhould " pleaſe God, by his bleſſing upon that Army, to preſerve Us from this Re- " bellion, that We would maintain the juſt Privileges and Freedom of Par- " liament and govern by the known Laws of the Land; for whoſe Defence, " in truth, that Army was only raiſed, and hath been ſince kept. And there " cannot be a more ſeaſonable time to renew that Proteſtation than now, " when God hath vouchſafed Us ſo many Victories and Succeſſes, and hath " render'd the Power of thoſe, who ſeek to deſtroy Us, leſs formidable than " it hath been (ſo that We ſhall probably not fall under the ſcandalous Im- " putation, which hath uſually attended Our Meſſages of Peace, that they " proceed from the weakneſs of Our Power, not love of Our People) and " when there is more Freedom in many Counties, for Our good Subjects to " receive true Information of their own, and Our Condition; the knowledge " whereof hath been, with equal induſtry and injuſtice, kept from them, as " other Acts of cruelty have been impoſed on them.

" We do therefore declare to all the World, in the preſence of Almighty " God, to whom We muſt give a ſtrict account of all our Profeſſions and " Proteſtations, that We are ſo far from intending any Alteration of the Re- " ligion eſtabliſh'd (as hath been often falſly, ſcandalouſly, and againſt the Con- " ſcience of the Contrivers themſelves of that rumour ſuggeſted to our People) " or from the leaſt thought of invading the Liberty and Property of the Subject, " or violating the juſt Privileges of Parliament, that We call that God to wit- " neſs, *who hath cover'd our Head in the day of Battle*, that We deſire " from our Soul, and ſhall always uſe our utmoſt endeavour to preſerve, " and advance the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd in the " Church of *England*; in which We were born, have faithfully liv'd, and, " by the grace of God, ſhall reſolutely die. That the Preſervation of the " Liberty and Property of the Subject, in the due Obſervation of the known " Laws of the Land, ſhall be equally our care, as the maintenance of our " own Rights; We deſiring to govern only by thoſe good Laws, which, till " they were oppreſs'd by this odious Rebellion, preſerv'd this Nation happy. " And We do acknowledge the juſt Privileges of Parliament to be an eſſen- " tial part of thoſe Laws, and ſhall therefore moſt ſolemnly defend, and ob- " ſerve them. So that, in truth, if either Religion, Law, or Liberty, be pre- " cious to our People, they will, by their Submiſſion to Us, joyn with Us " in the defence of them: and thereby eſtabliſh that Peace, by which only " they can flouriſh, and be enjoy'd.

" Whether theſe Men, that be profeſs'd Enemies to the eſtabliſh'd Eccle- " ſiaſtical Government, who reproach and perſecute the Learned Orthodox " Miniſters of the Church, and into their places put Ignorant, Seditious, and " Schiſmatical Preachers, who vilify the Book of Common Prayer, and im- " piouſly prophane God's Worſhip with their ſcurrilous and ſeditious De- " meanour, are like to advance that Religion; whether thoſe Men, who " boldly, and without the leaſt ſhadow or colour of Law, impoſe inſuppor- " table Taxes and odious Exciſes upon their fellow Subjects, impriſon, tor- " ment and murder them, are like to preſerve the Liberty and Property of " the Subject: And whether thoſe Men, who ſeiſe and poſſeſs themſelves of " our own unqueſtionable Revenue, and our juſt Rights, have denied Us our " Negative Voice, have, by force and violence, aw'd and terrified the Mem- " bers of both Houſes, and laſtly have, as far as in them lies, diſſolv'd the " preſent Parliament, by driving away and impriſoning the Members, and " reſolving the whole Power thereof, and more, into a Committee of a few " Men, contrary to all Law, Cuſtom, or Precedent, are like to vindicate, " and uphold the Privileges of Parliament, all the World may judge.

" We do therefore once more conjure our good Subjects, by their Me-

" mory of that excellent Peace and firm Happineſs, with which it pleaſed " God to reward their Duty, and Loyalty in time paſt; by their Oaths of " Allegiance and Supremacy, which no Vow or Covenant, contriv'd and ad- " miniſter'd to, and by themſelves, can cancel or evade; by whatſoever is dear " and precious to them in this Life, or hoped or prayed for in the Life to come, " that they will remember their Duty, and conſider their Intereſt, and no longer " ſuffer themſelves to be miſled, their Prince diſhonoured, and their Coun- " try waſted and undone by the Malice and Cunning of thoſe State Impo- " ſtors; who, under pretence of Reformation, would introduce whatſoever " is monſtrous and unnatural both to Religion, and Policy: But that they " rather choſe quietly to enjoy their Religion, Property, and Liberty, found- " ded and provided for by the wiſdom and induſtry of former times, and ſe- " cured and enlarged, by the bleſſings of the preſent Age, than to ſpend " their Lives and Fortunes to purchaſe Confuſion, and to make themſelves " liable to the moſt intolerable kind of Slavery; that is, to be Slaves to their " fellow Subjects; who, by their prodigious, unheard of Acts of Oppreſſion " and Tyranny, have given them ſufficient evidence what they are to ex- " pect at their Hands.

" And let not our good People, who have been miſled, or, through " want of Underſtanding, or want of Courage, ſubmitted themſelves to un- " warrantable and diſloyal Actions, be taught by theſe Seducers, that their " Safety now conſiſts in Deſpair; and that they can only ſecure themſelves " for the ills they have done, by a reſolute and peremptory diſobedience. " Revenge and Blood-thirſtineſs have never been imputed to Us, by thoſe, " who have not left either our Government, or Nature, unexamin'd, with " the greateſt Boldneſs, and Malice. And all thoſe who, ſince thoſe Bloo- " dy Diſtractions, out of Conſcience have return'd from their evil ways to " Us, have found that it was not ſo eaſy for Them to repent as for Us to " forgive. And whoſoever have been miſled by thoſe whoſe Hearts from " the beginning have deſign'd all this Miſchief, and ſhall redeem their paſt " Crimes by their preſent Service and Loyalty, in the apprehending, or op- " poſing ſuch who ſhall continue to bear Arms againſt Us, and ſhall uſe " their utmoſt endeavours to reduce thoſe Men to their due Obedience, and " to reſtore this Kingdom to its wonted Peace, ſhall have cauſe to magnify " our Mercy, and to repent the Treſpaſſes committed againſt ſo juſt and gra- " cious a Sovereign. Laſtly, We deſire all our good Subjects who have real- ly aſſiſted, or really wiſh'd Us well, now " God hath done ſuch wonderful " things for Us, vigorouſly to endeavour to put an end to all theſe Miſeries, " by bringing in Men, Money, Plate, Horſes, or Arms, to Our aid; that ſo " We being not wanting to Our ſelves, may with confidence expect the con- " tinuance of God's Favour, to reſtore Us all to that bleſſed Harmony of " Affections, which may eſtabliſh a firm Peace; without the ſpeedy obtaining " of which, this poor Kingdom will be utterly undone, though not abſo- " lutely loſt.

What effect this Declaration produced, at leaſt what accident fell out ſhortly after the publiſhing it, We ſhall have occaſion anon to remember, when We have firſt remember'd ſome unfortunate Paſſages, which accompa- nied this proſperity on the King's part; for the Sunſhine of his Conqueſt was ſomewhat Clouded, not only by the Number and Quality of the ſlain, but by the Jealouſies and Miſunderſtandings of thoſe who were alive. There was not, from the beginning, that conformity of humour and inclinations be- tween the Princes and the Marquis of *Hertford*, as had been to be wiſh'd between all Perſons of Honour, who were engaged in a Quarrel that could never proſper but by the Union of the Undertakers. Prince *Maurice*, and, on his behalf (or rather the other by his Impulſion) Prince *Rupert* taking to Heart, that a Nephew of the King's ſhould be Lieutenant General to the Marquis, who had neither been exerciſed in the Profeſſion of a Soldier, nor even now punctually ſtudied the Office of a General: On the other Hand, the Marquis, who was of the moſt gentle Nature to the gentle, and as rough and reſolute to the Imperious, it may be, liked not the Prince's aſſuming to himſelf more than became a Lieutenant General, and ſometimes croſſing Acts of

of his with relation to the governing, and diſpoſing the Affairs of the Country, in which he knew himſelf better verſed than the Prince; and when *Briſtol* was taken, where the Marquis took himſelf to Command in Chief, being a Town particularly within his Commiſſion; and of which he was beſides Lord Lieutenant, he thought himſelf not regardfully enough uſed, that Prince *Rupert* had not only enter'd into the Treaty without his Advice, but concluded the Articles without ſo much as naming him, or taking notice that he was there. And therefore with as little Ceremony to his Highneſs, or ſo much as Communicating it to either of the Princes, the Marquis declar'd that he would give the Government of that City to Sir *Raph Hopton*. Prince *Rupert* on the other hand conceiv'd the Town won by him, being enter'd on that ſide in which he Commanded abſolutely, and the *Corniſh* on the other part abſolutely repulſed; and therefore that the diſpoſition of the Command and Government of it, wholely belonged to him. But when he heard the Reſolution of the Marquis concerning Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who was not to be put into the Scale with any private Man, he gave over the deſign of conferring it upon any of the pretenders; and by the ſame Meſſenger, by whom he advertiſed his Majeſty of the good Succeſs, he deſir'd, "That "he would beſtow the Government of that City reduced b. him; upon him- "ſelf, the which the King readily conſented to; not ſuſpecting any diſpute to be about it. And ſhortly after an Expreſs arriv'd likewiſe from the Marquis, with an account of all particulars, and that his Lordſhip had deſign'd Sir *Ralph Hopton* to be Governour of the new-got City.

Jealouſies ariſe among the King's principal Officers about the Government of Briſtol.

Then, and not before, the King underſtood what ſtreight he was in; and was exceedingly perplexed to find an Expedient to compoſe the difference that he ſaw would ariſe. He had paſſed his word to his Nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in truth believe that his Title to diſpoſe the Government was very juſt: he had likewiſe a very juſt eſteem of the Marquis who had ſerv'd him with all fidelity, and had clearly declared himſelf for him, when the doing otherwiſe would have been moſt prejudicial to his Majeſty: and, it could not be denied, no Subjects Affection and Loyalty gave a greater Luſtre to the King's Cauſe, than that of the Marquis; and that which was a circumſtance of infinite Moment, was the nominating Sir *Ralph Hopton*; who as he was a Perſon of high merit from the King, ſo he was the moſt gracious and popular to that City, and the Country adjacent; and after ſo great ſervice, and ſuffering in the ſervice, to expoſe him to a refuſal, was both againſt the kindneſs and goodneſs of the King's Nature, and his Politick foreſight into his Affairs. And as a preſage how various the interpretation would be abroad, of whatſoever he ſhould determine, he found the Minds and Affections of his own Court and Council, with more paſſion than ordinary, ready to deliver their opinions. The Marquis was generally lov'd, and where he was not enough known to be ſo, his Intereſt and Reputation in the Kingdom was thought of wonderful conſideration in the King's buſineſs: and many were very much troubled to ſee Prince *Rupert* whoſe activity and courage in the Field they thought very inſtrumental, incline to get the poſſeſſion of the ſecond City of the Kingdom into his hands, or to engage himſelf ſo much in the Civil Government, as ſuch a Command ſoberly executed muſt neceſſarily comprehend; and this as it were in contempt of one of the prime Noble Men of the Kingdom, to which Order the Prince had not expreſs'd himſelf very debonair. And theſe thought "The "King was, by Counſel and Precept, to reform and ſoften the Prince's un- "derſtanding and humour; and to perſwade him, in compliance with his Ser- "vice, to decline the Conteſt, and ſuffer the Marquis to proceed in his diſpoſi- "tion, which, on all parts, was acknowledg'd to be moſt fitly deſign'd.

Others again were of opinion, "That the right of diſpoſing the Com- "mand to whomſoever he thought fit, entirely belong'd to Prince *Rupert*; "and therefore (beſides that the King had, by the ſame Meſſenger who brought "the Suit, return'd his Conſent) that he could not be reaſonably refuſed, "when he deſired it for himſelf; which would take away all poſſible "imagination of diſreſpect to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who could not take it ill, "that the Prince himſelf had taken a Command, that was deſign'd to Him: "That the Eyes of the Army were upon his Highneſs, whoſe name was grown

" a terror to the Enemy, as his Courage and Conduct had been very " proſperous to the King; and if, after ſo happy and glorious an atchievement, " he ſhould now receive a repulſe in ſo reaſonable a pretence, though it " would not leſſen his own duty or alacrity in the Service, it might have " an unhappy influence upon his Reputation and Intereſt in the Army; " which could receive no diminution without apparent damage to his Maje- " ſty: and therefore, that ſome means ſhould be uſed to the Marquis, to " wave his Title, and to conſent that the Prince ſhould enjoy his deſires: ſo that they who were only fit to be employed to perſwade and alter either, Seem'd, and indeed Were, paſſionately engaged againſt the thing they were to perſwade. Whereupon the King diſcern'd that all depended upon his own Royal Wiſdom; and therefore reſolv'd to take a Journey in his own Perſon to *Briſtol*, and there to give ſuch a Rule as he ſhould find moſt neceſſary; to which, he preſumed, both Perſons would conform themſelves, as well cordially, as obediently.

The King goes to Briſtol *to compoſe the difference.*

That which the King propoſed to himſelf, was to gratify his Nephew with the Name, and the Marquis, by making Sir *Ralph Hopton* enjoy the Thing; upon obliging whom the King's care was very particular. For though he knew his nature, as in truth it was, moſt exactly free from interrupting the leaſt publick Service by private ends or thoughts, other Men would be apt to conceive and publiſh a diſreſpect to be done to him, which himſelf apprehended not; and therefore his Majeſty was not only, in his own Princely mind, to retain a very gracious ſenſe of his Service, but to give Evidence to all Men, that he did ſo. And ſo after he had made a joyful entrance into *Briſtol*, which was perform'd with all decent Solemnity, and uſed all kind and obliging expreſſions to the Marquis, he deſired him in private to conſent, that he might perform his promiſe to his Nephew, which he had paſſed before he had any imagination that his Lordſhip otherwiſe had determin'd of it; without ſpeaking at all of any other Title his Highneſs had to it, but by his Majeſty's promiſe. He eſtabliſh'd Prince *Rupert* in the Government of *Briſtol*, who immediately ſent a Commiſſion to Sir *Ralph Hopton* (who was now ſo well recover'd, that he walked into the Air) to be his Lieutenant Governour; ſignifying likewiſe to him, by a Confident that paſſed between them, " That though he was now engaged for ſome time, which ſhould " not be long, to keep the Superior Title himſelf, he would not at all med- " dle in the Government, but that he ſhould be as abſolute in it, as if the Ori- " ginal Commiſſion had been granted to Him.

Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who was exceedingly ſorry that his Name was at all uſed, and expoſed, as an Argument of difference and miſunderſtanding between Perſons of ſuch eminent influence upon the publick, quickly diſcern'd that this expedient, though it ſeem'd plauſibly to leſſen the noiſe of the Debate, did in truth object him to the full Envy of one Party. For the Marquis (who by the King's perſwaſions was rather quieted, than ſatisfied) might, and he foreſaw would, be perſwaded to expect that he would refuſe the Commiſſion from Prince *Rupert*, both, as he might be thought to comply in an Injury done to the Marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, faſt, and unſhaken, and as the Command now given him, was inferior to what the Marquis, who had the power of diſpoſal, had conferr'd on him; and ſo that he ſhould vindicate the Title, which the King himſelf was loath to give a judgment upon. He was the more troubled, becauſe he found that by ſubmitting to this Charge, he ſhould by ſome be thought to have deſerted the Marquis out of a kind of Revenge for his having deſerted the Enterpriſe, when he choſe, the laſt year, rather to go into *Wales* than *Cornwal*, and for his deſerting him again now, when he brought all new Officers to Command the Army over their Heads who had raiſed it, and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the firſt, as is before remember'd, was done by his own Advice, as well as his full Conſent; and the latter, he well knew, was rather to be imputed to Prince *Maurice* than to his Lordſhip, whoſe kindneſs and eſteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he ſaw plainly, that if he refuſed to receive this Commiſſion, with what ſpecious Circumſtances of Duty and Submiſſion ſoever, it might produce (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable Diſturbances

and

Interruptions in the King's Affairs; and that the Marquis, to common Underſtanding, had, to Obey the King, declined the Conteſt, and therefore that the reviving it, and the miſchief that attended it, would be imputed to his particular Account. Beſides that, he had always born an avow'd and declar'd Reverence to the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Children, whom he had Perſonally and actively ſerved in their Wars, whilſt they maintain'd any, and for whoſe Honour and Reſtitution he had been a Zealous and known Champion. And therefore he had no inclination to diſoblige a hopeful Prince of that Houſe, upon whom our own hopes ſeem'd ſo much to depend. He therefore reſolv'd, according to his rare temper throughout this War, to let him whom he profeſs'd to ſerve, chooſe in what kind he would be ſerv'd by him; and chearfully receiv'd the Commiſſion from Prince *Rupert*; upon which, all diſcourſe, or Debate of difference, was for the preſent determin'd, what whiſperings or murmurings ſoever remain'd.

The King found it now high time to reſolve, to what Action next to diſpoſe his Armies, and that their lying ſtill ſo long there (for theſe Agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that Seaſon unfortunately loſt) had more weaken'd, than refreſhed them; having not loſt more Men by ſtorming the City, than afterwards by plundering it: thoſe Soldiers, who had warm'd themſelves with the burthen of Pillage, never quietly again ſubmitting to the Carriage of their Arms.

The Queſtion was firſt, "Whether both Armies ſhould be united, and "march in one upon the next Deſign? and then, What that Deſign ſhould "be? Againſt the Firſt, there were many Allegations.

1. "The Condition of the Weſt: *Dorſet-ſhire* and *Devon-ſhire* were entire-"ly poſſeſs'd by the Enemy: for though Sir *John Berkley* with a daring Party "kept *Exeter*, and Colonel *John Digby* the North part (which was notori-"ouſly diſaffected) from joyning with *Plymouth*, which would elſe quickly have "grown into an Army ſtrong enough to infeſt *Cornwal*, yet they had no "place to retire to upon diſtreſs; and all the Ports upon the Weſtern Coaſts "were Garriſon'd by the Parliament, which, upon the fame of the approach "of the King's Forces, and the loſs of *Briſtol*, might probably be, without "much reſiſtance, reduced.

2. "The *Corniſh* Army was greater in Reputation, than Numbers; ha-"ving loſt many at *Lanſdown*, and the Aſſault of *Briſtol*, and, by the death "of their Chief Officers, very many were run away ſince: beſides they preten-"ded ſome promiſe made to their Country (which they conceiv'd not to "be enough ſecured againſt *Plymouth*) of returning ſpeedily for the reducti-"on of that Town; ſo that if they were compelled to march Eaſtwards, to "which they were not inclined, it was to be doubted they would moulder away "ſo faſt, that there would be little addition of ſtrength by it. Whereas "if they march'd Weſtward, it would be no hard matter to gather up "thoſe who were return'd, and to be ſtrong enough in a very ſhort time, by "new Levies, for any Enterpriſe ſhould be thought reaſonable to be under-"taken. To which was added, "That having loſt thoſe Officers, whom "they lov'd and fear'd; and whoſe Reverence reſtrain'd their Natural diſ-"tempers, they were too much inclined to mutiny; and had expreſs'd a peremp-"tory averſion to the joyning, and marching with the King's Army. And the "truth is, their humours then were not very gentle and agreeable, as being apt to think that their proweſs was not enough recompenſed, or valued. For though the King affected to make all poſſible demonſtrations to them, of an extraordinary high eſteem he had of their wonderful Fidelity and Courage, yet he was able to procure very little Money for them; and they had then, by the diſcipline under which they had been train'd (which was moſt regular, and full of that ſobriety which promiſed good fortune) an honeſt pride in their own Natures, a great diſdain of plundering, or ſupplying themſelves by thoſe vile Arts, which they grew afterwards leſs tender to avoid.

3. "The great number of the King's Horſe; which was ſo brave a Bo-"dy, that when that part of it, which was joyn'd to the *Corniſh* was away, he "ſhould march with at leaſt ſix thouſand Horſe, which were as many as would "be able to live on any Country within a due diſtance of Quartering.

4. "Laſtly, ſome Correſpondence with the Chief Gentlemen of *Dorſet-*
"*ſhire*, who were ready to joyn with any conſiderable Party for the King, and
"had ſome probable hopes that the ſmall Garriſons upon the Coaſt would not
"make a tedious reſiſtance.

There was another reaſon, which was not given, that if both Armies had been kneaded into one, Prince *Maurice* could have been but a private Colonel: but there were enough beſides to ſatisfy the King to keep them divided; and ſo he gave Order to the Earl of *Carnarvon* to advance towards *Dorcheſter* (the Chief Town in that County, and one of the moſt malignant in *England*, where the Rebels had a Garriſon) with the Horſe and Dragoons, and the next day to Prince *Maurice* to march after with the Foot and Cannon; his Majeſty keeping with him the Marquis of *Hertford* to attend his own Perſon; for though he well ſaw, he ſhould undergo ſome Inconveniencies, by withdrawing the Marquis from that employment, the opinion of the Soundneſs of his Religion, and Integrity of his Juſtice, rendring him by much the moſt popular Man in thoſe parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the leaſt umbrage and diſtaſte to his Lordſhip, upon whoſe Honour and Affection he relied entirely, and would as ſoon have truſted his Crown upon his Fidelity, as upon any Man's in his three Kingdoms, yet he diſcern'd plainly that the Prince and the Marquis would never agree together; and that there were Perſons about them, who would foment their Indiſpoſitions to each other, with any hazard to His ſervice; and concluded, that he ſhould ſooner reduce his People by the Power of his Army, than by the perſwaſions of his Council; and that the roughneſs of the one's Nature, might prevail more than the lenity and condeſcenſion of the other: and therefore he ſent the Prince on that employment; uſing all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealouſy of his favour from the Marquis's mind; his Majeſty freely and clearly communicating to him all his Counſels, and the true grounds of his Reſolution; and declaring to him, "That he would make him a Gentleman of
"his Bed-Chamber, and Groom of his Stole, and that he would always have
"his Company and Advice about him; with which the Marquis was ſatisfied,
"rather becauſe he reſolv'd not to diſobey him, than that he was well pleaſed with the price of the obligations.

Prince Maurice *ſent into the Weſt with an Army.*

And truly many wiſe and honeſt Men, were ſorry for the King's Election; and though the Marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his eaſe, had ſuperinduced a kind of lazineſs and inactivity upon his Nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive Conſtitution, nor the great Endowments of his Mind (for he was a good Scholar, and had a good judgment) and leſs to the temper of this time, and the Office of a General, inſomuch as he often reſign'd an excellent underſtanding to thoſe who had a very indifferent one, and follow'd the advice, and concluded upon the information of thoſe, who had narrower, and more vulgar thoughts than ſuited with His Honour, and were not worthy of ſuch a Truſt; yet they thought the Prince's inexperience of the Cuſtoms and manners of *England*, and an averſion from conſidering them, muſt ſubject him to the information and advice of worſe Counſellors than the other, and which would not be ſo eaſily controuled: And I am of opinion, that if the Prince had waited on his Majeſty in that Army, and never interpoſed in any Command, not, purely Martial, and the Marquis been ſent with thoſe Forces into the Weſt with the Lord *Hopton* (who was now to be left at *Briſtol* to intend his health, and to form that new Garriſon; which was to be a Magazine for Men, Arms, Ammunition, and all that was wanted) and ſome other ſteady Perſons, who might have been Aſſign'd to ſpecial Provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition.

The next reſolution to be taken, was concerning the King's own motion with the other Army. There was not a Man, who did not think the reducing of *Gloceſter*, a City within little more than twenty miles of *Briſtol*, of mighty importance to the King, if it might be done without a great expence of time, and loſs of Men: "It was the only Garriſon the Rebels
"had between *Briſtol* and *Lancaſhire*, on the North part of *England*, and if it
"could be recover'd, his Majeſty would have the River of *Severn* entire-
"ly within his Command; whereby his Garriſons of *Worceſter*, and *Shrows-*
"*bury*, and all thoſe parts, might be ſupplied from *Briſtol*; and the
"Trade

" Trade of that City thereby ſo advanced, that the Cuſtoms and Duty might " bring a notable Revenue to the King, and the Wealth of the City encrea- " ſing, it might bear the greater Burthen for the War: A rich and populous " County, which hitherto rather yielded Conveniencies of Quarter, than a " ſettled Contribution (that ſtrong Garriſon holding not only the whole " Foreſt diviſion, which is a fourth part of the County of *Gloceſter*, abſolute- " ly in obedience, but ſo alarm'd all other parts, that none of the Gentry, who " for the moſt part were well affected, durſt ſtay at their own Houſes) might " be wholely the King's Quarters, and by how much it had offended, and " diſquieted the King, more than other Counties, by ſo much the more Mo- " ney might be raiſed upon them. Beſides the general weekly Contributions, the Yeomanry, who had been moſt forward and ſeditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their Delinquency at a high Price (and theſe Arguments were fully preſs'd by the well affected Gentry of the County, who had carried themſelves honeſtly, and ſuffer'd very much by doing ſo, and undertook great Levies of Men, if this Work were firſt done) there was another Argument of no leſs, if not greater Moment than all the reſt: " If " *Gloceſter* were reduced, there would need no Forces to be left in *Wales*, " and all thoſe Soldiers might be then drawn to the marching Army, and the " Contributions and other Taxes aſſign'd to the payment of it. Indeed the King would have had a glorious, and entire part of his Kingdom, to have contended with the reſt.

Yet all theſe motives were not thought worth the engaging his Army in a doubtful Siege; whilſt the Parliament might both recover the fear that was upon them, and conſequently allay and compoſe the diſtempers (which, if they did not wholely proceed from, were very much ſtrengthen'd by thoſe fears) and recruit their Army; and therefore that it was better to march into ſome of thoſe Counties which were moſt oppreſs'd by the Enemy, and there wait ſuch advantage, as the diſtraction in and about *London* would adminiſter, except there could be ſome probable hope that *Gloceſter* might be got without much delay. And to that purpoſe there had been ſecret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly expected. The Governour of that Garriſon was one Colonel *Maſſey*, a Soldier of Fortune, who had, in the late Northren Expeditions prepared by the King againſt *Scotland*, been an Officer in the King's Army, under the Command of Colonel *William Leg*; and, in the beginning of theſe Troubles, had been at *York* with inclination to ſerve the King; but finding himſelf not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten, but the Comfort of a good Conſcience, he went to *London*, where there was more Money, and fewer Officers; and was eaſily made Lieutenant-Colonel to the Earl of *Stamford*; and being quickly found to be a diligent and ſtout Officer, and of no ill parts of Converſation to render himſelf acceptable among the Common People, was by his Lordſhip, when he went into the Weſt, left Governour of that City of *Gloceſter*, where he had behaved himſelf actively, and ſucceſsfully. There was no reaſon to deſpair, that this Man (not intoxicated with any of thoſe fumes which made Men rave, and frantick in the Cauſe) might not be wrought upon. And *Will. Leg*, who had the good opinion of moſt Men, and the particular kindneſs of Prince *Rupert*, had ſent a Meſſenger, who was like to paſs without ſuſpicion to *Gloceſter*, with ſuch a Letter of kindneſs and overture to *Maſſy*, as was proper in ſuch a caſe from one Friend to another. This Meſſenger return'd when the King's and the Army's motion was under Debate, and brought an Anſwer from the Governour to Colonel *Leg*, in a very high Style, and ſeeming to take it much unkindly, " That he ſhould endeavour to Corrupt him in his Honeſty, " and Fidelity, and to perſwade him to break a Truſt, which, to ſave his Life, " he would never do; with much diſcourſe " Of his Honour, and Reputati- " on, which would be always dear to him. But the Meſſenger ſaid withal, " That, after the Governour had given him this Letter, and ſome ſharp Re- " proaches before Company, he was brought again, a back way, to a place " where the Governour was by himſelf; and then he told him, " That it " was moſt neceſſary he ſhould write ſuch an Anſwer as he had done; which " was communicated to thoſe, who elſe would have been jealous what ſuch " a Meſſenger ſhould come to him about; but that he ſhould tell *William*

" *Leg*, that he was the ſame Man he had ever been, his Servant; and that " he wiſh'd the King well; that he heard Prince *Rupert* meant to bring the " Army before that Town; if he did, he would defend it as well as he " could; and his Highneſs would find another work than he had at *Briſtol*; " but if the King himſelf came with his Army, and ſummon'd it, he " would not hold it againſt Him: For it would not ſtand with his conſcience " to fight againſt the Perſon of the King; beſides that in ſuch a caſe, he " ſhould be able to perſwade thoſe of the Town; which otherwiſe he could " not do.

This Meſſage turn'd the Scale; for though it might be without purpoſe of being honeſt, yet there was no great objection againſt the King's marching that way with his Army; ſince it would be ſtill in his power to purſue any other Counſel, without engaging before it. And it was to ſome a ſign that he meant well, becauſe he had not hanged, or at leaſt impriſon'd the Meſſenger who came to him on ſuch an Errand. Hereupon the King reſolv'd for *Glocester*, but not to be engaged in a Siege; and ſo ſent his Army that way; and the next day (having firſt ſent Sir *Ralp Hopton* a Warrant to create him Baron *Hopton* of *Stratton*, in Memory of the happy Battle fought there) with the remainder of his Forces march'd towards it. On *Wedneſday* the tenth of *Auguſt*, the King ranged his whole Army upon a fair Hill, in the clear View of the City, and within leſs than two Miles of it; and then, being about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, he ſent a Trumpet with this Summons to the Town.

The King marches towards Glocester *and Summons it*, Aug. 10. 1643.

" Out of our tender Compaſſion to our City of *Glocester*, and that it " may not receive prejudice by our Army, which We cannot prevent if " We be compelled to Aſſault it, We are Perſonally come before it to re- " quire the ſame; and are graciouſly pleaſed to let all the Inhabitants of, and " all other Perſons within that City, as well Soldiers as others, know, that if " they ſhall immediately ſubmit themſelves, and deliver this our City to Us, " We are contented, freely, and abſolutely to pardon every one of them, with- " out exception; and do aſſure them, in the word of a King, that they, nor " any of them ſhall receive the leaſt damage or prejudice by our Army in " their Perſons or Eſtates; but that We will appoint ſuch a Governour, " and a moderate Garriſon to reſide there, as ſhall be both for the eaſe and " ſecurity of that City, and that whole County. But if they ſhall neglect " this proffer of Grace and Favour, and compel Us, by the Power of Our " Army to reduce that Place (which, by the help of God, We doubt not, " We ſhall be eaſily and ſhortly able to do) they muſt thank themſelves for " all the Calamities and Miſeries muſt befall them. To this Meſſage " We expect a clear and poſitive Anſwer, within two hours after the publiſh- " ing hereof; and by theſe preſents do give leave to any Perſons, ſafely to " repair to and return from Us, whom that City ſhall deſire to employ unto " Us in that buſineſs: And do require all the Officers, and Soldiers of Our " Army, quietly to ſuffer them to paſs accordingly.

Within leſs than the time preſcribed, together with the Trumpeter return'd two Citizens from the Town, with lean, pale, ſharp, and bad Viſages, indeed Faces ſo ſtrange, and unuſual, and in ſuch a garb and poſture, that at once made the moſt ſevere Countenances merry, and the moſt chearful Hearts ſad; for it was impoſſible ſuch Embaſſadours could bring leſs than a Defiance. The Men, without any Circumſtances of Duty, or good Manners, in a pert, ſhrill, undiſmay'd accent, ſaid, " They had brought an Anſwer from the " Godly City of *Glocester* to the King; and were ſo ready to give inſolent and ſeditious Anſwers to any Queſtion, as if their buſineſs were chiefly to provoke the King to violate his own Safe Conduct. The Anſwer they brought was in writing, in theſe very words.

Auguſt 10th 1643.

The Citizens and Garriſons Anſwer.

" We the Inhabitants, Magiſtrates, Officers, and Soldiers, within this Gar- " riſon of *Glocester*, unto his Majeſty's gracious Meſſage, return this humble " Anſwer: That We do keep this City, according to our Oaths and Allegi- " ance, to and for the uſe of his Majeſty, and his Royal Poſterity: And do

" according-

" accordingly conceive our ſelves wholly bound to obey the Commands of " his Majeſty, ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament; And are reſolv'd, by " God's help, to keep this City accordingly.

This Paper was ſubſcribed by *Wiſe* the Mayor, and *Maſſy* the Governour, with thirteen of the Aldermen, and moſt ſubſtantial Citizens, and eleven Officers of the Garriſon; and aſſoon as their Meſſengers return'd, who were quickly diſmiſſed, without attending to ſee what the King reſolv'd, all the Suburbs of the City, in which were very large and fair Buildings, well inhabited, were ſet on Fire; ſo that there was no doubt, the King was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new Debates, and new Reſolutions; to which Men came not ſo unbiaſſed, or unſwayed, as they had been at *Briſtol*. This indignity and affront to the King prompted Thoughts of Revenge; and ſome thought the King ſo far engaged, that in Honour he could not do leſs than ſit down before the Town, and force it: And theſe Inclinations gave Countenance, and Credit to all thoſe plauſible Informations " Of ſmall Proviſions in the " Town, either of Victual, or Ammunition; that, where the Town was " ſtrongeſt, there was nothing but an old Stone Wall, which would fall upon " an eaſy Battery; that there were many well Affected People in the Town, " who, with thoſe who were incenſed by the burning of the Suburbs, and " the great Loſſes they muſt ſuſtain thereby, would make ſuch a Party, that " aſſoon as they were diſtreſſed, the Seditious Party would be forced to yield. " It was alledg'd, that the Enemy had no Army; nor, by all Intelligence, " was like to form any ſoon enough to be able to relieve it; and if they had " an Army, that it was much better for his Majeſty to force them to that " diſtance from *London*, and to fight there, where he could be ſupplied " with whatſoever he wanted, could chooſe his own Ground, where his brave " Body of Horſe would be able to Defeat any Army they could raiſe, than " to ſeek them in their own Quarters.

Above all, the Confidence of the Soldiers of the beſt Experience moved his Majeſty; who upon riding about the Town, and taking a near view of it, were clear of Opinion, that they ſhould be able in leſs than ten days by Approach, for all thoughts of Storming were laid aſide upon the Loſs at *Briſtol*, to win it. This produced a Reſolution in his Majeſty, not one Man in the Council of War diſſwading it. So the King preſently ſent to *Oxford* for his General the Earl of *Brentford* " To come to him, with all " the Foot that could be ſpared out of that Garriſon, and his pieces of Bat- " tery, to govern that Action; Prince *Rupert* wiſely declining that Province, and retiring himſelf into the Generalſhip of the Horſe, that he might not be thought accountable for any Accidents which ſhould attend that Service. At the ſame inſtant, Orders were diſpatch'd to Sir *William Vavaſour*, who Commanded all the Forces in South *Wales* (the Lord *Herbert* having been perſwaded, ſo far to comply with the Indiſpoſition of that People, as to decline that Command, or at leaſt for a time to diſſemble it) " To draw " all his Men to the Forreſt ſide of the Town; where the Bridges being broken down, a ſmall Strength would keep them in, and any from going to them, which within two days was done. Thus the King was engaged before *Gloceſter*; and thereby gave reſpite to the diſtracted Spirits at *London*, to breathe, and compoſe themſelves; and, more Methodically than they hoped to have done, to prepare for their Preſervation, and accompliſhing their own ends; which at that time ſeem'd almoſt deſperate, and incurable.

The King Beſieges the Town.

The direful News of the Surrender of *Briſtol*, which was brought to the two Houſes on the 31ſt of *July*, ſtruck them to the Heart, and came upon them as a Sentence of Death, after a vaſt Conſumption of Money, and Confident Promiſes of deſtroying all the King's Forces by a day, every Tax and Impoſition being declar'd to be the laſt; and for finiſhing the work, the Earl of *Eſſex* was at the ſame time return'd to *Kingſton*, within ten Miles of them, with his broken and diſmay'd Troops, which himſelf would not endure ſhould have the Title of an Army. So that the War ſeem'd to be even at an end in a ſenſe very contrary to what they had undertaken; their General talking more, and preſſing for Reparation, and Vindication of his

Honour from Imputations, and Aſperſions, that for a Recruit of Forces, or providing an Army to defend them. Every Man reproach'd his Neighbour with his want of Inclination to Peace, when good Conditions might be had, and magnified his own Wiſdom, for having fear'd " It would come to This. The King's laſt Declaration had been read by all Men, and was magnified " As a moſt gracious and undeniable Inſtance of his Clemency and Juſtice, " that he was ſo far from being elated with his good Succeſſes, and Power " almoſt to have what he would, that he renew'd all thoſe Promiſes, and Pro- " teſtations for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, and Pri- " vileges of Parliament; which had been out of their perverſneſs diſcredit- " ed before, as proceeding from the low Condition he was in; and where- " as they had been frighted with their Repreſentation of their own guilt, " and the implacableneſs of the King's Nature, as if he meant an utter Con- " queſt of them, his Majeſty had now offer'd all that could be honeſtly de- " ſir'd, and had expreſs'd himſelf a Prince not delighted with Blood and Re- " venge, but an indulgent Father to the moſt diſobedient Children. In this Reformation of Underſtanding, the Lords in their Houſe debated nothing but expedients for Peace; there were not of that Body above five, at the moſt, who had any Inclination to continue the War; and the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſufficiently declar'd, " That He was weary of it, and held cloſeſt and ſtricteſt Correſpondence with thoſe who moſt paſſionately preſſed an Accommodation. So that, on the fifth of *Auguſt*, they deſir'd a Conferrence with the Commons; and declared to them, " That they were reſolv'd to ſend " Propoſitions to the King, and they hoped, They would concur in them: The particulars propoſed by them were,

Propoſitions for Peace given by the Houſe of Lords to the Houſe of Commons in a Conference.

1. " That both Armies might be preſently disbanded, and his Majeſty " be entreated to return to his Parliament, upon ſuch ſecurity as ſhould " give him Satisfaction.

2. " That Religion might be ſettled with the advice of a Synod of Di- " vines, in ſuch a manner as his Majeſty, with the conſent of both Houſes " of Parliament, ſhould appoint.

3. " That the Militia, both by Sea and Land, might be ſettled by a Bill; " and the Militia, Forts, and Ships of the Kingdom, put into ſuch Hands as " the King ſhould appoint, with the Approbation of both Houſes of Parlia- " ment: And his Majeſty's Revenue to be abſolutely, and wholly reſtor'd " unto him; only deducting ſuch part, as had been of neceſſity expended " for the maintenance of his Children, and not otherwiſe.

4. " That all the Members of both Houſes who had been expell'd only " for abſenting themſelves, or meer complyance with his Majeſty, and no " other matter of Fact againſt them, might be reſtor'd to their Places.

5. That all Delinquents, from before the tenth Day of *January*, 1641, " ſhould be deliver'd up to the Juſtice of Parliament, and a General Par- " don for all others on both ſides.

6. And laſtly, " That there might be an Act of Oblivion, for all by- " gone Deeds, and Acts of Hoſtility.

When this Conference was reported in the Houſe of Commons, it begot a wonderful long, and a hot Debate, which laſted till ten of the Clock that Night, and continued a day or two more; the Violent Party (for there were yet many among them of more moderate Conſtitutions, who did, and ever had heartily abhor'd their Proceedings, though out of fear, and indiſpoſition of Health, or not knowing elſe well what to do, they continued there) inveighed furiouſly againſt the deſign it ſelf of ſending to the King at all, and therefore would not have the particular Propoſition ſo much as conſider'd: " They had receiv'd much prejudice by the laſt Treaty at *Ox-* " *ford*, and therefore muſt undergo more now their Condition was much low- " er: The King had ſince that, upon the matter, declared them to be no Par- " liament; for if they were not free, they could not be a Parliament; ſo that " till that point were vindicated, they could not Treat in any ſafe Capacity, " but would be look'd upon under the notion of Rebels, as his Majeſty had " declar'd them. They had ſent Members into *Scotland* to require Aſſi- " ſtance, which that Kingdom was preparing with all Brotherly Affection,

" and

" and Forwardneſs, and after ſuch a diſcovery, to Treat for Peace, with-
" out the privity of the *Scots*, was to betray them; and to forfeit all hopes
" hereafter of relief from thence, what neceſſities ſoever they might be re-
" duced to. That the City of *London* had expreſs'd all imaginable readi-
" neſs to raiſe Forces for Sir *William Waller*; and the Counties near *London*
" were ready to riſe as one Man, whereby the Earl of *Eſſex* would be ſpee-
" dily enabled to march, with a better Army than ever he had, to give the
" King Battle, except this Diſcourſe of Peace did extinguiſh the Zeal that
" was then flaming in the Hearts of the People.

But notwithſtanding theſe Reaſons, and the Paſſion in the delivery, the terror of the King's Succeſſes ſuggeſted Anſwers enough. " They had been " puniſh'd for breaking off the Treaty of *Oxford*, when they might have " had better Terms than now they could expect; and if they omitted this " Opportunity, they ſhould fare much worſe; that they were not ſure of aid " from *Scotland*, neither was it almoſt poſſible it ſhould come time enough to " preſerve them from the Ruin at Hand. And for the City of *London*, " though the common and meaner ſort of People who might promiſe them-" ſelves advantage by it, deſired the continuance of the Diſtractions, yet it " was evident the moſt Subſtantial and Rich Men deſir'd Peace, by their re-" fuſal to ſupply Money for the carrying on the War; and if they ſhould judge " of the Common People by their forwardneſs to engage their own Perſons, " they had reaſon to believe they had no mind to the War neither; for their " General was forced to retire even under their own Walls, for want of " Men to recruit his Army. However, the ſending reaſonable Propoſitions " to the King, would either procure a Peace, and ſo they ſhould have no " more need of an Army: or, being refuſed, would raiſe more Men and Mo-" ney than all their Ordinances without it. Theſe Reaſons and Arguments prevail'd; and after the Debate had laſted till ten of the Clock at Night, it was reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, and carried by nine and twenty Voices, " That they ſhould inſiſt upon the Propoſitions, and ſend to his Majeſty.

And without doubt, if they had then ſent (as if the Power had been in the two Houſes of Parliament, they had done) a firm Peace had immediately enſued: For beſides that if a Treaty and Ceſſation had been in that Conjuncture enter'd upon, no extravagant demand would have been preſſed, only a ſecurity for thoſe who had been faulty, which the King would gladly have granted, and moſt religiouſly obſerv'd; the fourth Propoſition, and Conſent to reſtore all Members to their places in Parliament, would have prevented the kindling any more Fire in thoſe Houſes. But this was too well known to be ſuffer'd to paſs; and therefore the next day being *Sunday*, the Seditious Preachers fill'd all the Pulpits with Alarms of " Ruin and Deſtru-" ction to the City, if a Peace were now offer'd to the King; and printed Papers were ſcatter'd through the Streets, and fixed upon Gates Poſts, and the moſt Publick Places in the City and Suburbs, requiring " All Perſons well " affected, to riſe as one Man, and to come to the Houſe of Commons next Morning; for that twenty thouſand *Iriſh* Rebels were Landed; which Information was likewiſe given that day in many Pulpits by their Preachers; and in other Papers likewiſe ſet up, it was declar'd, " That the Malignant " Party had overvoted the Good, and if not prevented there would be a " Peace.

When the minds of the People were thus prepar'd, *Pennington*, their own Lord Mayor, though on *Sunday* (on which they before complain'd the King uſed to ſit in Council) called a Common Council; where a Petition was framed to the Houſe of Commons, taking Notice " Of Propoſitions paſſed " by the Houſe of Peers for Peace, which if conſented to, and allow'd would " be deſtructive to Religion, Laws, and Liberties; and therefore deſir'd " that Houſe to paſs an Ordinance, according to the Tenor of an Act of " their Common Council (which they appointed to be annex'd to their Petition) " which was for the vigorous proſecuting the War, and declining all " Thoughts of Accommodation. With this Petition, and ſuch an Attendance as thoſe preparatives were like to bring, the Lord Mayor himſelf, who, from the time of his Mayoralty had forborn ſitting in the Houſe as a Member, came to the Houſe of Commons and deliver'd it, with ſuch farther

A Petition of the Common Council of London againſt Peace.

Inſinuations of the temper of the City, as were fit for the purpoſe; the People at the Door behaving themſelves as imperiouſly, telling the Members of both Houſes, as they paſs'd by them, "That if they had not a good Anſwer, "They would be there the next day with double the Number. The Lords complain'd of the Tumults, and ſent to the Commons to joyn with them in their Suppreſſion; inſtead whereof the Commons (many of their Body withdrawing for fear, and others by fear converted, or it may be by hope of prevailing) gave the City Thanks "For their Petition, Advice, and Courage; "and rejected the Propoſitions for Peace.

Whereupon the Houſe of Commons rejected the Propoſitions of the Lords.

This raiſed a new Conteſt in the City, which was not willing to lye under the perpetual brand of reſiſting and oppoſing Peace, as they did of firſt raiſing the War. And therefore the Wiſe and Sober part of it, would gladly have diſcover'd how averſe they were from the late Act of Common Council. But the late Execution of *Tomkins*, and *Chaloner*, aud the Advantage which was preſently taken againſt any Man who was moderately inclin'd, frighted all Men from appearing in Perſon to deſire thoſe things upon which their Hearts were moſt ſet. In the end, the Women expreſs'd greater Courage than the Men; and having a Precedent of a Rabble of that Sex, appearing in the beginning of theſe Diſtractions with a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, to foment the Diviſions, with Acceptance and Approbation, a great Multitude of the Wives of Subſtantial Citizens came to the Houſe of Commons, with a Petition for Peace. Thereupon a Troop of Horſe, under the Command of one *Harvey*, a decayed Silk-man, who from the beginning had been one moſt Confided in, were ſent for; who behaved themſelves with ſuch Inhumanity, that they Charged among the ſilly Women, as an Enemy worthy of their Courage, and kill'd, and wounded many of them, and eaſily diſperſed the reſt. When they were by this means ſecured from farther vexation of this kind, ſpecial notice was taken of thoſe Members who ſeem'd moſt importunate, and deſirous of Peace, that ſome advantage might be taken againſt them. Whereupon, they well diſcerning the danger they were in, many both of the Peers, and the Commons, firſt abſented themſelves from the Houſes, and then remov'd into thoſe Quarters where they might enjoy the Protection of the King; and ſome of them came directly to *Oxford*.

Having diverted this Torrent, which would have brought Peace upon them before they were aware, they conſider'd their ſtrength, and applied themſelves to the recovery of the Spirits of their General; whoſe indiſpoſition troubled them more than any other diſtreſs they were in. To this Cure they apply'd Remedies of contrary Natures, which would yet work to the ſame end. Firſt they careſſed Sir *William Waller* with wonderful kindneſs and eſteem; and as he was met upon his return to *London*, after the moſt total Defeat that could almoſt be imagin'd (for though few of his Horſe were kill'd upon the place, they were ſo ruinouſly diſperſed, that of above two thouſand, there were not three hundred gotten together again for their Service) with all the Train'd-bands and Militia of *London*, and receiv'd as if he had brought the King Priſoner with him, ſo he was immediately choſen Governour and Commander in Chief of the Forces and Militia of *London*, for the Defence of the City, and it was now declar'd, "That they would forthwith "ſupply him with a good Body of Horſe, and Foot, to take the Field again, "and relieve their diſtreſſed Friends in the Weſt. Then another Ordinance was paſſed to raiſe a great Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester* (who had been always ſteady to his firſt Principles, and never a Friend to any Overture of Accommodation) in order to oppoſing the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, and to take charge of all the Aſſociated Counties; which were *Eſſex*, *Hertford*, *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Huntington*, and (by a new addition) *Lincoln*; and for the ſpeedy raiſing Men to joyn to thoſe who would voluntarily liſt themſelves under theſe two beloved Generals, there was an Ordinance paſſed both Houſes for the Preſſing of Men; which ſeem'd ſomewhat to diſcredit their Cauſe, that, after ſo much pretence to the Hearts of the People, they ſhould be now compell'd to Fight whether they would or no; and was the more wonder'd at, becauſe they had themſelves procured the King's Conſent to an Act this Parliament, that declar'd it to be unlawful to preſs,

An Ordinance for raiſing an Army under the Earl of Manchester.

or

or compel any of the freeborn Subjects to march out of the County in which they liv'd, if he were not willing ſo to do; and direction was given by other Ordinances to preſs great Numbers of Men, to ſerve both under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and Sir *William Waller*; and having thus provided for the worſt, and let the Earl of *Eſſex* diſcern, that they had another Earl to truſt to, and more Generals than one at their Devotion, they ſent a formal Committee of both Houſes to him, to uſe all imaginable Art, and Application to him, to recover him to his former Vigour, and Zeal in their Cauſe. They told him "The high Value the Houſes had of the Service he had done, "and the hazards, dangers, and loſſes, he had for Their Sakes undergone: "That he ſhould receive as ample a Vindication for the Calumnies, and "Aſperſions raiſed on him, as he could deſire, from the full Teſtimony, and "Confidence of the two Houſes; and if the infamous Authors of them "could be found, their puniſhment ſhould be as notorious as their Libels: "That no other Forces ſhould be recruited till His were made up; and "that all his Soldiers Arrears ſhould be paid, and Cloaths preſently ſent "for his Foot.

Whether theſe Reaſons, with the Jealouſy of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, upon whom he plainly ſaw the Violent Party wholely depended, or the infuſions pour'd into him by the Lord *Say*, and Mr. *Pym*, of the deſperateneſs of his own Condition, with an opinion, upon the differences between the two Princes and the Marquis of *Hertford*, that the Marquis's Services were not enough valued by the King (which many deſired ſhould be thought to have then ſome influence upon the Earl) or whether he had not ſteadineſs enough, to engage in ſo hazardous an Enterpriſe, he grew inſenſibly alter'd from his moderate inclinations, and deſire of Peace; for it is moſt certain, that as the confidence in him gave many Lords the Spirit to appear Champions for Peace, who had been before as ſollicitous againſt it, ſo the deſign was then the ſame, which hath been ſince proſecuted, with effect to a worſe purpoſe, that is, for the Members of both Houſes who were of one mind, upon that ſignal Ryot, and compelling the Houſe of Commons to renounce ther former Reſolution of Propoſitions to the King, to have gone to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and there, under the ſecurity of their own Army, to have proteſted againſt the violence which was offer'd, the breach of their Privileges by the Common Councils taking notice of their Councils, and over-ruling their Concluſions, and to have declared their want of Freedom; by means whereof, they made no doubt to have drawn the Houſes to Conſent to ſuch an Agreement as the King would well have approved of; or to have enter'd upon ſuch a Treaty themſelves with the King, as all the moderate part of the Kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

But this ſtaggering in their General fruſtrated that deſign, and put them to other Reſolutions; and ſo, having render'd themſelves very ungracious in the Houſes, and poſſibly ſuſpecting the Earl of *Eſſex* might diſcover ſome of their Overtures, many of the Lords left the Town, and went either directly to *Oxford*, or into the King's Quarters; the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Lovelace* (of whoſe good Affections to his Service the King had always aſſurance, and who had only ſtayed there, as at a place where they might do him more Service, than any where elſe) directly to *Oxford*; and the Lord *Conway*, ſhortly after them; the Earl of *Clare* into *Worceſterſhire*, and from thence, by the King's free acceptation, to *Oxford*; there being no other objection againſt his Lordſhip, than his ſtaying ſo long at *London*; but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, he having no manner of relation to the Court, render'd him to his Majeſty's opinion under a very good Character. The Earls of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, not without ſome difficulty, their purpoſe being diſcover'd or ſuſpected, got into the King's Garriſon at *Wallingford*, from whence the Governour gave Advertiſement of their Arrival; the Earl of *Northumberland*, with the leave of the Houſe, retired for his health to his Houſe at *Petworth* in *Suſſex*; which, though it was in a County entirely then at the Parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infeſted from ſome of the King's Quarters, if he had not ſome aſſurance of being ſafe there.

The Earls of Bedford, *and* Holland, *put themſelves into the King's Quarters, as likewiſe ſome other of the Parliament Lords.*

The Violent Party carried now all before them; and were well con-

contented with the Abſence of thoſe who uſed to give them ſome trouble, and vexation. For the better ſtrengthning themſelves with the People, they Order'd the Divines of the Aſſembly, to repair into the Country to their Cures, eſpecially in the Counties of the Aſſociation under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, to ſtir up the People, with all their Eloquence, to Riſe as one Man againſt their Soveraign; and omitted nothing within their power, which might contribute to the raiſing Men or Money; being not a little joyed when they underſtood the King had given them moré time than they expected, to Compoſe all Diſorders and Diviſions among themſelves, by his ſtaying with his Army before *Gloceſter*; which they took to be the greater Bleſſing, and Preſervation to them, becauſe at the ſame time there were ſuddain Inſurrection in *Kent* againſt their Ordinances and Juriſdiction, in Defence of the known Laws, and eſpecially the Book of Common-Prayer; which, if the King's Army had been at any diſtance to have countenanced, they would never have been able to ſuppreſs.

The fame of all theſe diſtractions and diſorders at *London*, exceedingly diſpoſed Men in all places to reproach his Majeſty's ſtay before *Gloceſter*, his Friends at *London* deſiring that his Majeſty would march directly thither, to take the advantage of thoſe Diſtractions; and the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, upon the intelligence and advice from thence, were very ſollicitous that the King would take that reſolution, to which he was himſelf enough inclin'd. But his Condition was believ'd to be, in both places, better than it was; and that he had now a Victorious Army, without an Enemy to reſtrain his motion; whereas, in truth, his was a weak Army, leſſen'd exceedingly by the loſſes it ſuſtain'd before *Briſtol*; and when that part of it was march'd with Prince *Maurice* into the Weſt, and which could not have march'd any other way, the King had not much above ſix thouſand Foot to march with, though he left none at *Briſtol*, but obliged my Lord *Hopton* to Garriſon it as he could, which he ſhortly did; and that would have appear'd a very ſmall Army to have march'd towards *London*; though it is true the Horſe was a noble Body, and Superior in number to that of the Foot.

There was likewiſe another Circumſtance, that few Men were then acquainted with: Upon the firſt News of the taking of *Briſtol*, his Majeſty, before he left *Oxford*, had ſent an Expreſs to the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, who was then engaged before *Hull*, "That if he found the buſineſs of *Hull* to be "more difficult than he expected, he ſhould leave it block'd up at a diſtance, "which might reſtrain Excurſions into the Country, and march with his Ar- "my into the Aſſociated Counties; which comprehended *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge-ſhire*, and *Eſſex*, &c. which had Aſſociated themſelves, by ſome Agreement, to ſerve the Parliament; though the better part of all thoſe Counties, eſpecially of the two greater, were moſt affected to the King, and wiſh'd for an Opportunity to expreſs it; and if the Earl would bring his Army through thoſe Counties towards *London*, his Majeſty would then reſolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other ſide. And in the very time that his Majeſty came before *Gloceſter*, and before he took the Reſolution to ſit down before it, that Expreſs return'd from the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, who inform'd him, "That it was impoſſible for him to comply with his Com- "mands, in marching with his Army into the Aſſociated Counties, for that "the Gentlemen of the Country, who had the beſt Regiments, and were "among the beſt Officers, utterly refuſed to march, except *Hull* were firſt "taken; and that he had not Strength enough to march and to leave *Hull* "ſecurely block'd up: Which Advertiſement, with the Conſideration before mention'd, of the enlarging his Quarters by the taking of *Gloceſter*, and the Concurrence of all the Officers, that it would ſpeedily be taken, produced the Reſolution of Attempting it, notwithſtanding that the Queen her ſelf writ ſo importunately againſt it, that his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to make a Journey himſelf to *Oxford*, to convince her Majeſty, and to Compoſe ſome Diſtempers which were riſen among his Council there, upon the News of the Arrival of ſome of the Lords mention'd before in thoſe Quarters.

The King was newly ſat down before *Gloceſter*, when the Governor of *Walling-*

Wallingford ſent notice to *Oxford*, of the Arrival of thoſe two Earls; to whom the Lords of the Council return'd direction, " That they ſhould ſtay " there, 'till the King's pleaſure was underſtood; to whom the Secretary had ſent the information, and deſir'd his Majeſty's Will concerning their reception. The King well knew, any Order he ſhould give in it, would be liable to many objections, and he had not ſo good an inclination to either of them, as to run any inconvenience for their ſakes; the Earl of *Bedford* having ſerv'd in Perſon againſt him, as the General of the Rebels Horſe; and the Earl of *Holland*, in the King's opinion, having done worſe. Aud therefore his Majeſty Commanded, " That his Privy Council ſhould Debate the matter a- " mong themſelves, and preſent their opinion and advice to him, and he " would then determine what kind of Entertainment they ſhould have. The opinions at the board were ſeveral; ſome thought, " That his Majeſty ſhould " receive them very graciouſly, and with all outward expreſſions of his ac- " ceptance of their return to his Service, and that the demeanour of all o- " thers to them ſhould be ſuch, as might make them think themſelves very " welcome, without the leaſt taking notice of any thing formerly done amiſs " by them; which would be a great encouragement to others to come away " too: So that the Numbers, and Quality of thoſe who ſtayed behind, would " probably in a ſhort time be ſo ſmall, that they would have no reputation " in the Kingdom to continue the War. Many differ'd diametrically from this; and were ſo far from thinking this advice agreeable to the dignity, or ſecurity of the King; that they thought it not fit " To admit them preſently " to the King's or Queen's preſence, till by their good carriage and de- " meanour, they ſhould give ſome teſtimony of their Affections: They had " both taken the late Covenant, of which one Clauſe was, to aſſiſt the For- " ces raiſed by the Parliament, againſt the Army raiſed by the King; with " many reproaches, and known ſcandals upon that Army. If they had felt a " true remorſe of Conſcience for the ill they had done, they would have left " that Party, when that Covenant was to be impoſed upon them; which, " ſince they did not, that they came now was to be imputed rather to the " King's ſucceſs, and the weakneſs of that power which they had hitherto " ſerv'd, than to any reformation of their underſtanding, or improvement of " their Allegiance: and that it was great reaſon, that they who had given " ſuch Arguments of juſt jealouſy and ſuſpicion of themſelves, ſhould raiſe a " confidence in their Loyalty and Affection by ſome Act equal to the other; " and therefore none who had taken that Covenant, ſhould be admitted to " the preſence of the King, Queen, or Prince, before he had taken ſome o- " ther Oath or Covenant, declaring an equal hatred, and abhorring of the " Rebellious Arms which were taken up againſt his Majeſty, and the Counſels " by which they were taken up.

Debates in the Council at Oxford *how thoſe Lords ſhould be received,*

It was ſaid, " That the good, or ill reception of theſe Lords, could have " no influence upon the Actions, or Deliberations at *Weſtminſter*, or *London*, " or any conſiderable Perſons there: that they were but ſingle Men, without " any conſiderable dependence upon them: Whilſt they had Reputation, and " Intereſt enough to do good or hurt, and the King's condition needed " their attendance, the choſe to be engaged againſt him; but now, when " they were able to do him no more harm, they came to receive benefit and " advantage from him: That it was a common Argument Men uſed to alledge " to themſelves for their compliance with, and ſubmiſſion to, the Commands " of the Parliament; that, if they did otherwiſe, their ſeverity, and rigour " was ſo great, that They and their Families were ſure to be ruined; but, " if the King prevailed, he was gracious and merciful, and would remit their " Offences whenſoever they caſt themſelves at his feet; which preſumption if " they ſhould ſee confirm'd in this example, it would make the obſervation " of Conſcience and Loyalty of no price; and encourage thoſe who were " riſen againſt him, and exceedingly diſhearten thoſe who had been honeſt and " faithful from the beginning: That there could enſue no inconvenience from " any reſervedneſs and coldneſs towards them; for they durſt not return to " *London*, having now made themſelves odious to that Party, and having no " hope but from the acceptance of his Majeſty; which they ſhould merit be- " fore they found. There was a third opinion between theſe extremes,

" That they ſhould be neither Courted nor Neglected, but be admitted to " kiſs the King's and Queen's hands, and to diſpoſe themſelves as they " thought fit; and ſo to leave the reſt to their future demeanour: and to reſolve which of theſe opinions to follow, was another motive for his Majeſty's ſuddain Journey to *Oxford*.

The King comes to Oxford *to conſult about it.*

The King found greater alterations in the minds and ſpirits at *Oxford*, than he expected after ſo much ſucceſs as had befallen him; and that ſucceſs was it, that had made the alteration; it being the unlucky temper of that place, and that Company, to be the ſooneſt and the moſt deſperately caſt down upon any Misfortune or Loſs, and to be again, upon any Victory, the moſt elated, and the moſt apt to undervalue any difficulties which remain'd. The taking *Briſtol* had ſo poſſeſs'd them with joy, that they thought the War even at an end, and that there was nothing left to be done, but to take poſſeſſion of *London*; which they were aſſured would be deliver'd to them upon demand: many Members of both Houſes were come to *Oxford*, which aſſured them, " The violent People there, were even in deſpair; and after " the News came of the Surrender of *Briſtol* that they had only kept up their " ſpirits in hopes that the King would engage his Army in the Siege of " *Gloceſter*, which ſome of them had ſeem'd to promiſe their Friends would " be the Caſe: from whence they would infer, " That the King was be- " trayed, and that they who had perſwaded him to undertake that deſign, " were corrupted by the Parliament, And the Envy and Jealouſy of all this fell upon Sir *John Colepepper*, who was indeed of the opinion for the Siege, but, without doubt, how much ſoever he ſuffer'd at that time, and afterwards, under that reproach, he believ'd there was very good reaſon for that Engagement, and was moſt free from any corrupt end, and of moſt ſincere fidelity.

This diſcourſe and imagination had made wonderful impreſſion upon the Queen, who was inflamed with a jealouſy that there was a deſign to leſſen her Intereſt in the King, and that Prince *Rupert* was Chief in that Conſpiracy, and meant to bring it to paſs by keeping the King ſtill in the Army, and by hindring his coming to *Oxford*: and out of this apprehenſion the Queen had written ſo warmly and concernedly to the King who was the moſt incapable of any ſuch apprehenſions, and had her Majeſty in ſo perfect an adoration, that as ſoon as he receiv'd that Letter, without delay he came to *Oxford*, and quickly compoſed thoſe miſtakes; though the being engaged before *Gloceſter* was ſtill very grievous, and reproaches were publickly caſt upon thoſe who gave the advice.

But that which took up moſt of the the time of that one day that the King ſtayed at *Oxford*, was concerning the two Lords who were retain'd at *Wallingford*; which had been agitated in the Council with great paſſion before the King's coming. The King cauſed the Council to meet the next morning, and asked their advice, " Whether the Earls of *Bedford*, and of *Hol-* " *land*, ſhould be admitted to come into *Oxford*, or obliged to return from " whence they came? or, if admitted, how they ſhould be receiv'd, or coun- " tenanced by their Majeſties? And it cannot be enough wonder'd at, that there ſhould be any difference of opinion in that matter; but it cannot be expreſs'd, with how much earneſtneſs and unreaſonableneſs the whole was debated, and how warmly even they, who in all other debates ſtill expreſs'd all moderation and temper, did now oppoſe the receiving theſe Lords with any grace, with more paſſion, and other reaſons, than had been offer'd in their former Conferences; ſo that there was ſcarce known ſuch an union in opinion at that board, in any thing, where diſunion was very inconvenient.

All exaggerated " The Carriage and foul ingratude of the Earl of " *Holland* from the beginning of the Parliament; and the Earl of *Bedford*'s " being General of the Horſe in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army; and now when " the Parliament was low, and They had loſt their credit and intereſt There, " they were come to the King, whom they had ſo much offended; and ex- " pected to be as much, it may be, more made of, then they who had borne " the heat of the day; which would ſo much reflect upon the King's Ho- " nour, that Men would be exceedingly diſcouraged to ſerve him. Some " moved " That they might be detain'd, and kept Priſoners of War, ſince " they came into the King's Quarters without any Paſs; others, as plainly,

" and

" and more vehemently preſſed, " That they might not be ſuffer'd to come " to *Oxford*, or where the King or Queen ſhould be; but permitted to live " in ſome other place within the King's Quarters, until they ſhould manifeſt " their affection by ſome Service. They who thought this too ſevere and " unpolitick, propoſed that they might be ſuffer'd to come to *Oxford*, that " thereby they might be kept from returning to the Parliament (which appear'd to moſt to be liable to many exceptions, " But that being at *Oxford*, they " ſhould not come to Court; and that no Privy Counſellor ſhould viſit them.

In this whole Debate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who ſeldom ſpoke without ſome earneſtneſs, wrs the only Man (except another, who brought no credit to the opinion, the Lord *Saville*) who adviſed confidently " That " they might be very graciouſly rrceiv'd by both their Majeſties, and ci- " villy be viſited, and treated by every body; that other Men might, by " the entertainment they receiv'd, be encouraged to deſert the Parliament " too. He ſaid, " It would be too great a diſadvantage to the King, and to " his Cauſe, that whilſt the Parliament uſed all the induſtry and artifices, to " corrupt the Duty and Affection of the Subject, and had their Arms " open to receive and embrace all, who would come to them, his Majeſty " ſhould admit none to return to him, who had been faulty, or nor come ſo " ſoon as they ought to have done; that if the King had a mind to gratify, " and oblige the Parliament, he could not do it more to their hearts deſire, " than by rejecting the application of theſe Lords, or ſufferring it to paſs un- " regarded. There was one Argument againſt their admiſſion urged very loudly, " That it would diſturb the Peace of the place; the Earl of *Bedford* had commanded that part of the Army, which infeſted the Marquis of *Hertford*, at his being at *Sherborne*, when the Marquis had ſent *Harry Seymour*, as is mention'd before, with a Challenge to the Earl to fight with him; which the Earl reaſonably declined at that time; and ſaid, " He would be ready, " when the buſineſs of the Parliament ſhould be over, to wait upon the " Marquis when he ſhould require it. And ſome Men, who were near e- nough to the Marquis's Counſels, undertook to know, that if the Earl of *Bedford* ſhould be in *Oxford*, the Marquis, who was every day expected, would exact the performance of his promiſe; which ſure he was too wiſe to do.

The King, during the whole Debate, did not expreſs any thing of his own Senſe, ſave that he ſeem'd well pleaſed with any ſharpneſs that was expreſs'd towards the Earl of *Holland*. He ſaid, " That he was bound to his good " behaviour, by being under the common reproach of inclining too much to " thoſe who had uſed him worſt; of which he would not be guilty: However, he did not think, at this time, that it would be good to make any Perſon deſperate; and therefore gave order, " That the Governour of *Wallingford* ſhould " permit them to continue their Journey to *Oxford*; where all Men might " uſe what civilities they pleaſed to them; and that Himſelf, and the Queen, " would do that towards them, which upon their application and addreſs, " they ſhould think fit; and though this determination was given, without the leaſt diſcovery of grace towards the Perſons of thoſe Lords, and not without ſome reflections prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the Table; which was evident enough by their Countenance, The next morning, the King return'd to the Army.

There had been, as is ſaid, very great diviſious in the Counſels at *Weſtminſter*, from the time of the Treaty, and the very abrupt breaking it off, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, reſerving the Affront done to him by *Martin*, had encreaſed thoſe diviſions; and the ſucceſſes, afterwards in the Defeat of *Waller*, and the taking of *Briſtol*, had given every Man Courage to ſay what he would. And then the proceeding upon Mr. *Waller*'s diſcovery, and obliging all Men to take a deſperate Engagement, which they durſt not refuſe, for fear of being declared guilty of the Plot, as many of them were, incenſed very many: but above all, the proſperity of the King's Affairs made every Body wiſh to come into his Quarters. A great Number of the Houſe of Commons, who were known always to wiſh well, came to *Oxford*: and of the Peers, the Earl of *Portland*, who was always very faithful to the King, and had ſtayed in the Houſe of Peers by his Majeſty's leave, and had been accuſed by Mr. *Waller* to be privy to that deſign, upon which he had endured

a long Impriſonment, came at this time to *Oxford*, as is ſaid before, together with the Lord *Conway*, and the Lord *Lovelace*; the former of which had been likewiſe queſtion'd, and impriſon'd, and the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of conſtant duty to the King; and all three had gotten Liberty, and Opportunity to come away by ſwallowing that Vow, and Oath, which could only ſet them free, and which they made haſte to Anſwer for to the King. The Return of the Earl of *Eſſex* to *London* in ill Humour, had given Opportunity to the Earl of *Holland*, and the reſt, who were weary of the Work in Hand, to inflame him to reſentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealouſies which were entertain'd of him. The Earl of *Bedford* had given up his Commiſſion of General of the Horſe, and quitted the Service, and never had any Affection to their ways in his Judgment. The Earl of *Clare* had been with the King at *York*, and had his leave to return to *London*, to intend his own particular Affairs; and during his ſtay, had never concurred in any malicious Counſel againſt the King, but was look'd upon as a Man, not only firm to the Principles of Monarchy, but of Duty to the Perſon of the King. He was a Man of Honour, and of Courage, and would have been an excellent Perſon, if his Heart had not been ſet too much upon the keeping, and improving his Eſtate; he was weary of the Company he kept, and eaſily hearken'd to the Earl of *Holland*, in any Conſultation how to recover the King's Authority, and to put an end to the War. The Earl of *Eſſex* was, as is ſaid before, enough provoked, and incenſed, and willingly heard all the Lords, and others, who inveighed againſt the violent Proceedings of thoſe who ſway'd the Parliament, and differ'd not with them in his Judgment of the Men, and the Matter: So that they believ'd that he would as readily be diſpoſed to agree upon the Remedy, as he did upon the Diſeaſe.

Their End and Deſign was, as I ſaid, if they could draw him to a concurrence, that they, and all the reſt of thoſe who were accounted Moderate Men, that is who deſir'd a Peace, and to return to their Duty to the King (which were much the Major part of both Houſes that remain'd at *Weſtminſter*, after ſo many of both were gone to the King) might all go to the Army; and thereupon the General, and they, to write to the Parliament together, and to ſend ſuch Propoſitions to them, as the Parliament ſhould tranſmit to the King, as the Conditions of Peace. If the King ſhould refuſe to conſent to them, it would be an infallible way to unite all People to compel him to it: But if the Parliament would refuſe to tranſmit thoſe Propoſitions to the King, or to conſent to a Peace upon thoſe Conditions, they would then declare againſt them, for not adhering to the grounds upon which the War was firſt begun, and would joyn themſelves to the King to force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture, when the Authority and Credit of the Earl of *Eſſex* was not yet eclipſed, and before an Independent Army was raiſed, which was ſhortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the ſucceſs deſired. But the Earl was too ſcrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a Truſt: and this was too barefaced a Separation for him to engage in: Beſides that he did believe, that he ſhould be able to ſuppreſs that Violent Pary by the Parliament it ſelf, and he thought that would bring all about which he deſir'd; and ſo he did not only reject what was propoſed to him, but expreſs'd ſuch a diſlike of the Earl of *Holland* for propoſing it, that he thought it high time to get himſelf out of his reach. The Earl of *Holland* who always conſider'd Himſelf in the firſt place, had, from the time of the Queen's Landing, privately made offer of his Service to the Queen, and renew'd his old Confidence and Friendſhip with Mr. *Jermyn*; and knowing well to enhance the value of his own Service, made great promiſes of notable Service; and Mr. *Jermyn* eaſily perſwaded her Majeſty, "That it was much better for her to reſtore an old Servant, whom ſhe knew "ſo well, to her Confidence (though he had ſtepped out of the way) than to re- "ly upon the Fidelity of any of thoſe, who were now about the King, and "who were all upon the matter ſtrangers to her, at leaſt not enough known "by her; and then, "That by laying hold upon this opportunity, ſhe would, "at her firſt coming to the King, carry his Reſtoration with her, poſſeſs "herſelf of the whole frame of his Buſineſs, becauſe all other deſigns would be laid

" laid aſide; and ſo all the good, that would redound to the King and King-
" dom from this new Negotiation, muſt, by the conſent of all the World, be
" attributed to her Majeſty's Wiſdom and Conduct. This appearing hopeful to her Majeſty, and all that had any thing of Hope was by the other always look'd upon as certain, the correſpondence was embraced; and the Earl aſſured not only to be reſtor'd to his former Station in all reſpects, but to a Title to new Intereſts. And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found he could not prevail with the Earl of *Eſſex*, that the King's Affairs proſper'd, and that *Briſtol* was now taken, and the Queen come to *Oxford*, he reſolv'd Himſelf to go thither, and prevailed with the Earls of *Bedford*, and *Clare*, to do the like; he aſſuring them, that they ſhould be very well receiv'd. The Earl of *Clare* made his Journey by himſelf, out of the Common Road, and came without any interruption into *Oxford*, at the time appointed: The Earl of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, came together to *Wallingford*, as is mention'd. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was naturally ſuſpicious, went to his own Houſe at *Petworth* in *Suſſex*: by which he thought he ſhew'd averſion enough to the Counſels at *Weſtminſter*, and would keep it in his own power to return, if he found that the reception of the other Lords at *Oxford* was not anſwerable to their expectation; beſides that he would expect the reſult of the Lord *Conway*'s Negotiation, who was more truſted by him than any other.

The leave for the two Earls to come from *Wallingford* to *Oxford*, was declar'd but the night before the King return'd to the Army; and was not ſent thither till the next day. So that the Lords came not to *Oxford* till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to ſpend at *Wallingford*, and with the diſputation, they heard, had been held concerning them; of which they had receiv'd ſo particular information, that the Earl of *Holland* writ a very Civil Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer before he came to *Oxford*, taking notice of " The Affection he had ſhew'd to him in his advice to the " King. Both of them had Friends enough there to provide for their Accommodation in convenient Lodgings; ſo that the one had a Lodging at *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, of which Houſe he had formerly been a Member; the other lay in *Baliol* College, where he had a Daughter, who ſpared him part of her Lodgings. But for any application to them by the Lords, or Perſons in Authority there, they had no reaſon to think themſelves very welcome. They went, in the firſt place, to do their Duties to the Queen; who receiv'd them coldly enough, not out of diſinclination, or unwillingneſs to ſhew them any countenance, but pure compliance with the ill humour of the Town, which ſhe deteſted: nor did Mr. *Jermyn*, who ſtill valued himſelf upon the impoſſible faculty to pleaſe all, and diſpleaſe none, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point (having probably, ſaid more in his Letters of Correſpondence and Advice, than he had Authority to do; it being his cuſtom to write, and ſpeak, what was moſt grateful to the Perſons) ſo that the Earl of *Holland*, with whom alone the Correſpondence had been, began to think himſelf betray'd, and invited to *Oxford* only to be expoſed to contempt. He came one morning to viſit the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when there were the Lord *Cottington*, and two or three other Privy Counſellors with him, who all went preſently away, without ſo much as ſaluting him; which offended the Chancellor as much as it did Him; and in truth oblig'd the Chancellor to more Ceremony and Civility, than, it may be, he would otherwiſe have practiced: ſo that he did viſit him again, and made all profeſſions and offers of Kindneſs and ſervice to him; which he did very heartily; and comply'd therein, not only with his own inclinations, but with his Judgment, as very important to the King's Service; and did all he could to induce others to be of the ſame opinion; in which he had no great ſucceſs.

The Intelligence from *London* brought, every day, the Reſolution of the Parliament, " To relieve *Gloceſter*; and that, if their Levies did not ſupply them with Men ſoon enough, the Train'd-bands of the City would march out with the General for that Service: whereupon the three Earls, *Bedford*, *Holland*, and *Clare*, after ſome days ſtay in *Oxford*, thought it neceſſary to offer their Service to the King in the Army, and to bear their part in any danger that might happen by an Engagement between the Armies; and ſo went toge-

ther to *Gloceſter*; where the King receiv'd them without any diſreſpect, and ſpoke with them as they gave him occaſion.

The King's Affairs in the Weſt.

Whilſt the King continued before *Gloceſter*, his Forces in the Weſt moved with a full gale and tide of ſucceſs. The Earl of *Carnarvon* march'd with the Horſe and Dragoons, being near two thouſand, into *Dorſet ſhire*, two days before Prince *Maurice* moved with his Foot and Cannon from *Briſtol*, and had made a fair entrance upon the Reduction of that whole County, before his Highneſs overtook him; and it was thought then, that if the Prince had march'd more ſlowly, the Earl had perfected that work. Upon the Surrender of *Briſtol*, many of the Gentlemen, and others of that County, who were engaged in that City for the Parliament, had viſited their Houſes, and Friends, in their Journey to *London*, whither by their Safe Conduct they went, and had made ſuch prodigious diſcourſes of the Fierceneſs and Courage of the Cavaliers (as moſt Men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the Enemy which had been too hard for them) that reſiſting them begun to be thought a matter impoſſible. One Mr. *Strode*, a Man much relied on in thoſe parts, and of a good Fortune, after he had viſited his Houſe, took *Dorcheſter* in his way to *London*, and being deſir'd by the Magiſtrates, "To view their Works "and Fortifications, and to give his Judgment of them; after he had walked about them, he told them, "That thoſe Works might keep out the Cavaliers "about half an hour; and then told them ſtrange ſtories of the manner of Aſſaulting *Briſtol*; "And that the King's Soldiers made nothing of running up "Walls twenty foot high, and that no Works could keep them out; which he ſaid not out of any purpoſe to betray them (for no Man wiſh'd the King's Army worſe ſucceſs) but had really ſo much horror, and conſternation about him, and the dreadful Image of the Storm of *Briſtol* imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe, they had ſcaled all thoſe Forts and Places which were deliver'd to them; and he propagated this fear and trepidation ſo fruitfully where he came, that the Earl of *Carnarvon* came no ſooner near *Dorcheſter* with his Horſe and Dragoons (which it may be, was underſtood to be the Van of the Victorious Army which had taken *Briſtol*) but the Town ſent Commiſſioners to him to Treat; and upon Articles of Indemnity, that they ſhould not be plunder'd, and not ſuffer for the ill they had done, deliver'd up the Town (which was ſtrongly Situated, and might very well have been Defended by the ſpirits of theſe People, if they had Courage equal to their Malice; for a place more entirely diſaffected to the King, *England* had not) with all their Arms, Ammunition, and Ordnance. The Fame of the Earl's coming had before frighted Sir *Walter Earl*, who had for a long time Beſieged *Corfe* Caſtle (the Houſe of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*, defended by his Lady with her Servants, and ſome few Gentlemen, and Tenants, who betook themſelves thither for Her aſſiſtance, and their own ſecurity) from that Siege; and he making more haſte to convey himſelf to *London*, than Generals uſe to do, who have the care and charge of others, his Forces were preſently diſperſed. And now the Surrender of *Dorcheſter* (the Magazine from whence the other places were ſupplied with principles of Rebellion) infuſed the ſame ſpirit into *Weymouth*, a very convenient Harbour and Haven: and that example again prevailed on the Iſland and Caſtle of *Portland* (a place not enough underſtood, but of wonderful importance) to all which the Earl granted fair Conditions, and receiv'd them into his Majeſty's Protection.

Dorcheſter Surrender'd.

Weymouth and Portland ſurrender'd to the King's Forces.

Hither Prince *Maurice* came now up with Foot and Cannon, and neglecting to follow the Train of the Enemies fears to *Lyme*, and *Poole*, the only two Garriſons then left in their poſſeſſion, ſtay'd with his Army about *Dorcheſter* and *Weymouth* ſome days, under the Notion of ſettling and diſpoſing the Government of thoſe Garriſons. Here the Soldiers, taking advantage of the famous Malignity of thoſe places, uſed great licenſe; neither was there care taken to obſerve thoſe Articles which had been made upon the Surrender of the Towns; which the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was full of Honour and Juſtice upon all Contracts, took ſo ill, that he quitted the Command he had with thoſe Forces, and return'd to the King before *Gloceſter*; which publiſh'd the injuſtice with the more ſcandal. Whether this licence, which was much ſpoken of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, aliened the

the Affections of thoſe Parts, or whether the abſence of the Marquis of *Hertford* from the Army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an apprehenſion that there would not be much Lenity uſed towards thoſe who had been high, and pertinacious Offenders, or whether this Army, when it was together, ſeem'd leſs formidable than it was before conceiv'd to be, or that the terror which had poſſeſs'd and ſeiſed upon their Spirits, was ſo violent that it could not continue, and ſo Men grew leſs amazed, I know not: but thoſe two ſmall Towns, whereof *Lyme* was believ'd inconſiderable, return'd ſo peremptory a refuſal to the Prince's Summon's, that his Highneſs reſolv'd not to attack them; and ſo march'd to *Exeter*, where he found all things in better order, and that City more diſtreſſed, than he had reaſon to expect, by the diligence and dexterity of Sir *John Berkley*, who being ſent from *Wells* by the Marquis of *Hertford*, as is before remember'd, to govern the Affairs of *Devon-ſhire*, with one Regiment of Horſe, and another of new Levied and half-arm'd Foot, had ſo encreaſed his Numbers by the concurrence of the Gentlemen of that County, that he fix'd ſtrong Quarters within leſs than a Mile of the City, and kept his Guards even to the Gates; when the Earl of *Stamford* was within, with a ſtrength, at leaſt equal in number to the Beſiegers.

Prince Maurice *comes before* Exeter *with his Army.*

The Parliament commended the Relief of this place, by ſpecial inſtructions, to their Admiral the Earl of *Warwick*; after whoſe having made ſhew of Landing Men in ſeveral places upon the Coaſt, and thereby compelled Sir *John Berkley* to make quick and weariſome marches with Horſe and Dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the Fleet left thoſe who attended their Landing about *Totneſs*, turn'd about, and with a freſh Gale made towards the River, that leads to the Walls of *Exeter*, and having the Command of both ſides of the River, upon a flat, by their Cannon, the Earl preſumed that way he ſhould be able to ſend Relief into the City; but the diligence, and providence of Sir *John Berkley* had fortunately caſt up ſome ſlight Works upon the advantageous Nookes of the River, in which his Men might be in ſome ſecurity from the Cannon of the Ships; and made great haſte with his Horſe to hinder their Landing; and ſo this Attempt was not only without ſucceſs, but ſo unfortunate, that it diſcouraged the Sea-men from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great ſhot, from their Ships, upon the Land Forces, the Tide falling, the Earl of *Warwick* fell off with his Fleet, leaving three Ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the Land, in view of his whole Fleet, which no more look'd after the Relief of *Exeter* that way.

The Earl of Warwick *with his Fleet attempts the relief of it, but ſucceeds not.*

Whilſt all the King's Forces were employ'd in the blocking up the Town, and attending the Coaſt, to wait upon the Earl of *Warwick*, the Garriſon of *Plymouth* encreaſed very faſt, into which the Fleet disburthen'd themſelves of all they could ſpare; and the North Parts of *Devon-ſhire* gather'd apace into a head for the Parliament; *Barnſtable* and *Bediford*, being Garriſon'd by them; which having an uninterrupted line of Communication with *Plymouth*, reſolv'd to joyn their whole ſtrength, and ſo to compel the Enemy to draw off from the Walls of *Exeter*, which had been very eaſy to have been done, if they in the City had been as active for their own Preſervation. Sir *John Berkley* having notice of this Preparation and Reſolution, ſent Colonel *John Digby* (who had from their firſt entrance into *Cornwal*, Commanded the Horſe) with his own Regiment of Horſe, and ſome looſe Troops of Dragoons, into the North of *Devon*, to hinder the joyning of the Rebels Forces. He choſe *Torrington* for his Quarter, and within few days drew to him a Troop of new raiſed Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot, raiſed by his old Friends in *Cornwal*; ſo that he had with him above three hundred Horſe, and ſix or ſeven hundred Foot. Thoſe of *Bediford*, and *Barnſtable*, being Superior in Number, and apprehending that the King's Succeſſes Eaſtward, might encreaſe his Strength and Power There, and weaken theirs, reſolv'd to try their Fortunes; and joyning themſelves together, to the Number of above twelve hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe, under the Command of Colonel *Bennet*, hoped to ſurpriſe Colonel *John Digby* at *Torrington*; and he was upon the matter ſurpriſed: for albeit he had notice in the Night from *Barnſtable*, "That the Forces drew out thence

" to *Bediford* in the Night, and that they intended to fall on his Quar-
" ters early in the Morning; and thereupon put himſelf into a poſture to receive them, and drew up all his Forces together out of the Town, upon ſuch a piece of ground, as, in that incloſed County, could be moſt advantageous for his Horſe, having, through all the little Incloſure, cut Gaps, through which his Horſe might enter; yet after he had attended their coming till Noon, and heard no more of them, and his ſmall Parties, which were ſent out to enquire, return'd with aſſurance, that there was no appearance of an Enemy, he believ'd they had given over their deſign; and ſo diſmiſſed his Horſe to their ſeveral Quarters, reſerving only one hundred and fifty upon their Guard, and return'd himſelf into the Town with the Foot.

But within leſs than an hour, he receiv'd the Alarm, " That the E-
" nemy was within half a Mile of the Town. The Confuſion was very great, ſo that he reſolv'd not to draw the Foot out of the Town; but having placed them in the beſt manner he could, upon the Avenues, himſelf went to the Horſe out of the Town, reſolving to wait upon the Rear of the Enemy; who were drawn up on the ſame piece of ground, on which he had expected them all the Morning. The Colonel whoſe Courage, and Vivacity upon Action, was very eminent, and commonly very fortunate, intended rather to look upon them; than to engage with them, before his other Troops came up; but having divided his ſmall Party of Horſe, the whole conſiſting but of one hundred and fifty, into ſeveral Parties, and diſtributed them into ſeveral little Cloſes, out of which there were Gaps into the larger ground, upon which the Enemy ſtood, a Forelorn Hope of fifty Muſqueteers advanced towards that ground where himſelf was, and if they had recover'd the Hedge, they would eaſily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himſelf taking four or five Officers into the Front with him, Charged that Forelorn Hope; which immediately threw down their Arms, and run upon their own Body, and carried ſo infectious a fear with them, that without making a ſtand, or their Horſe offering once to Charge, the whole Body Routed themſelves, and fled; Colonel *Digby* following the execution with his Horſe, till their Swords were blunted with ſlaughter, and his Numbers over-burthen'd with Priſoners; though the Foot out of the Town haſten'd to the chaſe, aſſoon as they ſaw what terror had poſſeſſed their Enemies.

Sir John Digby *Routs the Parliaments Forces at* Torrington.

In this Action (for it cannot be called a Battle; hardly a Skirmiſh; where no reſiſtance was made) there were near two hundred kill'd, and above two hundred taken Priſoners, and thoſe that fled contributed more to the Victory, than the Priſoners, or the ſlain, for they were ſcatter'd and diſperſed over all the Country, and ſcarce a Man without a cut over the Face and Head, or ſome other hurt; that wrought more upon the Neighbours towards their Converſion, than any Sermon could be Preach'd to them. Some of the Principal Officers, and of their Horſe, got into *Bediford*, and *Barnſtable*; and not conſidering the inconvenience of acknowledging, that God was extraordinary propitious to the Cavaliers, told ſtrange ſtories of " The horror and fear that ſeiſed upon them, and that no body " ſaw above ſix of the Enemy, that Charged them; which proved a greater diſmay to their Friends, than their Defeat.

Barnſtable *and* Bediford *yielded to him.*

At this time came Prince *Maurice* to *Exeter*, the fame of whoſe arrival brought a new terror, ſo that the Fort at *Appledore*, which commanded the River to *Barnſtable* and *Bediford*, being deliver'd to Colonel *Digby*, within two or three days after his Victory, thoſe two Towns ſhortly after ſubmitted to his Majeſty, upon promiſe of Pardon, and ſuch other Articles as were of courſe; which Colonel *Digby* ſaw preciſely obſerv'd, as far as concern'd the Towns in point of plunder, or violence towards the Inhabitants. And this ſucceſs ſo wrought upon the Spirits, and Temper of that People, that all the Perſons of eminent diſaffection withdrawing themſelves, according to their liberty by the Articles; Colonel *Digby*, within very few days, encreaſed his ſmall Party to the Number of three thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe; with which he was by Prince *Maurice* order'd to march to *Plymouth*, and to block up that place from making incurſions into the Country.

The

The Loſs of all their Garriſons on the North Coaſt, and deſpair of Succour or Relief from any other place, prevailed with the Earl of *Stamford*, and that Committee in *Exeter* (to whom the Earl was not ſuperior) to Treat with the Prince; and thereupon Articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleaſant City was deliver'd on the fourth of *September*, which was within fourteen or ſixteen days after Prince *Maurice* came thither into the King's Protection, after it had ſuffer'd no other Diſtreſs, or Impreſſion from the Beſiegers, than the being kept from taking the Air without their own Walls, and from being ſupplied from the Country Markets.

Exeter *deliver'd to the Prince upon Articles*, Septem. 4.

There was an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new Argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince *Maurice* and the Marquis. It hath been ſaid, that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was General of the Horſe of the Weſtern Army, had march'd from *Briſtol* the day before the Prince, and had taken *Dorcheſter*, and *Weymouth*, before his Highneſs came up to the Army, both conſiderable Places, and the Seats of great Malignity. The former was not thought neceſſary to be made a Garriſon, but the latter was the beſt Port Town of that Country, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made ſome promiſe of the Government thereof, when it ſhould be taken (of which they made no doubt) to Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, a young Gentleman of that Country, of a fair and plentiful Fortune, and one, who in the Opinion of moſt Men, was like to advance the place by being Governour of it, and to raiſe Men for the Defence of it, without leſſening the Army; and had, in expectation of it, made ſome Proviſion of Officers and Soldiers, when it ſhould be time to call them together. Prince *Maurice*, on the other ſide, had ſome other Perſon in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge, when it ſhould fall. In the Moment that the Town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, Sir *Anthony*, hearing that the Marquis came not with the Army, but remain'd ſome time at *Briſtol*, made all the haſte he could to him, and came thither the ſame day the King left it; and apply'd himſelf to the Marquis, who remember'd his promiſe, aud thought himſelf obliged to make it good, and that it was in his Power ſo to do, ſince it appear'd, that the Town was taken before the King had declared to him, that he ſhould not go to the Army; till when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferr'd with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his Honour was concern'd, and on which his Heart was ſet. Sir *Anthony* came likewiſe to him, who was of his Acquaintance and deſired his Aſſiſtance, "That, "after ſo much charge he had been put to, in the Expectation of it, and to "prepare for it, he might not be expoſed to the Mirth, and Contempt of the "Country. It was evident that if he return'd with the Commiſſion from the Marquis (which he was moſt inclined to give him) both He, and the Commiſſion would be affronted, and the Town would not be ſuffer'd to ſubmit to him. Therefore the Chancellor was of Opinion, that there was no way but to appeal to the King, and deſire his Favour, as well as his Juſtice, in giving his Commiſſion to the Perſon deſign'd by the Marquis; which would remove that part of the Exception, which would moſt trouble the Prince; and he offer'd to write himſelf very earneſtly to the King. Beſides his deſire to gratify the Marquis, he did in truth believe it of great Importance to his Majeſty's Service, to engage a Perſon of ſuch a Fortune and Intereſt, ſo throughly in his Quarrel, as he then believ'd ſuch an Obligation muſt needs do; the Flexibility and Inſtability of that Gentleman's Nature, not being then underſtood, or ſuſpected.

He did write, with all the skill and importunity he could uſe, to the King; and writ to the Lord *Faulkland*, "To take Sir *John Colepepper* with him, if "he found any averſion in the King, that they might together diſcourſe, and "prevail with him. But his Majeſty poſitively and obſtinately refuſed to grant it; and ſaid, "He would not, to pleaſe the Marquis in an unjuſt pretence, put "a publick diſobligation and affront upon his Nephew. So the expreſs return'd without effect, and the Marquis was as ſenſibly touched as could be imagin'd; and ſaid, "That he was fallen from all Credit with the King, and was "made incapable of doing him farther Service; that his Fidelity ſhould never be leſſen'd towards him (as in truth he was incapable of a diſloyal thought) "but

" ſince he was become ſo totally uſeleſs to the King, and to his Friends, he " hoped his Majeſty would give him leave to retire to his own Houſe; where, " he doubted not, he ſhould be ſuffer'd to live privately, and quietly, to pray " for the King. The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to purſue any Reſolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majeſty, for whom he had all poſſible duty; yet he knew too, that the miſchief was not ſmall, from the obſervation that the Marquis thought himſelf ill uſed, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment thoſe Jealouſies and Diſcontents; and therefore reſolv'd (having diſpatch'd all things which were incumbent on him at *Briſtol*, and uſed all freedom with the Marquis, for the diſpelling all troubleſome imaginations) to go himſelf to the King, and to repreſent that affair to him, and the probable conſequences of it, with new Inſtances. And at laſt, with very great difficulty, he did ſo far prevail with his Majeſty, that he gave a Commiſſion to Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, to be Governour of *Weymouth*; which he was the more eaſily perſwaded to, out of ſome prejudice he had to the Perſon, who, he underſtood, was deſign'd to that Government. However, the Marquis receiv'd it as a ſeaſonable Act of favour to himſelf, and in a ſhort time after, came from *Briſtol* to *Oxford*, to attend upon his Majeſty according to his Command.

The Proſecution of the Siege of Gloceſter.

At *Gloceſter* the buſineſs proceeded very ſlowly: for though the Army encreaſed wonderfully there, by the acceſs of Forces from all Quarters, yet the King had neither Money nor materials requiſite for a Siege, and they in the Town behaved themſelves with great Courage and Reſolution, and made many ſharp and bold Sallies upon the King's Forces, and Did more hurt commonly than they Receiv'd; and many Officers of Name, beſides common Soldiers, were ſlain in the Trenches, and Approaches; the Governour leaving nothing unperform'd that became a vigilant Commander. Sometimes, upon the Sallies, the Horſe got between the Town and Them, ſo that many Priſoners were taken, who were always drunk; and, after they were recover'd, they confeſs'd, " That " the Governour always gave the Party that made the Sally, as much Wine and " ſtrong Water as they deſir'd to drink: ſo that it ſeems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very obſervable, that in all the time the King lay there with a very glorious Army, and after the taking of a City of much greater name, there was no one Officer run from the Town to him, nor above three common Soldiers, which a great Argument, the diſcipline within was very good. Beſides the loſs of Men before the Town, both from the Walls, and by ſickneſs (which was not greater than was to be reaſonably expected) a very great Licenſe broke into the Army both among Officers and Soldiers, the malignity of thoſe parts being thought excuſe for the exerciſe of any rapine, or ſeverity among the Inhabitants. Inſomuch as it is hardly to be credited, how many thouſand Sheep were in a few days deſtroyed, beſides what were brought in by the Cmomiſſaries for a regular proviſion; and many Country Men impriſon'd by Officers without Warrant, or the leaſt knowledge of the King's, till they had paid good Sums of Money, for their Delinquency; all which brought great clamour upon the Diſcipline of the Army, and Juſtice of the Officers, and made them likewiſe leſs prepared for the Service they were to expect.

In the mean time nothing was left at *London* unattempted, that might advance the preparation for the relief of *Gloceſter*. All Overtures of Peace were ſuppreſs'd, and the City purely at the Devotion of thoſe who were moſt Violent, who put one compliment upon them at this time, that is not to be paſſed over. It is remember'd before, that, at the beginning of theſe diſtractions, before the King's going into the North, his Majeſty had, upon the reiterated importunity of the two Houſes, made Sir *John Coniers* Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*; who was a Soldier of very good eſtimation, and had been the Lieutenant-General of his Horſe in that laſt preparation againſt the *Scots*, and Governour of *Berwick*. The Parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own Creature, and deſir'd to have engag'd him in ſome active Command in their Armies, having the Reputation of one of the beſt Officers of Horſe of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contain'd himſelf within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of Priſoners, ſent to the Tower by the two Houſes, and the exceſſive

Fees

Fees they paid, yielded him a vaſt profit; in the adminiſtration whereof, he was ſo impartial, that thoſe Priſoners who ſuffer'd moſt for his Majeſty, found no more favour or indulgence from him, than the reſt. About this time, either diſcerning that they grew to Confide leſs in him, than they had done, and that he muſt engage himſelf in their Service, or ſhould ſhortly loſe the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be ſo near thoſe Actions he ſaw every day committed, and to lie under the ſcandal of keeping his Majeſty's only Fort which he could not apply to his Service, he deſired leave from the Houſes, "To go into *Holland*, where his Education had been, and his Fortune was, without obliging himſelf to a time of return. The Propoſition was not unwelcome to the Houſes; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the Cuſtody of the Tower of *London*, to the Lord Mayor *Pennington*; that the City might ſee they were truſted to hold their own Reins, and had a juriſdiction committed to them which had always juſtled with their own. This compliment ſerv'd to a double purpoſe; for thereby, as they made the City believe they had put themſelves under their protection, ſo they were ſure, they had put the City under the power, or under the apprehenſion of the power of him, who would never forſake them out of an Appetite to Peace.

The Cuſtody of the Tower committed by the two Houſes to the Lord Mayor Pennington.

The Earl of *Eſſex* now declared, that he would himſelf undertake the relief of *Gloceſter*, whereas before Sir *William Waller* was deſign'd to it, and, whenceſoever it proceeded, was return'd to his old full alacrity againſt the King, and recover'd thoſe Officers and Soldiers again to him, who had abſented by his Connivance, or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his Numbers increaſed not ſo faſt as the occaſion requir'd: for Colonel *Maſſey* found means to ſend many Meſſengers out of the Town, to advertiſe the ſtreights he was in, and the time that he ſhould be able to hold out. Their Ordinance of Preſſing, though executed with unuſual rigour, inſomuch as Perſons of good Fortunes, who had retired to *London*, that they might be leſs taken notice of, were ſeiſed on, and detain'd in Cuſtody, till they paid ſo much Money, or procur'd an able Man to go in their places, brought not in ſuch a ſupply as they expected; and ſuch as were brought in, and deliver'd to the Officers, declared ſuch an averſneſs to the work to which they were deſign'd, and ſuch a Peremptory reſolution not to Fight, that they only increaſed their Numbers, not their Strength, and run away upon the firſt opportunity. In the end, they had no other reſort for Men, but to thoſe who had ſo conſtantly ſupplied them with Money, and prevailed with their true Friends, the City, which they ſtill alarm'd with the King's irreconcilableneſs to them, to ſend three or four of their Train'd-band Regiments, or Auxiliaries, to Fight with the Enemy at that diſtance, rather than to expect him at their own Walls, where they muſt be aſſured to ſee him as ſoon as *Gloceſter* ſhould be reduced; and then they would be as much perplex'd with the Malignants within, as with the Enemy without their City.

Upon ſuch Arguments, and the power of the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſo many Regiments of Horſe and Foot as he deſired, were aſſign'd to march with him; and ſo, towards the end of *Auguſt*, he march'd out of *London*; and having appointed a Rendezvous near *Aylesbury*, where he was met by the Lord *Grey*, and other Forces of the Aſſociated Counties, from thence he marched by eaſy Journeys towards *Gloceſter*, with an Army of above eight thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe. It would not at firſt be credited at the Leaguer, that the Earl of *Eſſex* could be in a condition to attempt ſuch a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the Intelligence, and ſuſpected rather that he would give ſome Alarm to *Oxford*, where the Queen was, and thereby hope to draw the Army from *Gloceſter*, than that in truth he would venture upon ſo tedious a march, where he muſt paſs over a Campagne near thirty miles in length, where half the King's Body of Horſe would diſtreſs, if not deſtroy his whole Army, and through a Country eaten bare, where he could find neither Proviſion for Man nor Horſe; and if he ſhould, without interruption, be ſuffer'd to go into *Gloceſter*, he could neither ſtay there, nor poſſibly retire to *London*, without being deſtroy'd in the Rear by the King's Army, which ſhould nevertheleſs not engage it ſelf in the hazard of a Battle. Upon theſe concluſions they proceeded in their works before *Gloceſter*, their

The Earl of Eſſex marches out of London to relieve Gloceſter.

Galleries being near finiſh'd, and viſibly a great want of Ammunition in the Town; yet the Lord *Wilmot* was appointed, with a good Party of Horſe, to wait about *Banbury*, and to retire before the Enemy, if he ſhould advance towards *Gloceſter*, and to give ſuch Impediments to their March, as in ſuch a Country might be eaſy to do; Prince *Rupert* himſelf ſtaying with the Body of Horſe, upon the Hills above *Gloceſter*, to joyn, if the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould be ſo hardy as to venture.

The Earl came to *Brackley*, and having there taken in from *Leiceſter* and *Bedford*, the laſt Recruits upon which he depended, he march'd ſteadily over all that Campaign, which they thought he fear'd, towards *Gloceſter*; and though the King's Horſe were often within view, and entertain'd him with light Skirmiſhes, he purſued his direct way; the King's Horſe ſtill retiring before him, till the Foot was compelled to raiſe the Siege, in more Diſorder and Diſtraction, than might have been expected; and ſo with leſs Loſs, and eaſier Skirmiſhes, than can be imagin'd, the Earl, with his Army and Train, march'd to *Gloceſter*; where he found them reduced, to one ſingle Barrel of Powder; and all other Proviſions anſwerable. And it muſt be confeſs'd, that Governour gave a ſtop to the Career of the King's good Succeſs, and from his Pertinacious Defence of that Place, the Parliament had time to recover their broken Forces, and more broken Spirits; and may acknowledge to this riſe, the greatneſs to which they afterwards aſpired.

The Siege of Gloceſter *rais'd.*

The Earl of *Eſſex* ſtayed in that joyful Town (where he was receiv'd with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Honour) three days; and in that time, which was as wonderful as any part of the Story, caus'd all neceſſary Proviſions to be brought in to them, out of thoſe very Quarters in which the King's Army had been ſuſtain'd, and which they conceiv'd to be intirely ſpent: So ſollicitous were the People to conceal what they had, and to reſerve it for them; which, without a Connivance from the King's Commiſſaries, could not have been done. All this time, the King lay at *Sudley*-Caſtle, the Houſe of the Lord *Chandois*, within eight Miles of *Gloceſter*, watching when that Army would return; which, they conceiv'd, ſtayed rather out of Deſpair than Election, in thoſe eaten Quarters: and, to open them a way for their Retreat, his Majeſty remov'd to *Eſham*, hoping the Earl would chooſe to go back the ſame way he came; which for many Reaſons, was to be deſired; and thereupon the Earl march'd to *Tewkesbury*, as if he had no other purpoſe. The King's Horſe, though bold, and vigorous upon Action, and Execution were always leſs patient of Duty and ill Accommodation than they ſhould be; and at this time, partly with wearineſs, and partly with the indiſpoſition that poſſeſs'd the whole Army upon this Relief of the Town, were leſs vigilant towards the Motion of the Enemy: So that the Earl of *Eſſex* was march'd with his whole Army and Train from *Twekesbury*, four and twenty Hours before the King heard which way he was gone: For he took the advantage of a dark Night, and having ſure Guides, reached *Cirenceſter*, before the breaking of the Day; where he found two Regiments of the King's Horſe quarter'd ſecurely; all which, by the negligence of the Officers (a common and Fatal Crime throughout the War, on the King's part) he ſurpriſed, to the number of above three hundred; and which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of Proviſions, prepared, by the King's Commiſſaries, for the Army before *Gloceſter*, and which they neglected to remove after the Siege was raiſed, and ſo moſt Sottiſhly left it for the Relief of the Enemy, far more Apprehenſive of Hungar than of the Sword; and indeed this wonderful Supply ſtrangely exalted their Spirits, as ſent by the ſpecial Care and extraordinary Hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

The Earl of Eſſex *in his return ſeizes upon* Cirenceſter.

From hence the Earl, having no farther Apprehenſion of the King's Horſe, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open Campaign, and being at the leaſt twenty Miles before him, by eaſy marches, that his ſick and wearied Soldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and encloſed County of North *Wiltſhire*, his direct way to *London*. Aſſoon as the King had ſure notice which way the Enemy was gone, he endeavour'd, by expedition, and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the ſupine negligence of thoſe he truſted, had robbed him of; and Himſelf, with matchleſs Induſtry, taking Care to lead up the Foot, Prince *Rupert*, with near five thouſand

ſand Horſe, march'd Day and Night over the Hills, to get between *London* and the Enemy before they ſhould be able to get out of thoſe encloſed deep Countries, in which they were engaged between narrow Lanes, and to entertain them with Skirmiſhes till the whole Army ſhould come up. This deſign, purſued and executed with indefatigable pains, ſucceeded to his wiſh; for when the Van of the Enemy's Army had almoſt march'd over *Awborne* Chaſe, intending that Night to have reach'd *Newbury*, Prince *Rupert*, beyond their fear or expectation, appear'd with a ſtrong Body of Horſe ſo near them, that before they could put themſelves in order to receive him, he Charged their Rear, and Routed them with good Execution; and though the Enemy perform'd the Parts of good Men, and applied themſelves more dexterouſly to the relief of each other, than on ſo ſuddain and unlook'd for an occaſion was expected, yet with ſome difficulty, and the loſs of many Men, they were glad to ſhorten their Journey, and the Night coming on, took up their Quarters at *Hungerford*.

In this Conflict, which was very ſharp for an hour or two, many fell of the Enemy, and of the King's Party none of Name, but the Marquis of *Vieu Ville*, a Gallant Gentleman of the *French* Nation, who had attended the Queen out of *Holland*, and put himſelf as a Voluntier upon this Action, into the Lord *Jermyn*'s Regiment. There were hurt many Officers, and among thoſe the Lord *Jermyn* receiv'd a ſhot in his Arm with a Piſtol, owing the preſervation of his Life from other ſhots, to the excellent temper of his Armour; and the Lord *Digby* a ſtrange hurt in the face, a Piſtol being diſcharged at ſo near a diſtance upon him, that the Powder fetch'd much blood from his face, and for the preſent blinded him, without farther miſchief; by which it was concluded, that the Bullet had dropped out before the Piſtol was diſcharg'd: And may be reckon'd among one of thoſe eſcapes, of which that Gallant Perſon hath paſſed a greater number, in the courſe of his Life, than any Man I know.

By this Expedition of Prince *Rupert*, the Enemy was forced to ſuch delay, that the King came up with his Foot and Train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the Licenſe which many Officers and Soldiers took whilſt the King lay at *Eſham*, were much leſſen'd, being above two thouſand fewer, than when he raiſed his Siege from *Gloceſter*. And when the Earl, the next day, advanced from *Hungerford*, hoping to recover *Newbury*, which Prince *Rupert* with his Horſe would not be able to hinder him from; when he came within two Miles of the Town, he found the King poſſeſs'd of it. For his Majeſty, with his whole Army, was come thither two hours before; this put him to a neceſſity of ſtaying upon the Field that Night; it being now the ſeventeenth day of *September*.

It was now thought by many, that the King had recover'd whatſoever had been loſt by former Overſights, Omiſſions, or Neglects, and that by the deſtroying the Army which had reliev'd *Gloceſter*, he ſhould be fully recompenſed for being diſappointed of that Purchaſe. He ſeem'd to be poſſeſs'd of all advantages to be deſired, a good Town to refreſh his Men in, whilſt the Enemy lodged in the Field, his own Quarters to friend, and his Garriſon of *Wallingford* at hand, and *Oxford* it ſelf within diſtance for ſupyply of whatſoever ſhould be wanting; when the Enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the Prince had Attack'd them, the day before, had ſtood in their Arms in a Country where they could not find Victual. So that it was conceiv'd, that it was in the King's Power, whether he would Fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable diſadvantages, who muſt make their way through, or ſtarve; and this was ſo fully underſtood, that it was reſolv'd over night, not to engage in Battle, but upon ſuch grounds as ſhould give an Aſſurance of Victory. But, contrary to this reſolution, when the Earl of *Eſſex* had, with excellent Conduct, drawn out his Army in Battalia, upon a Hill called *Bigg*'s Hill, within leſs than a Mile of the Town, and order'd his Men in all places to the beſt advantage, by the precipitate Courage of ſome young Officers, who had good Commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the Courage of the Enemy, ſtrong Parties became ſucceſſively ſo far engaged, that the King was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a Battle, and to give the Enemy, at leaſt, an equal game to play.

Galleries being near finiſh'd, and viſibly a great want of Ammunition in the Town; yet the Lord *Wilmot* was appointed, with a good Party of Horſe, to wait about *Banbury*, and to retire before the Enemy, if he ſhould advance towards *Gloceſter*, and to give ſuch Impediments to their March, as in ſuch a Country might be eaſy to do; Prince *Rupert* himſelf ſtaying with the Body of Horſe, upon the Hills above *Gloceſter*, to joyn, if the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould be ſo hardy as to venture.

The Earl came to *Brackley*, and having there taken in from *Leiceſter* and *Bedford*, the laſt Recruits upon which he depended, he march'd ſteadily over all that Campaign, which they thought he fear'd, towards *Gloceſter*; and though the King's Horſe were often within view, and entertain'd him with light Skirmiſhes, he purſued his direct way; the King's Horſe ſtill retiring before him, till the Foot was compelled to raiſe the Siege, in more Diſorder and Diſtraction, than might have been expected; and ſo with leſs Loſs, and eaſier Skirmiſhes, than can be imagin'd, the Earl, with his Army and Train, march'd to *Gloceſter*; where he found them reduced, to one ſingle Barrel of Powder; and all other Proviſions anſwerable. And it muſt be confeſs'd, that Governour gave a ſtop to the Career of the King's good Succeſs, and from his Pertinacious Defence of that Place, the Parliament had time to recover their broken Forces, and more broken Spirits; and may acknowledge to this riſe, the greatneſs to which they afterwards aſpired.

The Siege of Gloceſter *rais'd.*

The Earl of *Eſſex* ſtayed in that joyful Town (where he was receiv'd with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Honour) three days; and in that time, which was as wonderful as any part of the Story, caus'd all neceſſary Proviſions to be brought in to them, out of thoſe very Quarters in which the King's Army had been ſuſtain'd, and which they conceiv'd to be intirely ſpent: So ſollicitous were the People to conceal what they had, and to reſerve it for them; which, without a Connivance from the King's Commiſſaries, could not have been done. All this time, the King lay at *Sudley*-Caſtle, the Houſe of the Lord *Chandois*, within eight Miles of *Gloceſter*, watching when that Army would return; which, they conceiv'd, ſtayed rather out of Deſpair than Election, in thoſe eaten Quarters: and, to open them a way for their Retreat, his Majeſty remov'd to *Eſham*, hoping the Earl would chooſe to go back the ſame way he came; which for many Reaſons, was to be deſired; and thereupon the Earl march'd to *Tewkesbury*, as if he had no other purpoſe. The King's Horſe, though bold, and vigorous upon Action, and Execution were always leſs patient of Duty and ill Accommodation than they ſhould be; and at this time, partly with wearineſs, and partly with the indiſpoſition that poſſeſs'd the whole Army upon this Relief of the Town, were leſs vigilant towards the Motion of the Enemy: So that the Earl of *Eſſex* was march'd with his whole Army and Train from *Twekesbury*, four and twenty Hours before the King heard which way he was gone: For he took the advantage of a dark Night, and having ſure Guides, reached *Cirenceſter*, before the breaking of the Day; where he found two Regiments of the King's Horſe quarter'd ſecurely; all which, by the negligence of the Officers (a common and Fatal Crime throughout the War, on the King's part) he ſurpriſed, to the number of above three hundred; and which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of Proviſions, prepared, by the King's Commiſſaries, for the Army before *Gloceſter*, and which they neglected to remove after the Siege was raiſed, and ſo moſt Sottiſhly left it for the Relief of the Enemy, far more Apprehenſive of Hungar than of the Sword; and indeed this wonderful Supply ſtrangely exalted their Spirits, as ſent by the ſpecial Care and extraordinary Hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

The Earl of Eſſex *in his return ſeizes upon* Cirenceſter.

From hence the Earl, having no farther Apprehenſion of the King's Horſe, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open Campaign, and being at the leaſt twenty Miles before him, by eaſy marches, that his ſick and wearied Soldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and encloſed County of North *Wiltſhire*, his direct way to *London*. Aſſoon as the King had ſure notice which way the Enemy was gone, he endeavour'd, by expedition, and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the ſupine negligence of thoſe he truſted, had robbed him of; and Himſelf, with matchleſs Induſtry, taking Care to lead up the Foot, Prince *Rupert*, with near five thouſand

ſand Horſe, march'd Day and Night over the Hills, to get between *London* and the Enemy before they ſhould be able to get out of thoſe encloſed deep Countries, in which they were engaged between narrow Lanes, and to entertain them with Skirmiſhes till the whole Army ſhould come up. This deſign, purſued and executed with indefatigable pains, ſucceeded to his wiſh; for when the Van of the Enemy's Army had almoſt march'd over *Awborne* Chaſe, intending that Night to have reach'd *Newbury*, Prince *Rupert*, beyond their fear or expectation, appear'd with a ſtrong Body of Horſe ſo near them, that before they could put themſelves in order to receive him, he Charged their Rear, and Routed them with good Execution; and though the Enemy perform'd the Parts of good Men, and applied themſelves more dexterouſly to the relief of each other, than on ſo ſuddain and unlook'd for an occaſion was expected, yet with ſome difficulty, and the loſs of many Men, they were glad to ſhorten their Journey, and the Night coming on, took up their Quarters at *Hungerford*.

In this Conflict, which was very ſharp for an hour or two, many fell of the Enemy, and of the King's Party none of Name, but the Marquis of *Vieu Ville*, a Gallant Gentleman of the *French* Nation, who had attended the Queen out of *Holland*, and put himſelf as a Voluntier upon this Action, into the Lord *Jermyn*'s Regiment. There were hurt many Officers, and among thoſe the Lord *Jermyn* receiv'd a ſhot in his Arm with a Piſtol, owing the preſervation of his Life from other ſhots, to the excellent temper of his Armour; and the Lord *Digby* a ſtrange hurt in the face, a Piſtol being diſcharged at ſo near a diſtance upon him, that the Powder fetch'd much blood from his face, and for the preſent blinded him, without farther miſchief; by which it was concluded, that the Bullet had dropped out before the Piſtol was diſcharg'd: And may be reckon'd among one of thoſe eſcapes, of which that Gallant Perſon hath paſſed a greater number, in the courſe of his Life, than any Man I know.

By this Expedition of Prince *Rupert*, the Enemy was forced to ſuch delay, that the King came up with his Foot and Train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the Licenſe which many Officers and Soldiers took whilſt the King lay at *Eſham*, were much leſſen'd, being above two thouſand fewer, than when he raiſed his Siege from *Gloceſter*. And when the Earl, the next day, advanced from *Hungerford*, hoping to recover *Newbury*, which Prince *Rupert* with his Horſe would not be able to hinder him from; when he came within two Miles of the Town, he found the King poſſeſs'd of it. For his Majeſty, with his whole Army, was come thither two hours before; this put him to a neceſſity of ſtaying upon the Field that Night; it being now the ſeventeenth day of *September*.

It was now thought by many, that the King had recover'd whatſoever had been loſt by former Overſights, Omiſſions, or Neglects, and that by the deſtroying the Army which had reliev'd *Gloceſter*, he ſhould be fully recompenſed for being diſappointed of that Purchaſe. He ſeem'd to be poſſeſs'd of all advantages to be deſired, a good Town to refreſh his Men in, whilſt the Enemy lodged in the Field, his own Quarters to friend, and his Garriſon of *Wallingford* at hand, and *Oxford* it ſelf within diſtance for ſupyply of whatſoever ſhould be wanting; when the Enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the Prince had Attack'd them, the day before, had ſtood in their Arms in a Country where they could not find Victual. So that it was conceiv'd, that it was in the King's Power, whether he would Fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable diſadvantages, who muſt make their way through, or ſtarve; and this was ſo fully underſtood, that it was reſolv'd over night, not to engage in Battle, but upon ſuch grounds as ſhould give an Aſſurance of Victory. But, contrary to this reſolution, when the Earl of *Eſſex* had, with excellent Conduct, drawn out his Army in Battalia, upon a Hill called *Bigg*'s-Hill, within leſs than a Mile of the Town, and order'd his Men in all places to the beſt advantage, by the precipitate Courage of ſome young Officers, who had good Commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the Courage of the Enemy, ſtrong Parties became ſucceſſively ſo far engaged, that the King was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a Battle, and to give the Enemy, at leaſt, an equal game to play.

The Battle of Newbury.

It was diſputed, on all parts, with great Fierceneſs and Courage; the Enemy preſerving good Order, and ſtanding rather to keep the ground they were upon, than to get more; by which they did not expoſe themſelves to thoſe diſadvantages, which any motion would have offer'd to the Aſſailants. The King's Horſe, with a kind of contempt of the Enemy, Charged with wonderful boldneſs, upon all grounds of inequality; and were ſo far too hard for the Troops of the other ſide, that they Routed them in moſt places, till they had left the greateſt part of their Foot without any guard at all of Horſe. But then the Foot behaved themſelves admirably on the Enemies part, and gave their ſcatter'd Horſe time to Rally, and were ready to aſſiſt and ſecure them upon all occaſions. The *London* Train'd-bands, and Auxiliary Regiments (of whoſe inexperience of danger, or any kind of Service, beyond the eaſy practice of their Poſtures in the Artillery Garden, Men had till then too cheap an eſtimation) behaved themſelves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preſervation of that Army that day. For they ſtood as a Bulwark and Rampire to defend the reſt; and when their wings of Horſe were ſcatter'd, and diſperſed, kept their ground ſo ſteadily, that, though Prince *Rupert* himſelf led up the choice Horſe to Charge them, and endured their ſtorm of ſmall ſhot, he could make no impreſſion upon their ſtand of Pikes; but was forced to wheel about: of ſo Soveraign benefit and uſe, is that readineſs, order, and dexterity in the uſe of their Arms, which hath been ſo much neglected.

It was fought all that day without any ſuch notable turn, as that either Party could think they had much the better. For though the King's Horſe made the Enemies often give ground, yet the Foot were ſo immoveable, that little was gotten by the other; and the firſt entrance into the Battle was ſo ſuddain, and without Order, that, during the whole day, no uſe was made of the King's Cannon, though that of the Enemy was placed ſo unhappily, that it did very great execution upon the King's Party, both Horſe and Foot. The night parted them, when nothing elſe could; and each Party had then time to revolve the overſights of the day. The Enemy had fared at leaſt as well as they hoped for; and therefore, in the morning early, they put themſelves in order of marching, having an obligation in neceſſity to gain ſome place, in which they might eat and ſleep. On the King's ſide there was not that caution which ſhould have been the day before, and though the Number of the ſlain was not ſo great, as, in ſo hot a day might have been look'd for; yet very many Officers and Gentlemen were hurt: ſo that they rather choſe to take advantage of the Enemies motion, than to Charge them again upon the old ground, from whence they had been, by order, call'd off the Night before, when they had recover'd a Poſt, the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the Adverſary. The Earl of *Eſſex* finding his way open, purſued his main deſign of returning to *London*, and took that way by *Newbury*, which led towards *Reading*; which Prince *Rupert* obſerving, ſuffer'd him, without interruption or diſturbance, to paſs, till his whole Army was enter'd into the narrow Lanes; and then with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and one thouſand Muſqueteers, follow'd his rear with ſo good effect, that he put them into great diſorder, and killed many, and took many Priſoners. However the Earl, with the groſs of his Army, and all his Cannon, got ſafe into *Reading*; and after a night or two ſpent there to refreſh and reſt his Men, he moved in a ſlow and orderly march to *London*, leaving *Reading* to the King's Forces; which were preſently poſſeſs'd by Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, with three thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe, and made again a Garriſon for the King: his Majeſty and Prince *Rupert*, with the remainder of the Army, retiring to *Oxford*, and leaving a Garriſon under the Command of Colonel *Boys* in *Donnington* Caſtle (a Houſe of *John Packer*'s, but more famous for having been the Seat of *Geoffery Chaucer*, within a Mile of *Newbury*) to Command the great Road, through which the Weſtern Trade was driven to *London*.

The Earl of Eſſex *gets into* Reading: *thence to* London.

At this time Sir *William Waller* was at *Windſor*, with above two thouſand Horſe, and as many Foot; as unconcern'd for what might befall the Earl of *Eſſex*, as the Earl had formerly been on His behalf at *Roundway* Hill; otherwiſe, if he had advanced upon the King to *Newbury* (which was not above twenty

twenty Miles) when the Earl was on the other ſide, the King had been in great danger of an utter Defeat; and the apprehenſion of this, was the reaſon, or was afterward, pretended to be, for the haſty engagement in Battle.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was receiv'd at *London*, with all imaginable demonſtrations of Affection, and Reverence; Publick, and Solemn Thankſgiving was appointed for his Victory; for ſuch they made no ſcruple to declare it. Without doubt, the Action was perform'd by him with incomparable Conduct and Courage; in every part whereof, very much was to be imputed to his own Perſonal Virtue; and it may be well reckon'd among the moſt Soldierly Actions of this unhappy War. For he did the buſineſs he undertook, and, after the Relief of *Gloceſter*, his next care was to retire with his Army to *London*; which, conſidering the length of the way, and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with leſs loſs than could be expected; on the other hand, the King was not without ſigns of a Victory. He had follow'd, and compell'd the Enemy to Fight, by overtaking him, when he deſir'd to avoid it. He had the ſpoil of the Field, and purſued the Enemy the next day after the Battle, and had a good execution upon them, without receiving any loſs; and, which ſeem'd to Crown the Work, fixed a Garriſon again at *Reading*, and thereby ſtreighten'd their Quarters as much as they were in the beginning of the year; his own being enlarged by the almoſt entire Conqueſt of the Weſt, and his Army much ſtronger, in Horſe and Foot, than when he firſt took the Field. On which ſide ſoever the Marks and publick Enſigns of Victory appear'd moſt conſpicuous, certain it is, that according to the unequal fate, that attended all Skirmiſhes and Conflicts with ſuch an Adverſary, the loſs on the King's ſide was in Weight much more conſiderable, and penetrating; for whilſt ſome obſcure, unheard of Colonel or Officer, was miſſing on the Enemies ſide, and ſome Citizen's Wife bewailed the loſs of her Huſband, there were on the other, above twenty Officers of the Field, and Perſons of Honour, and publick Name, ſlain upon the place, and more of the ſame Quality hurt.

The Earl of Sunderland *ſlain in this Battle.*

Here fell the Earl of *Sunderland*, a Lord of great Fortune, tender years (being not above three and twenty years of Age) and an early Judgment; who, having no Command in the Army, attended upon the King's Perſon, under the obligation of Honour; and putting himſelf that day in the King's Troop a Voluntier before they came to Charge, was taken away by a Cannon Bullet.

and the Earl of Carnarvon; *His Character.*

This day alſo fell the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who, after he had Charged, and Routed a Body of the Enemies Horſe, coming careleſly back by ſome of the ſcatter'd Troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the Body with a Sword; of which he died within an hour. He was a Perſon, with whoſe great Parts and Virtue the World was not enough acquainted. Before the War, though his Education was adorn'd by Travel, and an exact obſervation of the manners of more Nations, than our Common Travellers uſe to viſit (for he had, after the View of *Spain*, *France*, and moſt parts of *Italy*, ſpent ſome time in *Turky*, and thoſe Eaſtern Countries) he ſeem'd to be wholely delighted with thoſe looſer Exerciſes of pleaſure, Hunting, Hawking, and the like; in which the Nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the Troubles begun, having the Command of the firſt or ſecond Regiment of Horſe, that was raiſed for the King's Service, he wholely gave himſelf up to the office and duty of a Soldier; no Man more diligently Obeying, or more dexterouſly Commanding; for he was not only of a very keen Courage in the expoſing his Perſon, but an excellent Diſcerner and Purſuer of advantage upon his Enemy. He had a Mind and Underſtanding very preſent in the Article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profeſſion. Thoſe Infirmities, and that Licenſe, which he had formerly indulged to himſelf, he put off with ſeverity, when others thought them excuſable under the notion of a Soldier. He was a great lover of Juſtice, and practiſed it then moſt deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and ſo ſtrict in the obſervation of his word, and promiſe, as a Commander, that he could not be perſwaded to ſtay in the Weſt, when he found it not in his power to perform the Agreement he had made with *Dorcheſter*, and *Weymouth*. If he had liv'd, he would have prov'd a great Ornament to that profeſſion,

and an excellent Soldier; and by his death the King found a ſenſible weakneſs in his Army.

And the Lord Viſcount Falkland. *His Character.*

But I muſt here take leave a little longer to diſcontinue this Narration: and if the celebrating the memory of eminent, and extraordinary Perſons, and tranſmitting their great Virtues, for the imitation of Poſterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of Hiſtory, it will not be thought impertinent, in this place, to remember a loſs which no time will ſuffer to be forgotten, and no ſucceſs or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy Battle, was ſlain the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*; a Perſon of ſuch prodigious parts of Learning and Knowledge, of that inimitable ſweetneſs and delight in Converſation, of ſo flowing and obliging a humanity and goodneſs to Mankind, and of that primitive ſimplicity and integrity of Life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accurſed Civil War, than that ſingle Loſs, it muſt be moſt infamous, and execrable to all Poſterity.

Turpe mori, poſt te, ſolo non poſſe dolore.

Before this Parliament, his condition of life was ſo happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of Age, he was Maſter of a Noble Fortune, which deſcended to him by the gift of a Grandfather, without paſſing through his Father or Mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented, to find themſelves paſſed by in the deſcent. His Education for ſome years had been in *Ireland*, where his Father was Lord Deputy; ſo that, when he return'd into *England*, to the poſſeſſion of his Fortune, he was unintangled with any Acquaintance or Friends, which uſually grow up by the cuſtom of Converſation; and therefore was to make a pure Election of his Company; which he choſe by other Rules than were preſcribed to the young Nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted ſome few to his Friendſhip for the agreeableneſs of their Natures, and their undoubted Affection to him, that his Familiarity and Friendſhip, for the moſt part, was with Men of the moſt eminent and ſublime Parts, and of untouched Reputation in point of Integrity; and ſuch Men had a Title to his Boſome.

He was a great Cheriſher of Wit, and Fancy, and good Parts, in any Man; and if he found them clouded with Poverty or Want, a moſt liberal and bountiful Patron towards them, even above his Fortune; of which, in thoſe adminiſtrations, he was ſuch a Diſpenſer, as, if he had been truſted with it to ſuch Uſes, and if there had been the leaſt of Vice in his expence, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was conſtant and pertinacious in whatſoever he reſolv'd to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were neceſſary to that end. And therefore having once reſolv'd not to ſee *London*, which he lov'd above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek Tongue, he went to his own Houſe in the Country, and purſued it with that indefatigable Induſtry, that it will not be believ'd in how ſhort a time he was Maſter of it, and accurately read all the Greek Hiſtorians.

In this time, his Houſe being within little more than ten Miles of *Oxford*, he contracted Familiarity and Friendſhip with the moſt polite and accurate Men of that Univerſity; who found ſuch an immenſneſs of Wit, and ſuch a ſolidity of Judgment in him, ſo infinite a Fancy, bound in by a moſt Logical ratiocination, ſuch a vaſt knowledge that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet ſuch an exceſſive Humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently reſorted, and dwelt with him, as in a College ſituated in a purer Air; ſo that his Houſe was a Univerſity in a leſs Volume; whither they came not ſo much for Repoſe as Study; and to examine and refine thoſe groſſer Propoſitions, which lazineſs and conſent made current in vulgar Converſation.

Many attempts were made upon him by the inſtigation of his Mother (who was a Lady of another perſwaſion in Religion, and of a moſt Maſculine underſtanding, allay'd with the paſſion and infirmities of her own Sex) to pervert him in his Piety to the Church of *England*, and to reconcile him to that of *Rome*; which they proſecuted with the more Confidence, becauſe

cauſe he declined no opportunity or occaſion of conference with thoſe of that Religion, whether Prieſts, or Laicks; having diligently ſtudied the Controverſies, and exactly read all, or the choiceſt of the Greek, and Latin Fathers, and having a Memory ſo ſtupendious, that he remember'd on all occaſions, whatſoever he read. And he was ſo great an Enemy to that paſſion and uncharitableneſs, which he ſaw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of Religion, that in all thoſe diſputations with Prieſts, and others of the Roman Church, he affected to manifeſt all poſſible Civility to their Perſons, and eſtimation of their Parts; which made them retain ſtill ſome hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reaſons to him to that purpoſe. But this Charity towards them was much leſſen'd, and any Correſpondence with them quite declined, when, by ſiniſter Arts, they had corrupted his two younger Brothers, being both Children, and ſtolen them from his Houſe, and Tranſported them beyond Seas, and perverted his Siſters: upon which occaſion he writ two large diſcourſes againſt the Principal Poſitions of that Religion, with that ſharpneſs of Style, and full Weight of Reaſon, that the Church is deprived of great Jewels in the concealment of them, and that they were not publiſh'd to the World.

He was ſuperior to all thoſe paſſions and affections which attend vulgar Minds, and was guilty of no other Ambition than of Knowledge, and to be reputed a Lover of all good Men; and that made him too much a contemner of thoſe Arts, which muſt be indulged in the tranſactions of human Affairs. In the laſt ſhort Parliament, he was a Burgeſs in the Houſe of Commons; and, from the Debates which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and ſobriety, he contracted ſuch a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impoſſible they could ever produce miſchief or inconvenience to the Kingdom; or that the Kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermiſſion of them. And from the unhappy and unſeaſonable diſſolution of that Convention, he harbour'd, it may be, ſome jealouſy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined; his Father having waſted a full Fortune there, in thoſe Offices and Employments by which other Men uſe to obtain a greater. He was choſen again this Parliament to ſerve in the ſame place, and, in the beginning of it, declar'd himſelf very ſharply and ſeverely againſt thoſe Exorbitances, which had been moſt grievous to the State; for he was ſo rigid an obſerver of eſtabliſh'd Laws and Rules, that he could not endure the leaſt breach, or deviation from them; and thought no miſchief ſo intollerable as the preſumption of Miniſters of State to break poſitive Rules, for reaſons of State; or Judges to tranſgreſs known Laws, upon the Title of Conveniency, or Neceſſity; which made him ſo ſevere againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Finch*, contrary to his Natural gentleneſs, and temper: inſomuch as they who did not know his compoſition to be as free from Revenge, as it was from Pride, thought that the ſharpneſs to the Former, might proceed from the Memory of ſome unkindneſſes, not without a mixture of injuſtice, from him towards his Father. But without doubt he was free from thoſe temptations, and in both Caſes was only miſled by the Authority of thoſe, who, he believ'd, underſtood the Laws perfectly; of which, himſelf was utterly ignorant; and if the aſſumption, which was then ſcarce controverted, had been true, "That an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom was Treaſon, a ſtrict underſtanding might make reaſonable concluſions to ſatisfy his own Judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their ſeveral Charges.

The great opinion he had of the uprightneſs and integrity of thoſe Perſons who appear'd moſt active, eſpecially of Mr. *Hambden*, kept him longer from ſuſpecting any deſign againſt the Peace of the Kingdom; and though he differ'd from them commonly in concluſion, he believ'd long their purpoſes were honeſt. When he grew better inform'd what was Law, and diſcern'd in them a deſire to controul that Law by a Vote of one, or both Houſes, no Man more oppoſed thoſe attempts, and gave the adverſe Party more trouble by reaſon and argumentation; inſomuch as he was, by degrees, look'd upon as an Advocate for the Court, to which he contributed ſo little, that he declined thoſe Addreſſes, and even thoſe Invitations which he was obliged almoſt by Civility to entertain. And he was ſo jealous of the leaſt imagination that

he ſhould incline to Preferment, that he affected even a moroſeneſs to the Court, and to the Courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent, and divert the King's or Queen's Favour towards him, but the deſerving it. For when the King ſent for him once or twice to ſpeak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent Comportment in thoſe Councils, which his Majeſty graciouſly term'd "Doing him Service, his Anſwers were more negligent, and leſs ſatisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his Actions ſhould be Juſt, not that they ſhould be Acceptable, and that his Majeſty ſhould think that they proceeded only from the impulſion of Conſcience, without any ſympathy in his Affections; which from a Stoical and Sullen Nature, might not have been miſinterpreted; yet, from a Perſon of ſo perfect a habit of generous, and obſequious Complyance with all good Men, might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averſneſs to his Service; ſo that he took more pains, and more forced his Nature to Actions unagreeable, and unpleaſant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than moſt Men have done to procure an Office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty, could have kept him from receiving a Teſtimony of the King's Grace and Truſt, at that time, he had not been called to his Council; not that he was in truth averſe from receiving Publick Employment; for he had a great devotion to the King's Perſon, and had before uſed ſome ſmall endeavour to be recommended to him for a Forreign Negotiation, and had once a deſire to be ſent Embaſſadour into *France*; but he abhorr'd an imagination or doubt ſhould ſink into the thoughts of any Man, that in the diſcharge of his truſt and duty in Parliament, he had any biaſs to the Court, or that the King himſelf ſhould apprehend, that he look'd for a reward for being Honeſt.

For this reaſon, when he heard it firſt whiſper'd, "That the King "had a purpoſe to make him a Privy Counſellor, for which there was, in the beginning, no other ground, but becauſe he was known ſufficient (*haud ſemper errat fama, aliquando & elegit*) he reſolv'd to decline it; and at laſt ſuffer'd himſelf only to be overruled, by the advice and perſwaſions of his Friends, to ſubmit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was poſitive to refuſe it; declaring to his Friends, "That he was moſt unfit for it, and that he muſt either do that "which would be great diſquiet to his own Nature, or leave that undone "which was moſt neceſſary to be done by one that was Honour'd with that "place; for the moſt juſt and honeſt Men did, every day, that which he "could not give himſelf leave to do. And indeed he was ſo exact, and ſtrict an obſerver of Juſtice and Truth, that he believ'd thoſe neceſſary condeſcenſions and applications to the weakneſs of other Men, and thoſe Arts and Inſinuations which are neceſſary for diſcoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in him a declenſion from his own rules of life; though he acknowledg'd them fit, and abſolutely neceſſary to be practiced in thoſe Employments. He was in truth, ſo preciſe in the practick principles he preſcribed Himſelf (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had lived *in Republica Platonis, non in fæce Romuli,*

Two reaſons prevail'd with him to receive the Seals, and but for thoſe he had reſolutely avoided them. The firſt, The conſideration that his refuſal might bring ſome blemiſh upon the King's affairs, and that Men would have believ'd, that he had refus'd ſo great an Honour and Truſt, becauſe he muſt have been with it oblig'd to do ſomewhat elſe not juſtifiable. And this he made matter of Conſcience, ſince he knew the King made choice of him, before other Men, eſpecially becauſe he thought him more honeſt than other Men. The other was, Leſt he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the Houſe of Commons, who were ſorely troubled at the diſplacing Sir *Harry Vane*, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them thoſe Offices they ſtood in need of; and the diſdain of ſo popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by juſt and generous Actions, ſo he had an equal contempt of it by any ſervile expedients: and he ſo much the more conſented to, and approv'd the Juſtice upon Sir *Harry Vane*, in his own private judgment, by how

how much he ſurpaſſed moſt Men in the Religious obſervations of a Truſt; the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuſe for.

For theſe reaſons, he ſubmitted to the King's Command, and became his Secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgment of the greatneſs of the obligation, as could be expreſſed, and as true a ſenſe of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himſelf to, whilſt he continued in that Office, that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omiſſions in a moſt neceſſary part of his place. The one, Employing of Spies, or giving any countenance, or entertainment to them. I do not mean ſuch Emiſſaries, as with danger would venture to view the Enemies Camp, and bring Intelligence of their Number, or quartering, or any particulars that ſuch an obſervation can comprehend; but thoſe, who by communication of Guilt, or diſſimulation of Manners, wind themſelves into ſuch Truſts and Secrets, as enaple them to make diſcoveries. The other, The Liberty of opening Letters, upon a ſuſpicion that they might contain matter of dangerous conſequence. For the firſt, he would ſay, " Such Inſtruments " muſt be void of all Ingenuity, and common honeſty, before they could be of " uſe; and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no " ſingle preſervation could be worth ſo general a wound, and corruption of " human ſociety, as the cheriſhing ſuch Perſons would carry with it. The " laſt, he thought " Such a violation of the Law of Nature, that no qualifi- " cation by Office could juſtify him in the treſpaſs; and though he was convinced by the neceſſity, and iniquity of the time, that thoſe advantages of information were not to be declined, and were neceſſary to be practiſed, he found means to put it off from himſelf; whilſt he confeſſed he needed excuſe and pardon for the omiſſion; ſo unwilling he was to reſign any part of good Nature to an obligation in his Office.

In all other particulars he filled his place with great ſufficiency, being well verſed in Languages, to underſtand any that are uſed in buſineſs, and to make himſelf again underſtood. To ſpeak of his Integrity, and his high diſdain of any Bait that might ſeem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit.* Some ſharp expreſſions he uſed againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and his concurring in the firſt Bill to take away the Votes of Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, gave occaſion to ſome to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, and publiſh, " That he was no friend to the Church, and the eſtabliſh'd Government of it; and troubled his very Friends much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to Anſwer the Allegations.

The truth is, he had unhappily contracted ſome prejudice to the Arch Biſhop; and having obſerv'd his Paſſion, when, it may be, multiplicity of buſineſs, or other indiſpoſition had poſſeſs'd him, did wiſh him leſs intangled and engaged in the buſineſs of the Court, or State; though, I ſpeak it knowingly, he had a ſingular eſtimation and reverence of his great Learning, and confeſſed Integrity; and really thought his own letting himſelf looſe to thoſe expreſſions which implied a diſ-eſteem of the Arch-Biſhop, or at leaſt an acknowledgment of his Infirmities, would enable him to ſhelter him from part of the ſtorm he ſaw raiſed for his deſtruction; which he abominated with his Soul.

The giving his conſent to the firſt Bill for the diſplacing the Biſhops, did proceed from two grounds: The firſt, His not underſtanding Then the Original of their Right and Suffrage there: the other, An opinion, that the combination againſt the whole Government of the Church by Biſhops, was ſo violent and furious, that a leſs compoſition than the diſpenſing with their intermedling in Secular Affairs, would not preſerve the Order. And he was perſwaded to this by the profeſſion of many Perſons of Honour, who declared, " They did deſire the one, and would not then preſs the other; which in that particular, miſled many Men. But when his obſervation and experience made him diſcern more of their Intentions, than he before ſuſpected, with great frankneſs he oppoſed the ſecond Bill that was prefer'd for that purpoſe; and had, without ſcruple, the order it ſelf in perfect reverence; and thought too great Encouragement could not poſſibly be given to Learning, nor too great Rewards to Learned Men. He was never, in the leaſt degree,

ſwayed or moved by the objections which were made againſt that Government in the Church (holding them moſt ridiculous) or affected to the other, which thoſe Men fancied to themſelves.

He had a Courage of the moſt clear and keen temper, and ſo far from fear, that he ſeem'd not without ſome Appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occaſion of Action, he always engaged his Perſon in thoſe Troops which he thought, by the forwardneſs of the Commanders, to be moſt like to be fartheſt engaged; and in all ſuch Encounters, he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulneſs, without at all affecting the execution that uſually attended them: in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not by reſiſtance, made neceſſary: inſomuch that at *Edge-hill*, when the Enemy was routed, he was like to have incurr'd great Peril, by interpoſing to ſave thoſe who had thrown away their Arms, and againſt whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: ſo that a Man might think, he came into the Field chiefly out of Curioſity to ſee the face of Danger, and Charity to prevent the ſhedding of Blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profeſſion of a Soldier; and ſhortly after he came to his Fortune, before he was of Age, he went into the Low Countries, with a reſolution of procuring Command, and to give himſelf up to it; from which he was diverted by the compleat inactivity of that Summer: So he return'd into *England*, and ſhortly after enter'd upon that vehement courſe of Study we mention'd before, till the firſt Alarm from the North; then again he made ready for the Field, and though he receiv'd ſome repulſe in the Command of a Troop of Horſe, of which he had a promiſe, he went a Voluntier with the Earl of *Eſſex*.

From the Entrance into this unnatural War, his natural cheerfulneſs and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of ſadneſs, and dejection of Spirit ſtole upon him, which he had never been uſed to: yet being one of thoſe who believ'd that one Battle would end all differences, and that there would be ſo great a victory on one Side, that the Other would be compelled to ſubmit to any conditions from the Victor (which ſuppoſition and concluſion generally ſunk into the minds of moſt Men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he reſiſted thoſe indiſpoſitions, *& in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat*. But after the King's return from *Brentford*, and the furious reſolution of the two Houſes not to admit any Treaty for Peace, thoſe indiſpoſitions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulneſs; and He, who had been ſo exactly eaſy, and affable to all Men, that his face and countenance was always preſent, and vacant to his Company, and held any cloudineſs, and leſs pleaſantneſs of the viſage, a kind of rudeneſs or incivility, became, on a ſuddain, leſs communicable; and thence, very ſad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the Spleen. In his Cloaths and Habit, which he had minded before always with more neatneſs, and induſtry, and expence, than is uſual to ſo great a Soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of Suitors, and the neceſſary, or caſual Addreſſes to his place, ſo quick, and ſharp, and ſevere, that there wanted not ſome Men (ſtrangers to his nature and diſpoſition) who believ'd him proud and imperious; from which no mortal Man was ever more free.

It is true, that as he was of a moſt incomparable gentleneſs, application, and even ſubmiſſion to good, and worthy, and entire Men, ſo he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his Place, (which objected him to another converſation, and intermixture, than his own election would have done) *adverſus malos injucundus*; and was ſo ill a diſſembler of his diſlike, and diſinclination to ill Men, that it was not poſſible for ſuch not to diſcern it. There was once, in the Houſe of Commons, ſuch a declared acceptation of the good Service an eminent Member had done to Them, and, as they ſaid, to the whole Kingdom, that it was moved, he being preſent, "That "the Speaker might, in the name of the whole Houſe, give him thanks; "and then, that every Member might, as a teſtimony of his particular ac"knowledgment, ſtir or move his hat towards him; the which (though not order'd) when very many did, the Lord *Falkland* (who believ'd the Service it ſelf not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous Perſon

Perſon could not have ſtooped to it for any Recompence) inſtead of moving his Hat, ſtretched both his Arms out, and claſped his Hands together upon the crown of his Hat, and held it cloſe down to his Head; that all Men might ſee, how odious that flattery was to him, and that very Approbation of the Perſon, though at that time moſt popular.

When there was any overture, or hope of Peace, he would be more erect, and vigorous, and exceedingly ſollicitous to preſs any thing which he thought might promote it; and ſitting among his Friends, often, after a deep ſilence, and frequent ſighs, would with a ſhrill and ſad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*; and would paſſionately profeſs, "That the very "agony of the War, and the view of the Calamities and Deſolation the "Kingdom did, and muſt endure, took his ſleep from him, and would ſhort-"ly break his Heart. This made ſome think, or pretend to think, "That "he was ſo much enamoured on Peace, that he would have been glad the "King ſhould have bought it at any price; which was a moſt unreaſonable Calumny. As if a Man that was himſelf the moſt punctual, and preciſe in every circumſtance that might reflect upon Conſcience, or Honour, could have wiſh'd the King to have committed a treſpaſs againſt either. And yet this ſenſeleſs ſcandal made ſome Impreſſion upon him, or at leaſt he uſed it for an excuſe of the daringneſs of his Spirit; for at the Leaguer before *Gloceſter*, when his Friend paſſionately reprehended him for expoſing his Perſon unneceſſarily to danger (for he delighted to viſit the Trenches, and neareſt approaches, and to diſcover what the Enemy did) as being ſo much beſide the Duty of his place, that it might be underſtood rather to be againſt it, he would ſay merrily, "That his Office could not take away the Privileges of "his Age; and that a Secretary in War might be preſent at the greateſt ſecret "of Danger; but withal alledg'd ſeriouſly, "That it concern'd Him to be "more active in enterpriſes of hazard, than other Men; that all might ſee, "that his impatiency for Peace proceeded not from puſillanimity, or fear to "adventure his own Perſon.

In the morning before the Battle, as always upon Action, he was very chearful, and put himſelf into the firſt rank of the Lord *Byron*'s Regiment, then advancing upon the Enemy, who had lined the Hedges on both ſides with Muſqueteers; from whence he was ſhot with a Muſquet, in the lower part of the Belly, and in the inſtant falling from his Horſe, his body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was ſome hope he might have been a Priſoner; though his neareſt Friends, who knew his Temper, receiv'd ſmall comfort from that Imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young Man, in the four and thirtieth year of Age, having ſo much diſpatch'd the true Buſineſs of Life, that the Eldeſt rarely attain to that immenſe Knowledge, and the Youngeſt enter not into the world with more Innocency: Whoſoever leads ſuch a Life, needs be the leſs anxious upon how ſhort warning it is taken from him.

The Earl of Eſſex *returns to* London.

Now to go on with the Courſe of our Hiſtory; the Earl of *Eſſex* enter'd into *London* on the 25th of *September* (a day we ſhall have occaſion to remember upon another ſolemnity) and was the next day viſited, at *Eſſex* Houſe, by the Speaker and the whole Houſe of Commons, who declared to him, "That they came to congratulate his notable Succeſs, and to render the "thanks of the Kingdom to him, for his incomparable Conduct and Cou-"rage; and that they had cauſed their acknowledgement to be enter'd in "their Journal Book, as a Monument and Record of his Vertue, and Their "Gratitude. A day or two after, ſolemn Thanks were render'd to thoſe Members of both Houſes who had Command in the Army, and ſome extraordinaty Signification of reſpect deriv'd to the Superior Officers, throughout the Army. A gaudy Letter of kindneſs and value, was ſent to Colonel *Maſſy*, and, which made the Letter of more Value, a thouſand Pounds was ſent him as a gratuity or preſent for his Service, over and above what was due to him for his Pay, and ſome larges to all the Inferior Officers, and a Months Pay, over and above their Arrears, to the Soldiers of that Garriſon.

Leſt the diſcourſe and apprehenſion of the jealouſy between the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *William Waller*, might adminſter hope or ſuſpicion, that ſome diviſion might grow amongſt themſelves, and, from thence, that the

King might receive any advantage, great care was taken to make, and greater to publiſh, a Reconciliation between them; in which Sir *William* was all Submiſſion and Humility, and his Excellence full of grace and courteſey. The Paſſion and Animoſity which difference of opinion had produced between any Members, was totally laid aſide and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe, that they were a People newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the ſame end, as their Brethren the *Scots*; of whoſe concurrence and aſſiſtance they were uow aſſured, and ſatisfied that it would come ſoon enough for their Preſervation; of which, they had not before a full Confidence.

Though the King's Army had all the Trophies of Victory, in, and after this Battle, as is before related (It kept the Field, and had the ſpoil of it; It took ſome Pieces of the Enemy's Cannon who march'd off in the Night, and were purſued with ſome conſiderable loſs beyond *Reading*, where a Garriſon was again placed for his Majeſty, under the Command of Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, Major General of the Army, an excellent Officer; ſo that the Parliament was in ſo much a worſe State than they were in the Spring, as the loſs of *Briſtol*, and moſt of the Weſt amounted to; for by this time *Exeter* was likewiſe reduced by Prince *Maurice*) yet notwithſtanding all this, the Earl of *Eſſex*, as is ſaid before, was receiv'd at *London* with all imaginable Gratulation and Triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many Circumſtances of great, Soldierly, and notable Courage, and the Heart and Spirit of the Parliament was viſibly much exalted, and their impatience for Peace quite abated.

The Temper of the Army, and the Court at Oxford, *upon the return of the King thither.*

On the contrary, upon the King's return to *Oxford*, there appear'd nothing but dejection of mind, diſcontent, and ſecret Mutiny in the Army, Anger and Jealouſy among the Officers, every one accuſing another of want of Courage and Conduct in the Actions of the Field; and they who were not of the Army, blaming them all for their ſeveral failings and groſs overſights. The Siege of *Gloceſter* was not believ'd to have been well Conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skillfully gone about. The not engaging the Earl of *Eſſex* in all the march over ſo open a Country, was thought unexcuſable, and was imputed to the want of Courage in *Wilmot*; whom Prince *Rupert* did in no degree favour: Nor was the Prince himſelf without ſome Reproaches, for ſuffering the Earl of *Eſſex*, after all the Horſe was joyn'd, to march down a long ſteep Hill into the Vale of *Gloceſter*, without any diſturbance; and that the whole Army, when it was found neceſſary to quit the Siege, had not been brought to Fight in that Vale, and at ſome diſtance from the Town, when the King's Men were freſh, and the other Side tired with ſo long a March.

But then all Men renew'd their Execrations againſt thoſe who adviſed the ſitting down before *Gloceſter*; the Officers, who had been preſent, and conſenting to all the Counſels, diſclaiming, as much as any, the whole Deſign; and all conſpired to lay the whole reproach upon the Maſter of the Rolls, who ſpoke moſt in thoſe Debates, and was not at all gracious to the Soldiers; and this Clamour againſt that Engagement was ſo Popular and Univerſal, that no Man took upon himſelf to ſpeak in Defence of it; though, beſides the Reaſons which have been formerly alledged for it, what happen'd in this laſt Action, in the Relief of *Gloceſter*, might well ſeem to juſtify it; for ſince it appear'd, that the City was ſo much United to the Parliament, that it ſupply'd their Army with ſuch a Body of their Train'd-bands (without which it could never have march'd) with what ſucceſs could his Majeſty have approach'd *London*, after the taking of *Briſtol*, with his harraſſed Army? and would not the whole Body of the Train'd-bands have defended That, when ſo conſiderable a part of them could be perſwaded to undertake a March of two hundred Miles? For leſs they did not March, from the time they went out, to that in which they return'd. But no reaſon could ever Convert thoſe who look'd upon that Undertaking at *Gloceſter*, as the ruin of the King's Affairs.

The Temper of the Court was no better than that of the Army: And the King was ſo much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his

his Condition required. They who had forborn to be importunate for Honours, or Offices, becauſe they knew they ſhould not be able to obtain their deſires from the King, made their Modeſty an argument of their Merit to the Queen, and aſſured Her. "That they had forborn to ask any thing in her "abſence, becauſe they had always reſolv'd never to receive any thing, but by Her bounty. Many pretended former Promiſes and Engagements for Creations of Honour, aſſoon as any thing ſhould be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their Majeſties had given themſelves eaſe from preſent importunities, by making promiſes, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, reſolv'd, ſhould not be ſoon: and now there was no ſooner mention of conferring Honour upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the reſt who had that promiſe, were very importunate and clamorous for the ſame Juſtice. By this means they were, upon the matter, compell'd to gratify ſome Men to whom they bore no good will; and ſo, they who received the Favours were no more pleaſed, than they were who conferr'd them; and they who were without Ambition before, when they ſaw Honours and Offices conferr'd upon Men, who, they thought, did not merit them better than themſelves, thought their Service undervalued if they did not receive the ſame reward. And it was a uſual Prologue to ſuits of that kind, "That they did not deſire it out of their own Am-"bition, but purely to ſatisfy their Friends; who withdrew their kindneſs "from them, out of an opinion that they had offended the King, who "would not otherwiſe put ſo great a difference between Them and other "Men. Whence it may be obſerv'd, that Princes ſhould not confer Publick Rewards in a ſeaſon when they can only gratify Few, and ſo many ſtand upon the ſame Level in pretences, that they are apt to reſent the prefering of One, as an affront and diſobligation to the Reſt.

There was no particular that gave the King more unquietneſs, than the pretence of my Lord of *Holland*. The three Earls I before-mention'd, had attended the King before he roſe from *Gloceſter*, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had Charged the Enemy, in the King's Regiment of Horſe, at the Battle of *Newbury*, very bravely; and had behaved themſelves, throughout, very well; and return'd to *Oxford* with his Majeſty; and now expected to be well look'd upon; and the other Two had no cauſe to complain; the King, upon all occaſions, ſpoke very graciouſly to them, and particularly ſent the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Earl of *Clare*, "That he had liberty, and might be preſent at the Councils of War; where the Peers uſually were, and where the general matters of contribution, and ſuch things as concern'd the Country, were uſually debated. But the Earl of *Holland* was not pleaſed; he thought nothing of former Miſcarriages ought to be remember'd; that all thoſe were cancelled by the Merit of coming to the King now, and bringing ſuch conſiderable Perſons with him, and diſpoſing others to follow; and expected, upon his firſt appearance, to have had his Key reſtored to him; to have been in the ſame Condition he was in the Bed-Chamber, and in the Council, and in the King's Grace and Countenance; of all which he had aſſurance from the Queen before he came, at leaſt from Mr *Jermyn*, who, no doubt, did exceed his Commiſſion; and the very deferring of this, was grievous to him; and the more, becauſe he found the ſame diſreſpect from all others, as he had done when he came firſt to *Oxford*.

He came frequently in the afternoon to *Merton* College where the Queen lay, and where the King was for the moſt part at that time of the day, and both their Majeſties look'd well upon him, and ſpoke to him in publick as occaſion was adminiſter'd. Sometimes the King went aſide with him to the Window, in the ſame Room, where they ſpoke a quarter or half an hour together out of the hearing of any body; which the Queen did often in the ſame manner; and Mr. *Jermyn*, who was about this time made a Baron, was very frequently with him. The King was always upon his guard towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his former rigour or prejudice, and continued firm to his former Reſolutions. But the Queen, whether from her inclination, or promiſe, or diſlike of moſt other People, who were not ſo good Courtiers (as ſure none was equal to him in that Fun-

ction and Myſtery) did in truth heartily deſire, that he might receive ſatisfaction in all things, according to his own deſire; and would have truſted him Her ſelf as much as formerly. Yet ſhe complied ſo far with the King's averſion, that ſhe yet forbore to preſs it, or to own the encouragement ſhe had given him; nor had ſhe a willingneſs to oppoſe ſo great a torrent of prejudice, as ſhe ſaw evidently run againſt him; ſo that ſhe appear'd not to wiſh, what without doubt ſhe would have been very glad of. However the Marquis of *Hertford* was now come to *Oxford*, and expected the performance of the King's promiſe to him, and to be admitted into the Office of Groom of the Stole; of which the King took not the leaſt notice to him ſince his return; which made it the more ſuſpected, that the intention was to re-admit the old Officer; and this apprehenſion was confirm'd by the Queen's looking leſs graciouſly upon the Marquis, than ſhe had uſed to do. And it is true, though it may be ſhe did not intend to make any ſuch diſcovery by her looks, ſhe was not pleaſed that any ſuch promiſe was made, both becauſe it was without her Conſent, and as it croſſed what ſhe deſign'd; and much deſir'd that the Marquis could have been perſwaded to have releaſed it; towards which the Lord *Jermyn*, with ſome paſſion ſpoke to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "How unreaſonable a thing it was for the Marquis, who was Maſter of ſo "great a Fortune, to affect ſuch a low Preferment (as he term'd it) "And "how generous a thing it would be to quit his pretence: but he quickly diſcover'd him not to be willing to engage in any ſuch Propoſition. All this wonderfully indiſpoſed the other Lords, and the Perſons of Quality in the Town, who did not wiſh to ſee the Court juſt fill'd as it had been, or the Queen her ſelf poſſeſs'd of ſo abſolute a Power, as ſhe had been formerly; though they look'd upon her Perſon with all Duty and Reverence,

The Earl of *Holland* did not act his own part with that art and dexterity, which might have been expected from his cunning and experience; nor had ever made the leaſt Apology to the King for any thing he had formerly done; nor appear'd to have the leaſt ſenſe that he had committed any error, as his Majeſty himſelf declar'd to thoſe who he knew were his Friends; and ſaid, "That he behaved himſelf with the ſame Confidence, and Aſſurance, "as he had done when he was moſt in his Favour; and that he retain'd ſtill "the old Artifice at Court, to be ſeen to whiſper in the King's and "Queen's Ear, by which People thought there was ſome ſecret, when the "matter of thoſe whiſpers was nothing but what might be ſaid in the open "Court; and that the Earl of *Holland* had ſeveral times ſeem'd to deſire to "ſay ſomewhat in private to him, upon which he had withdrawn from the "Company to the end or corner of the Room, and, at firſt, expected and "apprehended, that he would ſay ſomewhat in his own excuſe; but that he "had never then ſaid one word, but what he might have ſpoke in the Circle; with which, the King ſaid, "He was the better pleaſed; and that he be-"liev'd, he had not been more particular in his diſcourſe with the Queen, "ſave that he uſed to entertain Her with the Wiſdom and Power of the Par-"liament, and what great things they would be able to do, and how much "they were reſpected in Forreign Parts; which, his Majeſty ſaid, was a "ſtrange diſcourſe for a Man to make, who had ſo lately left them, becauſe "he thought the King's Condition to be the better of the two.

The Earl had a Friend who did heartily deſire to do him all the Offices, and Services, that would conſiſt with the King's Honour, and always apprehended the ill conſequence of diſcouraging ſuch Converſions, and who ſpoke often to the Earl of his own Affairs. And when he complain'd of his uſage, and repeated, what promiſes and encouragement he had receiv'd to come to the King, and of what importance his good reception would have been, "That there were many of conſiderable Reputation, and Intereſt in the Houſe "of Commons (whom he named) "Who intended to have follow'd; and "that the Earl of *Northumberland* expected only his Advice; his Friend ask'd him, "Whether he had done all things, ſince he came to the King, which "might reaſonably be expected from him? He ſaid "He thought he had done "all could be expected from him, in bringing himſelf to the King; and "ſince his coming to him, in venturing his Life for him; and in lieu there-"of he had not receiv'd Thanks, or one gracious Word; and now, after his

Office

" Office had been kept unbeſtow'd near two years, and a promiſe made to " him, that he ſhould be reſtor'd to it, it was to be beſtow'd upon another, " to make his diſgrace the more notorious; which he thought would not " prove for his Majeſty's Honour or Advantage.

His Friend asked him, " Whether he had ask'd it of the King, or in- " form'd him of the promiſe that was made to him? He ſaid " He had done " neither, nor ever would; He expected it of the King's Grace, and would " not extort it by a promiſe, which, it might be, his Majeſty was not privy " to. The other replied very plainly to him, " That if he thought he had " never committed any fault againſt the King, he had no reaſon to acknow- " ledge it, or make excuſe for it; but if he were Conſcious of any ſuch, how " unwarily ſoever it had been done, or how unmaliciouſly ſoever it had " been intended, he ought to make Confeſſion, and Apology to his Majeſty; " nor could his Majeſty, with the ſafety of his Honour, avow the receiving " him into any truſt without it; nor was he capable of receiving any Of- " fices from his Friends, or the Queen's own declar'd interpoſition on his be- " half, till he had perform'd that neceſſary Introduction. He told him, if he " would follow His Advice, he believ'd he might receive ſome effect of it, " which was, " That he ſhould ſend to deſire a private Audience of his Ma- " jeſty in ſome Room, where no body might be preſent; which would not be " refuſed him; and then he ſhould (with all the excuſes upon the Terror the " Parliament gave to all Men who had exceeded the common Rules, in their " Adminiſtration of the truſt they had from his Majeſty: as he could not de- " ny He had done in many particulars for the Advancement of his Majeſty's " Service) confeſs, that he had not been hardy enough to contemn that Pow- " er, but had been ſo much in awe of it, that he choſe rather to preſume " upon his Majeſty's goodneſs, than to provoke their Jealouſy and Diſplea- " ſure; and ſo had complied with them more, than in his Duty and Grati- " tude to his Majeſty he ought to have done; for which he begged his Pardon " upon his Knees; and if he might obtain it, he made no doubt, he ſhould " wipe out the Memory of paſt Offences by ſome new Services, which ſhould " be beneficial to his Majeſty; and he added, " That he would do very well, " if he would ſue out his Pardon, as the Earl of *Bedford* had done; who " had ask'd it of the King when he firſt kiſſed his Hand, and had ſince wiſe- " ly taken it out under the Great Seal of *England*.

The Earl of *Holland* ſeem'd not at all pleaſed with this Advice; ſaid, " He " did not think, (though he would not juſtify all that he had done,) his Tranſ- " greſſions were of that magnitude, that they requir'd ſuch a formality of " asking Pardon; that his Caſe was very different from that of the Earl of " *Bedford*, who had been in Arms, and a General Officer in the Field a- " gainſt the King; whereas He had only ſat in the Parliament, as lawfully he " might do; and if he had failed in his Attendance upon his Majeſty and o- " therwiſe deſerv'd his diſpleaſure, he had receiv'd ſo many marks of it be- " fore he deſerv'd it, that might well tranſport a very faithful Servant into a " diſcontent. That aſſoon as he found himſelf reſtor'd to any Proportion " of his Majeſty's Grace and Confidence, his own Inclination would carry him " to as humble Apologies, and as deep Acknowledgements of all his Tranſ- " greſſions, as could be expected from him, and ſuch as he believ'd would " reconcile the King's goodneſs to him: But to make the firſt advance by " ſuch a kind of Submiſſion, he did not think he could prevail over himſelf to " do it. However, he took his Advice very kindly, and ſpoke often with " him after upon the ſame Subject.

Being, upon Conferrence with ſome other Friends, adviſed the ſame, eſpe- cially by his Daughter (whom he lov'd, and eſteem'd exceedingly) he ſeem'd reſolv'd to do it; but whether he thought worſe of the King's Affairs, or liked the Court the leſs, becauſe he ſaw the Poverty of it, and that what- ever Place or Favour he might obtain, he could not expect a Support from it to defray his Expences (nor could he draw it from any other place) he delay'd it ſo long, that the King found it reaſonable to confer the Office he had before promiſed, upon the Marquis of *Hertford*.

Upon which he withdrew himſelf, for his convenience, to a Neighbour Village, where he had a private Lodging; and, after few days, with the

The Earl of Holland returns into the Parliaments Quarters

help of a dark Night and a good Guide, he got himſelf into the Enemies Quarters, and laid himſelf at the Feet of the Parliament; which, after a ſhort Impriſonment, gave him leave to live in his own Houſe, without farther conſidering him, than as a Man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himſelf as grateful to them as he could, by an Act very unſuitable to his Honour, or his own generous Nature: For he publiſh'd a Declaration in Print of the cauſe of his going to, and returning from *Oxford*; in which, he endeavour'd to make it believ'd, "That his compaſſion, "and love to his Country, had only prevailed with him to go to the King, "in hope to have been able, upon the long knowledge his Majeſty had of "his Fidelity, to perſwade him to make a Peace with his Parliament; which, "from the time of his coming thither, he had labour'd to do; but that he "found the Court ſo indiſpoſed to Peace, and that the Papiſts had ſo great a Power there (uſing many expreſſions diſhonourable towards the King and his Council) "That he reſolv'd to make what haſte he could back to the "Parliament, and to ſpend the remainder of his Life in their Service: which Action, ſo contrary to his own natural Diſcretion and Generoſity, loſt him the Affection of thoſe few who had preſerv'd ſome kindneſs for him, and got him Credit with no Body; and may teach all Men how dangerous it is to ſtep aſide out of the path of Innocence, and Virtue, upon any Preſumption to be able to get into it again; ſince ſuch Men uſually ſatisfy themſelves in doing any thing to mend the preſent exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that Condition of Innocence from whence they departed with a purpoſe, perhaps, of returning.

However, this unhappy ill Carriage of the Earl, doth not abſolve the Court from overſight in treating him no better; which was a great Error; and made the King, and all thoſe about him, look'd upon as implacable; and ſo diverted all Men from farther thoughts of returning to their Duty by ſuch Application, and made thoſe who abhor'd the War, and the violent Counſels in the carrying it on, chooſe rather to acquieſce, and expect a Conjuncture when a general Peace might be made, than to expoſe themſelves by unſeaſonable, and unwelcome Addreſſes. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was gone to *Petworth*, as is ſaid before, with a purpoſe of going to the King, if by the Lord *Conway*'s Negotiation, and the Earl of *Holland*'s Reception, he found encouragement, return'd to the Parliament; where he was receiv'd with great reſpect; all Men coucluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had not done. And the other Members who had entertain'd the ſame Reſolutions, changed their Minds with him, and return'd to their former Station: and the two Earls who yet remain'd at *Oxford*, ſhortly after found means to make their Peace at *Weſtminſter*; and return'd again to their own Habitation in *London*, without a farther mark of Diſpleaſure, than a reſtraint, for a time, from coming to the Houſe of Peers, or being truſted in their Counſels.

And likewiſe the Earls of Bedford *and* Clare.

The Tranſactions of the Committee of the two Houſes in Scotland.

The Committee from the two Houſes of Parliament, which was ſent into *Scotland* in *July* before, in the Diſtraction of their Affairs, when Sir *William Waller* was defeated, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army unſerviceable, as is remember'd, found that Kingdom in ſo good and ready a Poſture for their Reception, that they had call'd an Aſſembly of their Kirk, and a Convention of their Eſtates, without, and expreſly againſt, the King's Conſent; and without any colour of Law; for the time when, by their late Act of Parliament, they might of right challenge thoſe meetings, was not come by almoſt a year; and the King had refuſed to Convene them ſooner. That Kingdom was at Unity and Peace amongſt themſelves, and ſo at the more leiſure to help their Neighbours; and the Government of all Affairs in their Hands who were to be Confided in; and they again ruled, and diſpoſed by a few who were throughly engaged in the Counſels and Diſcompoſures in *England*; for all thoſe who were viſibly affected to the King's Service, or diſaffected eminently to the Perſons in Authority there, were fled the Kingdom; and they who ſtay'd behind, either had, or pretended to have, the ſame Affections; of which a full declared Zeal, and good Will to the Parliament of *England*, was a common evidence.

So

So that the Committee found as good a welcome, as they could wiſh and all Men diſpoſed to gain their good opinion; a Committee was appointed both out of the Convention of Eſtates, and the Aſſembly, "To Treat with "them, and to make ſuch concluſions, as might be thought neceſſary to ad- "vance the Peace, and Happineſs of both Kingdoms. Theſe Men complied with them, in their full ſenſe of the ſad Condition of the Affairs of *England*, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes, which ſhould befall them: they ſaid, "They well underſtood how much the fate of *Scotland* was in- "volv'd in what ſhould befall the Parliament of *England*; and that if the "King prevailed by force, and, by the power of his Army, oppreſs'd thoſe "Friends, who had expreſs,d a tenderneſs formerly towards them, they had "reaſon to expect the ſame Army ſhould be applied to the revenge of "thoſe indignities they would eaſily perſwade his Majeſty, he had ſuffer'd "from that his Native Kingdom: and therefore, they needed no Arguments "to perſwade them, to commiſerate the Eſtate of their Brethren of *En-* "*gland*; or to convince them, that their Caſe was their own, and their mu- "tual ſafety bound up together: but that thoſe Politick Arguments and Con- "ſiderations, would have no influence upon the People, who had ſuch a na- "tural Affection and Loyalty to their Soveraign, as no Earthly conſidera- "tion would be able to prevail with them to leſſen their Obedience towards "his Majeſty; and that, albeit there was no viſible Party and Faction, that "appear'd in the Kingdom for the King, yet that there were many well "wiſhers to him, and maligners, in their Hearts, of the preſent Reformation; "who, aſſoon as there ſhould be any preparation for an Army to march into "*England*, would be ready, upon the ſpecious Arguments of Duty to his "Majeſty, and of Peace to their Country, and might be able, to give great "diſturbance to the Expedition, or to diſquiet the Realm, when the moſt "eminently affected were march'd toward the relief of their diſtreſſed Neigh- "bours; except ſome obligation of Conſcience were laid upon the People; "who only preferr'd what they called their Piety to God, before their in- "clination to their Prince, and the ſetting up the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, "before the vindication of a Temporal Juriſdiction.

A Covenant propoſed by the Scots between the two Kingdoms, and agreed to.

For ſuch an expedient therefore, they propoſed, "That a Covenant might "be agreed upon between the two Kingdoms, for the utter Extirpation of "Prelacy, which that Kingdom was ſatisfied to be a great obſtruction to the "Reformation of Religion; and the two Houſes of Parliament had diſco- "ver'd a ſufficient averſion from that Government, by having paſſed a Bill "for their utter Abolition, and in the place thereof to erect ſuch a Govern- "ment, as ſhould be moſt agreeable to God's Word, which they doubted "not would be their own Presbytery; and that the People being Ce- "mented together by ſuch an obligation, would never be ſever'd and diſ- "joyn'd by any Temptation.

There was an eaſy conſent, from the Committee of the *Engliſh*, to any expedient that might throughly engage the other Nation; and ſo a form of words was quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect Combination and Marriage between the Parliament and the *Scots*, in all ſuch particulars, as were moſt like to be unacceptable to the King; and this form being preſent- ly communicated to the Convention of Eſtates, and the Aſſembly, as ſoon found an approbation and concurrence, there, with as much ſolemnity, as was neceſſary to ſhew their Temper and Reſolution, and to gain the conſent of the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, whither it was diſpatch'd with all imagi- nable celerity, and a ſignification "That That People were in ſuch forward- "neſs to advance, that they would be in *England* aſſoon as they could be "reaſonably expected. And it was indeed apparent enough, that, upon their diſcipline ſince the late Commotions, and the cunning preſage and fore- ſight of that People, there was nothing requiſite to their March, but the cal- ling them together,

Many were of opinion, that this Engagement was propoſed "Rather to "decline being engaged in the Quarrel, than out of hope or imagination "that the two Houſes would Concur with them; for though there had been "a Bill paſſed, before the laſt Treaty with the King, to that purpoſe, yet "they well knew that moſt of the Peers, and Perſons of Quality and In-

" tereſt in the other Houſe, were willing to depart from that Overture. Be-
" ſides, amongſt thoſe who raged joyntly againſt Epiſcopacy, there were ſo
" many opinions, that it would be no leſs difficult to eſtabliſh Their Presby-
" tery, than to root out the other Government, to which they intended by their
" Covenant equally to oblige them : ſo that upon this Propoſition, which
" was according to the known temper of that Nation, they ſhould preſerve
" themſelves plauſibly, and without ſeeming to deſert their Confederates,
" from bearing any part in the preſent Troubles. However, it would viſi-
" bly take up ſo much time, that if there were no Ebb in the King's proſpe-
" rity and ſucceſs, he might well finiſh his work, and this Interpoſition be in-
" terpreted for a Politick Stratagem to amuſe the *Engliſh*. But if this was their Stratagem they met with People too frank hearted, and not ſcrupulous to contribute towards it : for the draught of the Covenant no ſooner came to *Weſtminſter*, but they ſhew'd a marvellous inclination to it. Yet as well becauſe it was not yet known what ſucceſs the Earl of *Eſſex* would have in the Relief of *Gloceſter*, which was like to have a ſhrew'd influence upon Men's Affections and Conſciences, as that they might ſeem to uſe all neceſſary deliberation, and caution, for the information of their Judgments in a new caſe, that concern'd the Religion, and Eccleſiaſtical Fabrick of the Kingdom, they tranſmitted it to their Aſſembly of Divines, to return their opinion, " Of the " lawfulneſs of taking it in point of Conſcience.

The Aſſembly, beſides that it was conſtituted of Members who had all renounced their Obedience to their King, and Submiſſion to the Church of *England*, by their appearance and preſence in that Convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to diſſent from the current opinion of the Houſe of Commons : for Doctor *Featly* (upon whoſe Reputation in Learning, they had raiſed great advantages to themſelves) having made many Speeches in the Aſſembly in the behalf of " The order of Biſhops, and their Function, " and againſt the Alienation of Church Lands, as Sacrilege, and eſpecially inveigh'd againſt " The liberty that was taken in matter of Religion, by " which ſo many Sects were grown up to the ſcandal and reproach of the " Proteſtant Doctrine, if not of Chriſtianity it ſelf, had ſo far incurred their diſpleaſure, and provoked their jealouſy, that an ordinary fellow (ſo well Confirm'd in Spirit, that they fear'd not his failing or converſion) was directed to make application to him in caſes of Conſcience, and after he had gotten ſufficient credit with him (which was no hard matter) to intimate to him, " That " he had a ſure and unqueſtionable conveyance to *Oxford*, or that he was " to go thither himſelf, and if he had any occaſion to uſe his Service thither, " he would faithfully execute his Commands. The Doctor believing the Meſſenger to be ſincere, and the King's Affairs ſtanding then proſperous, gave him Letters for the Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh*, Primate of *Ireland*, who waited on his Majeſty ; and by this Artifice, the ſame Inſtrument receiv'd two or three Letters from him, pretending they were ſtill ſent by infallible hands ; and brought them always to thoſe Perſons by whom he was entruſted in the work of his impoſture.

The Letters contain'd many Apologies for himſelf " For being engaged in " ſuch a Congregation, to which he ſubmitted purely out of Conſcience, " and for the Service of the King and Church, in hope that he might be " able to prevent many extravagancies, and to contain thoſe unruly Spirits " within ſome bounds of regularity, and moderation ; of his endeavours that way, he gave many inſtances ; and ſent Copies of what he had ſaid in juſtification of Epiſcopacy, the Liturgy, and the eſtabliſh'd Government, and concluded with a deſire to his Grace, " To procure a good opinion from the " King towards him, and ſome Biſhoprick or Deneary for his recompence. About the time that this Agitation was in *Scotland*, and very little before this Covenant was tranſmitted, theſe Letters were produced, and a charge againſt that Doctor, " for betraying the truſt repoſed in him, and adhering to the " Enemy ; and thereupon the poor Man was expelled the Aſſembly of Divines, both his Livings (for he had two within a very ſmall diſtance of *London*) ſequeſter'd ; his Study of Books and Eſtate ſeiſed, and himſelf committed to a Common Goal, where he continued to his death ; which befel him the ſooner, through the extreme wants he underwent ; ſo ſollicitous was that

that Party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and ſo implacable to any who were weary of their Journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

This freſh example the *Aſſembly of Godly and Learned Divines*, had before their Eyes when this Covenant was ſent to them for their conſideration, and ſpeedy reſolution; and according to the haſte it required, that Clergy return'd within two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two Miniſters who made any pauſe or ſcruple of it, and they again ſoon confeſſing "They had receiv'd full ſatisfaction to their doubts in the Debate, "and that they were fully convinced of the Lawfulneſs, and Piety of it. Having receiv'd ſo abſolute an approbation and concurrence, and the Battle of *Newbury* being in that time likewiſe over (which clear'd and remov'd more doubts, than the Aſſembly had done) it ſtuck very few hours with both Houſes; but being at once judged Convenient, and Lawful, the Lords and Commons, and their Aſſembly of Divines, met together at the Church, with great ſolemnity to take it, on the five and twentieth day of *September*; a double Holyday, by the Earl of *Eſſex*'s return to *London*, and this Religious Exerciſe. *It is taken and Subſcribed by the Lords and Commons and their Aſſembly of Divines,* Sept. 25.

There, two or three of their Divines went up into the Pulpit ſucceſſively, not to Preach, but to Pray; others, according to their ſeveral Gifts, to make Orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "That "this Oath was ſuch, and in the matter and conſequence of it, of ſuch con-"cernment, as it was truly worthy of them, *Yea* of thoſe Kingdoms, *Yea* "of all the Kingdoms of the World: That it could be no other, but the reſult "and anſwer of ſuch Prayers and Tears, of ſuch ſincerity and ſufferings, that "three Kingdoms ſhould be thus Born, or rather New Born in a day: That "they were entring upon a work of the greateſt moment and concernment "to themſelves, and to their Poſterities after them, that ever was undertaken by any of them, or any of their Fore Fathers before them. That it was "a Duty of the firſt Commandment, and therefore of the higheſt and no-"bleſt order and rank of Duties; therefore muſt come forth attended "with choiceſt Graces, Fear, Humility, and in the greateſt ſimplicity, and plain-"neſs of Spirit, and reſpect of thoſe with whom they Covenanted. That "it was to advance the Kingdom of Chriſt here upon Earth, and make "*Jeruſalem* once more the praiſe of the whole Earth, notwithſtanding "all the contradictions of Men; with many ſuch high expreſſions, as can hardly be conceiv'd, without the view of the Records, and Regiſtry that is kept of them.

It will be here moſt neceſſary, that Poſterity may be inform'd of the rare concluſion, in which two Nations, with ſuch wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was calculated alſo for the Meridian of a third Kingdom (for *Ireland* is likewiſe comprehended in it) to inſert this League and Covenant in the preciſe terms in which it was receiv'd, and enter'd into; which was in theſe words.

A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King; and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

"We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, *A copy of the Covenant.* "Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all Sorts in the Kingdom of "*England, Scotland,* and *Ireland,* by the Providence of God living under one "King, and being of One Reform'd Religion, having before our Eyes the Glo-"ry of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Sa-"viour Jeſus Chriſt, the Honour and Happineſs of the King's Majeſty, and "his Poſterity, and the true Publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the "Kingdoms, wherein every ones private condition is included; and calling to "mind the treacherous, and bloody Plots, Conſpiracies, Attempts, and "Practices of the Enemies of God, againſt the true Religion, and Profeſſors "thereof, in all places, eſpecially in theſe three Kingdoms, ever ſince "the Reformation of Religion, and how much their Rage, Power, and Pre-"ſumption, are of late, and at this time, encreaſed and exerciſed (where-"of the deplorable Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of *Ireland*, the

" diſtreſſed Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of *England*, and the dangerous " Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, are preſent, and publick " Teſtimonies) We have now at laſt (after other means of Supplication, " Remonſtrance, Proteſtations, and Sufferings) for the preſervation of our " Selves and our Religion from utter ruin and deſtruction, according to the " commendable practice of theſe Kingdoms in former times, and the exam- " ple of God's People in other Nations, after mature deliberation, re- " ſolv'd, and determin'd to enter into a mutual, and ſolemn League and Co- " venant, wherein We all Subſcribe, and each one of Us for himſelf, with our " hands lifted up to the moſt high God, do ſwear.

1. " That We ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, through the " grace of God, endeavour in our ſeveral places and callings the preſervation " of the Reform'd Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Wor- " ſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, againſt our Common Enemies; the Re- " formation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, in " Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, according to the Word " of God, and the example of the beſt Reform'd Churches; and We ſhall " endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the " neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, " Form of Church Government, Directory for Worſhip, and Catechiſing; " that we, and our Poſterity after Us, may, as Brethren, live in faith and love, " and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt of Us.

2. " That We ſhall, in like manner, without reſpect of Perſons, en- " deavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is Church Government " by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, Deans, " Deans and Chapters, Arch Deacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers de- " pending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſy, Schiſm, Prophaneſs, " and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the " power of Godlineſs, leſt We partake in other Men's Sins, and thereby be in " danger to receive of Their Plagues; and that the Lord may be One, and his " Name One in the three Kingdoms.

3. " We ſhall, with the ſame ſincerity, reality, and conſtancy, in our ſe- " veral Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates, and Lives, mutually to pre- " ſerve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the " Kingdoms, and to preſerve, and defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and " Authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion and Liber- " ties of the Kingdoms; that the World may bear Witneſs, with our Con- " ſciences, of our Loyalty; and that we have no thoughts or intention to di- " miniſh his Majeſty's juſt power and greatneſs.

4. " We ſhall alſo, with all faithfulneſs, endeavour the diſcovery of " all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtru- " ment, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from " his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Factions " or Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant; " that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign puniſhment, " as the degree of their Offences ſhall require or deſerve; or the ſupreme Ju- " dicatories of both Kingdoms reſpectively, or others having power from them " for that effect, ſhall judge convenient.

5. " And whereas the happineſs of a bleſſed Peace between theſe " Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good Pro- " vidence of God granted unto Us, and hath been lately concluded and ſet- " tled by both Parliaments, we ſhall, each one of Us, according to our places " and intereſt, endeavour, that they may remain conjoyn'd in a firm Peace and " Union to all Poſterity, and that juſtice may be done upon the wilful Oppo- " ſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the precedent Articles.

6. " We ſhall alſo, according to our places and callings, in this Common " Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend " all thoſe that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintai- " ning and purſuing thereof; and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly or indirect- " ly, by whatſoever combination, perſwaſion, or terror, to be divided, and " withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction, whether to make " defection to the contrary part, or to give our ſelves to a deteſtable Indifference

" of

" of Neutrality in this cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the Glory of God,
" the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honour of the King; but ſhall, all
" the days of our lives, zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein, againſt all
" oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our Power, againſt all Lets and
" Impediments whatſoever. And what We are not able our ſelves to ſup-
" preſs, or overcome, We ſhall reveal, and make known, that it may be
" timely prevented or remov'd; all which We ſhall do as in the ſight of God.
" And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins, and Provocations
" againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent di-
" ſtreſſes and dangers, the fruits whereof; We profeſs and declare, before God
" and the World, our unfeigned deſire to be humbled for our own Sins,
" and for the Sins of theſe Kingdoms; eſpecially, that We have not, as we
" ought, valued the ineſtimable benefit of the Goſpel, that we have not la-
" bour'd for the purity, and power thereof; and that We have not endea-
" vour'd to receive Chriſt in our hearts, not to walk worthy of him in our
" lives, which are the cauſes of other Sins and Tranſgreſſions ſo much a-
" bounding amongſt Us: And our true, and unfeigned purpoſe, deſire and
" endeavour for our ſelves, and all others under our power and charge, both
" in publick and in private, in all duties We owe to God and Man, to a-
" mend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real
" Reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indigna-
" tion, and eſtabliſh theſe Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace.
" And this Covenant We make in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearch-
" er of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the ſame, as we ſhall An-
" ſwer at that great day, when the Secrets of all hearts ſhall be diſclos'd;
" moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord, to ſtrengthen Us by his holy Spirit,
" for this end; and to bleſs out deſires, and proceedings, with ſuch ſuc-
" ceſs, as may be a deliverance and ſafety to his People, and encouragement
" to other Chriſtian Churches, groaning under, or in danger of, the Yoke
" of Anti-Chriſtian Tyranny, to joyn in the ſame, or like Aſſociation and Co-
" venant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Je-
" ſus Chriſt, and the Peace, and Tranquility of Chriſtian Kingdoms and
" Common-wealths.

As ſoon as this ſolemnity was over, which was concluded by Mr. *Henderſon* (the ſole Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner from the Kingdom of *Scotland*) who magnified what they had done, and aſſured them " Of great ſucceſs after it,
" by the experience of that Nation, who, from their Union in their firſt Co-
" venant, found nothing hard they propoſed to themſelves; and told them,
" That were that Covenant now painted upon the Wall within the Pope's
" Palace, it would doubleſs put him into *Bellſhazzar*'s quaking condition; the Speaker and Commons (having firſt ſet their hands to the Covenant, after they had taken it) return'd to their Houſe, and obſerving that many of their Members were that day abſent, the cauſe whereof was eaſy to be gueſſed, they order'd, " That, as ſoon as they came into the Houſe, the Covenant ſhould
" be tender'd to them, and whoſoever refus'd to take it, ſhould be proceeded
" againſt as a diſaffected Perſon, in ſuch manner as the Houſe ſhall think
" fit.

The Covenant order'd to be taken by others, eſpecially by the City.

They farther made a ſpecial Order, " That all the Miniſters of Pariſh
" Churches within *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, the Suburbs. and the whole line
" of Communication, ſhould read and explain the Covenant to their ſeveral
" Congregations, and ſtir them up, the next Faſt-day, to the cheerful taking
" of it: and particular care was taken, that all the Students of the Inns of
" Court ſhould be perſwaded to receive it. But over and above theſe gene-
ral directions, there was a particular ceremony, and application to recommend this Covenant to the City, and Corporation of *London*, and another uſe to be made of it. The Covenant was not only to bring, but to keep Men together; and the taking it had only inclin'd the *Scots* to march to their Aſſiſtance; they were to have one hundred thouſand pounds advanced to them, and paid at *Edenborough*, before they could ſtir; and how to advance this great Sum, was not eaſy to reſolve. All their Ordinances for levying of Money were expir'd; their Iſſues and Disburſments ſo vaſt, that no income was ſufficient; their Exchequer was exhauſted, and even the Publick Faith

Bankrupt: ſuch Anticipations upon all kind of receipts, for Monies borrowed, and already ſpent, that they had no Capitol for future Security.

The Judicature of the Houſe of Peers (though their Number was but ten, for there was no more at the Sentence of Juſtice *Berkley*) had helped them all they could. Juſtice *Berkley*, who had been committed by them to the Tower, ſhortly after the beginning of the Parliament, upon a Charge of High Treaſon, and ſince the beginning of the War, permitted to ſit as ſole Judge in the King's Bench, one whole Term, was now brought to Judgment, and by their Lordſhips fined the Sum of twenty thouſand pounds, and made incapable of any place of Judicature; and upon abatement of half, and his Liberty, he paid the other ten thouſand pounds together, to thoſe Perſons they appointed to receive it; which, ſince all fines are due to the King alone, and cannot be diſpoſed but by him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was ſentenced. Baron *Trevor*, who was fined for the ſame Offence, and ſuffer'd ſtill to continue the ſame Office, in which he had committed his miſdemeanour, yielded them as much more. But theſe petty ſums were diſpoſed before they were receiv'd, and were but ſmall drops to quench the great drought they ſuſtain'd: ſo that the reputation and ſecurity of this Covenant, was, amongſt other Uſes, to bring in money too.

To that purpoſe, a Committee of Lords and Commons, with ſome of their Divines of the Aſſembly, was ſent to the *Guild-Hall*, where the Mayor had called a Common Council for their reception, to recommend to them, "The "wonderful advantage and ſtrength their Party ſhould gain by taking, and "being united in this Covenant, and the deſperate condition they were like "to be in without it: If the *Scots* came not to their Aſſiſtance, which, with-"out this obligation, they could not do, they were in danger to be over-"whelm'd by the Enemy; or at leaſt to make a diſadvantageous and diſho-"nourable Peace with them; which yet they could not tell how it would be "obſerv'd and kept. On the other hand, by this famous acceſſion of ſtrength "of a whole Nation, they ſhould undoubtedly be able to maſter the War, and "to make thoſe who had been the Cauſers of it, defray the Charge; and ſo "all the Publick debts being diſcharged out of the Eſtates of Delinquents "and Malignants, the Kingdom would not be at all impoveriſhed, and the "Peace, which ſhould hereafter be made with the King, would be ſure to "be inviolably obſerv'd by the ſtrength of this Union; and therefore that it "could not be purchaſed at too dear a rate.

"It was, they ſaid, "Neither Covetouſneſs, nor want of Affection, and "Zeal to their Relief, that the *Scots* who took Their Cauſe to heart as their "own, deſired an Advance of Money before they drew their Army into *Eng-"land*, but pure Neceſſity, and the Poverty of that Kingdom, already ex-"hauſted by their late expeditions, and keeping their Soldiers together for "the good of This. And if there had been Money enough in that Country "to have been procured upon the publick Stock and Revenue, or the Mort-"gage of private Eſtates, to which all Men were forward for the Publick "Good, their Love to their Brethren here was ſuch, that they would neither "have asked, nor receiv'd Money for their Aſſiſtance, after it had proved ef-"fectual; much leſs, before the yielding it. For Evidence of which frank "and Brotherly Inclination, they freely offer'd the Engagement of their own "Eſtates, for the repayment of the Money that ſhould be advanc'd: which was the firſt time, that ever Land in *Scotland* had been offer'd for ſecurity of Money borrowed in the City of *London*. In the end, they very devoutly extolled the Covenant, magnified the *Scotiſh* Nation, with all imaginable Attributes, of Eſteem and Reverence, "A Nation that had engaged it ſelf to God "in a higher way, in a more extraordinary way, than any Nation this day "upon the face of the Earth had done; a Nation, that had reform'd their "lives for ſo ſmall a time, more then ever any People, that they knew of, in "the world had done; a Nation, that God had honour'd by giving as glo-"rious Succeſs unto, as ever he did unto any: and very earneſtly deſired the Loan of an hundred thouſand Pounds. The Rhetorick and the Zeal prevailed; a hundred thouſand pounds was promiſed, and ſhortly provided, and ſent to *Edenborough*; and the Aſſurance of the *Scots* coming ſo full, that they were looked upon as Maſters of *New-Caſtle* already. With ſuch an alacrity all theſe things were tranſacted.

That

That Violent Party in the Parliament, which never intended any Peace with the King, and had more deſperate Mutations in their Purpoſes, than they avow'd, even amongſt thoſe who concurr'd with them in all they deſired, did not think themſelves ſecure in the Affection of the People, nor in thoſe who had the greateſt Truſt in their Affairs. They had ſeen the great Changes in the Houſes in the City, and in the Country, upon their late ill Succeſſes, the Defeat of *Waller*, and the loſs of *Briſtol*; and though the Earl of *Eſſex* ſtill adhered to them, yet they ſaw he was not pleaſed, nor favoured one of thoſe Men upon whom they moſt depended; but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by Him, or in His Confidence, were Men of ſuch Principles as they liked not, or who deſired no other Alterations, in the Court or Government, but only of the Perſons who Acted in it; Therefore they had taken an Opportunity, in the greateſt Dejection of Spirit, and when they looked upon themſelves as near ſwallow'd up by the King's Power, to move "That they might ſend into *Scotland* to their Bre-"thren there, to joyn with them, and to aſſiſt them with an Army, that they "might by ſuch a Conjunction, have a ſupport, to make them ſo conſidera-"ble, as to be Treated with, and to receive Conditions which might pre-"ſerve them from ruin: which Propoſition, being for ſo Common an Intereſt and Benefit, had receiv'd a General concurrence; and ſo that Committee of both Houſes had been ſent into *Scotland*, to put them in mind "Of "their joynt Concernment, and how impoſſible it would be, for the *Scots* "long to enjoy the great Conceſſions they had obtain'd from the King, "when the Parliament of *England*, by whoſe Friendſhip, Power, and Authority "they had obtain'd them, ſhould be oppreſſed, and forced to yield to ſuch "Conditions for their particular Preſervations, as the King would think fit "to give them. But they were not a little ſtartled, when they found this Meſſage had obliged them to a preſent expence of a hundred thouſand pounds, before there was any viſible Relief given them; and ſaw themſelves invol'd in new Obligations of Guilt, and to purpoſes they really never intended.

There hath been ſcarce any thing more wonderful throughout the Progreſs of theſe Diſtractions, than that this Covenant did with ſuch extraordinary Expedition, paſs the two Houſes, when all the Leading Perſons in thoſe Councils, were at the ſame time known to be as great Enemies to Presbytery (the Eſtabliſhment whereof was the main end of this Covenant,) as they were to the King or the Church. And He who contributed moſt to it, and, in truth, was the principal Contriver of it, and the Man by whom the Committee in *Scotland* was intirely, and ſtupidly govern'd, Sir *Harry Vane* the Younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the Covenant, and the Presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laugh'd at 'em then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

He was indeed a Man of extraordinary Parts, a pleaſant Wit, a great Underſtanding, which pierced into, and diſcern'd the purpoſes of other Men with wonderful Sagacity, whilſt he had himſelf *vultum clauſum*, that no Man could make a gueſs of what he intended. He was of a Temper not to be moved, and of rare Diſſimulation, and could comply when it was not ſeaſonable to contradict, without loſing Ground by the Condeſcention; and if he were not ſuperior to Mr. *Hambden*, he was inferior to no other Man, in all myſterious Artifices. There need no more be ſaid of his Ability, than that he was choſen to cozen, and deceive a whole Nation which was thought to excel in craft and cunning: which he did with Notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a People, that could not otherwiſe be prevailed upon, than by advancing their Idol Presbytery, to ſacrifice their Peace, their Intereſt, and their Faith, to the erecting a Power and Authority that reſolv'd to perſecute Presbytery to an Extirpation; and, in proceſs of time, very near brought their purpoſe to paſs.

The Nation of *Scotland*, in general, had been ſo fully ſatisfied in all that they could pretend to deſire, that they were very well diſpoſed to be Spectators of what was done in *England* without engaging themſelves in the Quarrel; and though there were ſome powerful Men amongſt them, whoſe Guilt would not ſuffer them to believe that they could be otherwiſe ſecure,

than by the King's want of Power to call them to Juſtice, yet their Number was not thought ſo great, as to be able to corrupt the People into a bare-faced Act of Rebellion; nor had they any ſuch face of Authority, as to invite them to it. Without a Parliament, they could not propoſe it; the King had abſolutely refuſed to call a Parliament, and it was yet above a year to come, before a Parliament could be Aſſembled without the King's Conſent; and in that time, the King might have the better of his Enemies. However, the Commiſſioners of the Parliament had not been long at *Edenborough*, before they prevailed with the Council to call a Parliament; which Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who pretended great Devotion to the King, and were of the Council, had promiſed the King to oppoſe, and ſaid "They "were powerful enough to prevent it. When it came to the point, Duke *Hamilton* being, one way or other, perſwaded himſelf, perſwaded others, "That the abſolute refuſal to ſuffer a Parliament to be called, would not "quiet the Debate, not ſecure the King, but more enflame thoſe who deſir'd "it; who would take ſome other time, when many of them who oppoſed "it ſhould be abſent, to propoſe it; and ſo would carry it: and that there- "fore they were better be abſent at firſt, whereby the others might, without "oppoſition, ſend out their Summons for a Parliament to Aſſemble, at the "day they thought fit; and that, as they who would ſerve the King would "not be there, ſo they ſhould prevail with as many others as they could, not "to be there likewiſe; whereby the number which appear'd, would be ſo "inconſiderable, that they would not dare to ſit, but perfectly diſperſe; "and this diſappointment would for ever quaſh that Deſign, and render thoſe "who adviſed it, odious to the People; as Men who deſir'd illegally to en- "gage the Nation in unjuſtifiable ways, to diſturb the Publick Peace.

A Parliament Summon'd by the Covenanters in Scotland.

A Summons was accordingly ſent out to call a Parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, thoſe of the Nobility and Gentry, who did really deſire to ſerve the King, applied themſelves to Duke *Hamilton* (whoſe advice and orders, the King himſelf had required them to obſerve; unhappily ſtill believing him to be faithful) to know what they ſhould do: Many of the principal of them declaring their Opinions to him, "That they "ſhould take an opportunity to meet together, and bring their Friends with "them, whereby they might make a good Body of Horſe, and ſo, with their "Arms in their Hands, they would declare againſt the Legality of that Par- "liament, and the meeting in it: and named a fit opportunity to him for ſuch a meeting at the Funeral of a Lady, which was to be within ſome days, when, according to the Cuſtom of that People, great Numbers of Perſons of Quality uſe to Aſſemble, to do Honour to the dead in the laſt Obſequies. He told them, "He believ'd, it muſt come ſhortly to that Remedy, but con- "ceiv'd it not yet time, and that ſuch a meeting would frighten the People, "and encreaſe the Number in Parliament, and make many reſort to them for "their Directions. He likewiſe ſaid, "He had changed his former Opinion, "concerning their own being abſent at that time of the meeting of the Par- "liament, ſince their meer abſence would not be diſcountenance enough, and "that they who ſat, would carry the Reputation of a Parliament, and the "People would be guided by them, if there were nothing but their abſence to "work upon their Inclinations, and Affections.

He propoſed therefore to them, "That they would all reſolve to be pre- "ſent, and take their places; and that, when the Houſe ſhould be ſat, and "any Man ſhould ſtand up to propoſe the taking any Buſineſs into Conſide- "ration, He (the Duke) would firſt make his Proteſtation againſt proceeding "in ſo illegal a Convention, and then they ſhould all make the ſame Prote- "ſtation; and he did hope, that the Number of the Proteſtors would be "great enough to diſſolve the meeting; and thus they ſhould put the beſt "end to the matter that could be deſir'd: but if it ſhould ſucceed otherwiſe, "then would be the time to withdraw and put themſelves in Arms; to- "wards which he would make the beſt Preparation he could; and deſir'd "Them to do the like. The Earl of *Kinoul*, and ſome others, made Exception againſt this Expedient, and preſſed the former meeting at the Funeral, till the Duke told them, "The King liked the other way better; and pulled

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a Letter out of his Pocket, which he had receiv'd from his Majeſty, and read them ſo much of it, as contain'd his Approbation, " That they ſhould " meet in the Parliament ; in which determination they could not but acquieſce, though they thought at the ſame time, that his Majeſty was betray'd.

The Parliament met at the day ; and Duke *Hamilton*, according to his promiſe, took an opportunity to ſay ſomewhat that ſeem'd to imply a Proteſtation againſt the meeting ; upon which, many of the Lords, who had been always moſt engaged againſt the King, were very warm ; and demanded, " That he ſhould declare himſelf clearly, whether he did Proteſt againſt the " Parliament ; whereupon his Brother the Earl of *Lanrick*, who was Secretary of State to the King, ſtood up, and ſaid, " That he hoped, that Noble Lord's " Affection to his Country was better known, than that any Man could ima- " gine he would Proteſt againſt the Parliament of the Kingdom ; and then " the Duke explain'd, and excuſed himſelf ; and ſaid, " He meant no ſuch " thing : and ſo they declar'd, That they would Treat with the Commiſſi- " oners, who were ſent from the Parliament of *England* ; and appointed Commiſſioners for that purpoſe.

Some are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the War againſt the King , but that, as a few Men cozen'd the Parliamant at *Weſtminſter*, by perſwading them, " That they deſir'd only a Saſe " Peace, till, by multiplication of Indignities, they made it impoſſible to make a Peace that would appear ſafe ; ſo there was as ſmall a Number in *Scotland*, that over-reach'd the Parliament there, by perſwading, " That they never " intended to do any thing againſt the King, but that it would be too in- " grateful a thing, and render them very odious to the whole *Engliſh* Nation, " if, after they had receiv'd ſo many obligations from the Parliament there, to " whoſe Protection they ow'd their Religion, and all that they enjoy'd, they " ſhould refuſe ſo much as to Treat with them, and to aſſiſt them, by their " interpoſition, to procure a good Peace for them with the King ; which " would be a great Honour to them ; and would be as great an obligation " to his Majeſty, as to the Parliament. That this was all that was in their thoughts ; and that they would avoid any Engagement in a War, not by rejecting the Propoſition, but by making ſuch Demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. Thereupon they told the Commiſſioners from that Parliament, " That it would be impoſſible " to engage their Nation in a joynt concurrence with them, againſt the " King, but by the Influence and Authority of their Kirk ; and that it would " be as impoſſible to procure the Conſent of their Kirk, except by making it " evident to them, that the Government of the Church in *England*, ſhould " be reduced to the ſame model with Theirs in *Scotland* ; and that Epiſcopacy ſhould be totally extirpated ; and that Deans and Chapters, ſhould be " utterly aboliſh'd ; without which, they ſaid, " They could never think " their own Government ſecurely eſtabliſh'd ; but if ſuch a promiſe might be " ſolemnly made, their Kirk would be throughly engaged, and the Nation, " to a Man, would enter into the Quarrel.

Sir *Harry Vane* was not ſurpriſed with the Propoſition, which he had long foreſeen, and came reſolv'd to pay their own price for their Friendſhip. Thereupon, as hath been already ſaid, the Covenant was prepared, and other Propoſitions made for the preſent furniſhing a great Sum of Money, to enable them to begin their Levies ; and many other extravagant Conditions propoſed on the *Scots* part, for the payment of the Army, and other vaſt expences, that they did not believe the Commiſſioners would yield, or that the Parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of Money, or Honour, made any delay ; and they came provided with ſome Letters of Credit, that as little time might be loſt as was poſſible, in making all neceſſary preparations. The Covenant was the matter of Difficulty ; they knowing well, that many of their greateſt Friends, both in the Parliament, and the Army, had not any mind to change the Government of the Church ; to which the People of *England* were not generally diſaffected.

Sir *Harry Vane* therefore (who equally hated Epiſcopacy and Presbytery, ſave that he wiſh'd the one Aboliſh'd with much impatience believing it much

much eaſier to keep the other from being Eſtabliſh'd, whatever they promiſed, than to be rid of that which was ſettled in the Kingdom) carefully conſider'd the Covenant, and after he had alter'd and changed many expreſſions in it. and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow Commiſſioners, ſign'd the whole Treaty; whereby it was provided, "That the Covenant ſhould be taken throughout all his Majeſty's "Dominions; that a Committee of the *Scots* ſhould always ſit with the "Cloſe Committee at *Weſtminſter* for the carying on of the War with equal "Authority; that there ſhould be no Treaty of Peace with the King, without the joynt Conſent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; and many other particulars, very derogatory to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation; and with all poſſible expedition ſent it to the Cloſe Committee at *Weſtminſter*; in the time of their Conſternation, and before the Relief of *Gloceſter*; which tranſmitted it preſently back to them, allow'd and confirm'd.

The ſubſtance of the Treaty between the Engliſh *Commiſſioners and the* Scots.

And thereupon the Parliament at *Edenborough*, reſolv'd to raiſe a great Army, and to Invade *England*; and their old General *Leſley*, who had ſo ſolemnly promiſed the King, not only "Never to bear Arms againſt him, but "to ſerve him, let the Cauſe be what it would, without any heſitation undertook the Command of it. All this time, Duke *Hamilton* look'd on, and ſometimes ſate with them; and when the firſt Proclamation was prepared, in the King's Name, for a General Rendezvous of all Men, from ſuch an Age to ſuch an Age, at ſuch a time and place, that ſo their Army might be preſently form'd, the Earl of *Lanrick* put the King's Signet, with the keeping whereof he was truſted, to the ſaid Proclamation: and all this being done, both the Brothers left *Scotland*, to give the King an Account at *Oxford* of all the Proceedings: Many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, who did heartily wiſh well to the King, being gone from thence, after the firſt days meeting of their Parliament (when the Duke had broken his promiſe to them) and inform'd his Majeſty at large of that which they thought foul Infidelity.

The Scots *raiſe an Army under* Leſley.

The Diſcompoſures. Jealouſies, and Diſguſts, which reign'd at *Oxford*, produced great Inconveniencies; and as, many times, Men in a Scuffle loſe their Weapons, and light upon thoſe which belonged to their Adverſaries, who again Arm themſelves with thoſe which belonged to the others, ſuch, one would have thought, had been the Fortune of the King's Army in the Encounters with the Enemies: for thoſe under the King's Commanders grew inſenſibly into all the Licenſe, Diſorder, and Impiety, with which they had reproach'd the Rebels; and They, into great Diſcipline, Diligence, and Sobriety; which begot Courage and Reſolution in them, and notable dexterity in Atchievements and Enterpriſes. Inſomuch as one ſide ſeem'd to Fight for Monarchy, with the Weapons of Confuſion, and the other to deſtroy the King and Government, with all the Principles and Regularity of Monarchy.

Diviſions amongſt the Councils at Oxford.

In the beginning of the Troubles, the King had very prudently reſolv'd with himſelf, to confer no Honours, or beſtow any Offices or Preferments upon any, till the end and concluſion of the Service; and if that Reſolution had continued, He would have found much eaſe by it, and his Service great Advantage. The Neceſſity and Exigents of the War, ſhortly after, made ſome breach into this ſeaſonable Reſolution, and, for ready Money to carry on the War, his Majeſty was compelled, againſt his Nature, to diſpenſe ſome Favours, which he would not willingly have ſuffer'd to be purchaſed, but by Vertue and high Merit. Then all Men thought Money and Money-worth to be all one; and whoſoever, by his Service, had deſerv'd a Reward of Money, had deſerv'd any thing that might be had for Money. And when it was apparent, that the War was like to prove a buſineſs of time, it was thought unreaſonable, that the King ſhould not confer Rewards on Some, which he was able to do, becauſe he could not do it on All, which was confeſſedly out of his Power. And ſo, by importunity, and upon the Title of old Promiſes, and ſome conveniencies of his Service, he beſtow'd Honours upon ſome Principal Officers of his Army, and Offices upon others; to which, though, in the particulars, no juſt exceptions could be taken, yet many were angry to ſee ſome Preferr'd, and not ſo much extolling their own Merit and Service, as making it equal to thoſe whom they ſaw advanced, every

every Man thought himſelf neglected and ſlighted, in that another was better eſteem'd.

And this Poyſon of Envy wrought upon many Natures, which had skill enough not to confeſs it: The Soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongſt themſelves, and very unſatisfied with one another (there being unhappy Animoſities amongſt the Principal Officers) yet they were too well united, and reconciled againſt any other Body of Men; and thinking the King's Crown depended wholely on the Fortune of Their Swords, believ'd no other Perſons to be conſiderable, and no Councils fit to be conſulted with, but the Martial; and thence proceeded a fatal diſreſpect and irreverence to the Council of State, to which, by the wholeſome Conſtitution of the Kingdom, the Militia, Garriſons, and all Martial Power is purely, and naturally Subordinate; and by the Authority, and Prudence whereof, Proviſion could be only reaſonably expected, for the countenance and ſupport of the Army.

The General, and Prince *Rupert*, were both Strangers to the Government and Cuſtom of the Kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the Nobility, and the King's Miniſters, or with their Rights: and the Prince's Heart was ſo wholely ſet upon Actions of War, that he not only neglected, but too much contemn'd the peaceable and civil Arts, which were moſt neceſſary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, ſomewhat like that which *Plutarch* ſays of the Roman Auguries, "That *Octavius* loſt his Life "truſting to them; and that *Marius* proſper'd the better, becauſe he did not "altogether deſpiſe them, may be ſaid of Popularity: though he that too immoderately, and importunately affects it (which was the caſe of the Earl of *Eſſex*) will hardly continue innocent; yet he who too affectly deſpiſes, or neglects what is ſaid of him, or what is generally thought of Perſons, or Things, and too Stoically contemns the Affections of Men, even of Vulgar (be his other Abilities and Virtues as great as can be imagined) will, in ſome conjuncture of time, find himſelf very unfortunate. And it may be, a better reaſon cannot be aſſign'd for the misfortunes that hopeful young Prince (who had great parts of Mind, as well as Vigour of Body, and an incomparable Perſonal Courage) underwent, and the Kingdom thereby, than that unpoliſh'd roughneſs of his Nature; which render'd him leſs patient to hear, and conſequently leſs skilful to judge of thoſe things, which ſhould have guided him in the diſcharge of his important Truſt: and making an unskilful judgment of the unuſefulneſs of the Councils, by his obſervation of the infirmities and weakneſs of ſome particular Counſellors, he grew to a full diſeſteem of the Acts of that Board; which muſt ever be reſpected, as long as the Regal Power is exerciſed in *England*.

I cannot but, on this occaſion, continue this digreſſion thus much farther, to obſerve, that they who avoid publick Debates in Council, or think them of no moment, upon undervaluing the Perſons of ſome Counſellors, and from the particular infirmities of the Men, the heavineſs of this Man, the levity of another, the weakneſs and ſimplicity of a third, conclude, that the advice and opinions of Many are not requiſite to any great deſign, are exceedingly deceiv'd; and will perniciouſly deceive others who are miſled by thoſe concluſions. For it is in wiſdom, as it is in Beauty, a Face that, being taken in pieces, affords ſcarce one exact feature, an Eye, or a Noſe, or a Tooth, or a Brow, or a Mouth, againſt which a viſible juſt exception may not be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulneſs and vivacity in the whole, may conſtitute an excellent Beauty, and be more charming than another, whoſe Symmetry is more faultleſs; ſo there are many Men, who in one particular Argument, may be unskilful, in another affected, who may ſeem to have ſome Levity, and Vanity, or Formality, in ordinary and curſory Converſation (a very crooked Rule to meaſure any Man's Abilities, as giving a better meaſure of the Humour, than of the Underſtanding) and yet in form'd Counſels, Deliberations, and Tranſactions, are Men of great Inſight, and Wiſdom, and from whom excellent Aſſiſtance may be contributed.

No Queſtion, all great Enterpriſes, and Deſigns, that are to be executed, have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the Survey and Diſquiſition of ſeveral Faculties and Abilities, equally for the deciſion of ſharper, and more phlegmatick Underſtandings. And we often hear, in Debates of

great Moment, Animadverſions of more weight, and conſequence, from thoſe whoſe ordinary Converſation may not be ſo delightful, than from Men of more ſublime Parts. Certainly *Solomon* well underſtood himſelf, when he ſaid, *In the multitude of Counſellors there is ſafety*. And though it be confeſs'd that reaſon would be better diſcover'd, and ſtated, and right concluſions eaſier made by a few, than by a greater number, yet when the Execution depends on many, and the general interpretation ſo much depends on the Succeſs, and the Succeſs on the Interpretation, We ſee thoſe Counſels uſually moſt proſperous, whereof the Conſiderations, and Deliberations, have been meaſured by that Standard which is moſt publickly acknowledg'd, and receiv'd. He has had but ſmall Experience in the managing Affairs who is not able experimentally to name to himſelf, ſome very good and uſeful concluſions, which have therefore only miſcarried, becauſe they were not communicated to thoſe, who thought they had reaſon to believe themſelves competent parties to the Secret. There was ſeldom ever yet that publick-heartedneſs ſunk into the breaſts of Men, as to be long willing to be left out in thoſe tranſactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right. And therefore Men have been often willing enough, any ſingle Advice ſhould miſcarry, of whatſoever general Concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of ſome One man, who has thought Their Approbation not worth the providing for. And though the Advantage of ſecrecy and diſpatch, ſeems to favour a ſmall Number of Counſellors, yet (except in ſome few caſes, which in their own Nature are to be both conſulted, and acted together, and the full Execution whereof may be by a few) I am not ſure that the inconveniency will be greater by the neceſſary delays, occaſion'd by the Number, or even by ſuch a diſcovery, as may be ſuppoſed to proceed from the Levity of any of them, than by wanting the Approbation, and Concurrence of thoſe, who will unavoidably know it ſoon enough to add to, or take from the Succeſs, at leaſt the Reputation, of any publick buſineſs. Much of the Negligence, and Diſreſpect towards the Civil Councils, proceeded, from theſe unhappy Cauſes. For as all Corporations, Tribes, and Fraternities, ſuffer moſt by the malignity of ſome of their own Members; ſo the Jealouſy and Indiſpoſition of ſome Counſellors, contributed much to the diſregard which fell upon the Order; and in Them, upon the King.

Among thoſe who were next the King's Truſt, and to whom he communicated the greateſt Secrets in his Affairs, there were ſome, who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without ſuch an application to Court as uſually uſhered in thoſe promotions, were aſcended to that preferment; and were believ'd to have an equal Intereſt with any, in their Maſter's eſtimation. Theſe were ſure to find no more Charity from the Court, than from the Army; and they having had lately ſo many equals, it was thought no preſumption, freely to cenſure all they did, or ſpoke; what effect ſoever ſuch freedom had upon the publick Policy and Tranſactions. It were to be wiſh'd, that Perſons of the greateſt Birth, Honour, and Fortune, would take that care of themſelves by Education, Induſtry, Literature, and a Love of Virtue, to ſurpaſs all other Men in Knowledge, and all other Qualifications, neceſſary for great Actions, as far as they do in Quality and Titles; that Princes, out of Them, might always chooſe Men fit for all Employments, and high Truſts; which would exceedingly advance their Service; when the reputation aud reſpect of the Perſons carries ſomewhat with it, that facilitates the buſineſs. And it cannot eaſily be expreſſed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight, and burden of the Envy, weich naturally attends upon thoſe promotions, which ſeem to be *per Saltum*, how great ſtreights and difficulties ſuch Miniſters are forced to wreſtle with, and by which the Charges, with which they are entruſted, muſt proportionably ſuffer, let the Integrity and Wiſdom of the Men, be what it can be ſuppoſed to be. Neither is the patience, and dexterity, to carry a Man through thoſe ſtreights, eaſily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preſerve the dignity of the place committed to him (without which he ſhall expoſe himſelf to a thouſand rude attempts, and diſhonour the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too mean for ſuch a Truſt) and between the caution, that his Nature be not really

ly exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of his great Place; which will expoſe him to much more contempt, than the former; and therefore is, with a more exact Guard to be avoided: the Errors of gentleneſs and civility, being much more eaſily reform'd as well as endured, than the other of Arrogance and Oſtentation.

The beſt Proviſion that ſuch Men can make for their Voyage, beſides a laſting ſtock of Innocency, and a firm Confidence in God Almighty, that he will never ſuffer that Innocency to be utterly oppreſſed, or notoriouſly defamed, is, an expectation of thoſe Guſts and Storms of Rumour, Detraction, and Envy; and a Reſolution not to be over ſenſible of all Calumnies, Unkindneſs, or Injuſtice; but to believe, that, by being Preferr'd before other Men, they have an Obligation upon them, to ſuffer more than other Men would do; and that the beſt way to convince Scandals, and Miſreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deſerv'd them. There is not a more troubleſome Paſſion, or that often draws more inconveniencies with it, than that which proceeds from the Indignation of being unjuſtly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright Conſcience; when Men cannot endure to be ſpoken ill of, if they have not deſerv'd it: in which diſtemper, though they ſhould free themſelves from the Errors, or Infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly diſcover others, of which they had never been ſuſpected. In a word, let no honeſt Man that is once enter'd into the Liſt, think, he can by any Skill, or Comportment, prevent theſe Conflicts and Aſſaults; or that he can, by any ſtubborn or impetuous Humour, ſuppreſs, and prevail over them: But let him look upon it as Purgatory he is unavoidably to paſs through, and depend upon Providence, and Time, for a Vindication; and by conſtantly performing all the Duties of his Place, with Juſtice, Integrity, and Uprightneſs, give all Men cauſe to believe, he was worthy of the firſt Hour; which is a Triumph very Lawfully to be affected.

As theſe diſtempers, Indiſpoſitions, and Infirmities of particular Men, had a great influence upon the publick Affairs, and diſturb'd and weaken'd the whole Frame and Fabrick of the King's Deſigns; ſo no particular Man was more diſquieted by them, than the King himſelf; who, in his Perſon, as well as in his Buſineſs, ſuffer'd all the Vexation of the rude, petulant, and diſcontented Humours of Court, and Army. His Majeſty now paid Intereſt for all the Benefit and Advantage, he had receiv'd in the beginning of the War, by his Gentleneſs, and Princely affability to all Men, and by deſcending ſomewhat from the forms of Majeſty, which he had, in his former Life, obſerv'd with all punctuality. He vouchſafed then himſelf to receive any Addreſſes, and Overtures for his Service, and to hold diſcourſe with all Men who brought devotion to him; and he muſt be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humours of all; and how frivolous, and unreaſonable ſoever, the cauſe was, his Majeſty was put both to inform, and temper their Underſtandings. No Man would receive an Anſwer but from Himſelf, and expected a better from him, than he muſt have been contented to have receiv'd from any Body elſe. Every Man magnified the Service he had done, and his Ability, and Intereſt to do greater, and propoſed Honour and Reward equal to both in his own Senſe. And if he receiv'd not an Anſwer to his Mind, he grew ſullen, complain'd, "He was neglected, and re-" ſolv'd, or pretended ſo, "To quit the Service, and to Travel into ſome "Forreign Kingdom. He is deceiv'd that believes the ordinary Carriage, and State of a King, to be matters of indifferency, and of no Relation to his Greatneſs. They are the Outworks, which preſerve Majeſty it ſelf from approaches and ſurpriſal. We find that the Queen of *Sheba* was amazed at the meat of *Solomon*'s Table, and the ſitting of his Servants, and the attendance of his Miniſters, and their Apparel, and his Cup-bearers, &c. as ſo great Inſtances of *Solomon*'s Wiſdom, that *there was no more Spirit in her*. And no doubt, what Prince ſoever inconſiderately departs from thoſe Forms, and Trappings, and Ornaments of his Dignity, and Pre-eminence, will hardly, at ſome time, be able to preſerve the Body it ſelf of Majeſty, from Intruſion, Invaſion, and Violation.

And let no Man think, that the King had now no hard task to master these Troubles, and that a short and sharp blast of Royal Severity, would easily have dispersed these Clouds. The Disease was too violent and catching, and the Contagion too Universal, to be cured by that Remedy; neither were the Symptoms, or effects, the same in all Constitutions. It cannot be imagin'd, into how many several shapes Men's Indispositions were put, and how many Artifices were used to get Honours, Offices, Preferments, and the waywardness and perverseness, which attended the being disappointed of their own hopes. One Man had been named for such a place, that is, Himself and his Friends had given it out, that he should have it, when it may be, he was too modest to pretend to it; and upon this Vogue he had a Title, and if it should be conferr'd upon another, it would be a mark of the King's disfavour to him; and thereby he should lose the Ability, and Credit, without which he could do no farther Service. Another suggested, that his Friends and Companions in consort, had all receiv'd some Obligation, and if he alone should remain without some Testimony of Favour, it would be a Brand upon him of some signal unworthiness. No Man was so hard hearted to himself, as not to be able to give a reason for any thing he desired; and He commonly had best Success, who prosecuted his own Wishes with most boldness, and importunity; neither was there a better, or another Reason for some Men's Preferment, than that they had set their Hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great Temptation to modest Natures, to find forward Men had so good Fortune, that the want of Success begun to be imputed to want of Wit.

I Remember about this time, a Person of good Quality, and of a good Name in Action, came to me very pensive, and told me, " How conscienti-
" ously he had serv'd the King, without any private Designs, or other Thoughts,
" than the discharge of his own Duty, and rendering the performance of
" that Duty acceptable to his Majesty; yet that, to his unspeakable discom-
" fort, he found, he had been misrepresented to the King, and that his Ma-
" jesty had entertain'd a sinister Opinion of him, and desired me to learn,
" what the ground of the prejudice was, and by my good Testimony to en-
" deavour to remove it. I had a very good Opinion of the Person, and believ'd the King had so, and therefore perswaded him, that the Jealousy was groundless, and press'd to know, from whence he receiv'd those Impressions; he excused himself in the particular, and assured me, " That he had his Ad-
" vertisement from a sure Hand, which was to be concealed and not doubt-
" ed; that upon my Enquiry, I would find it true, though he could not ima-
" gine the Cause. I promised him, I would press the King very heartily in it,
" and if there were any thing that stuck with him, I presumed his Majesty
" would be so gracious to let me know it; and accordingly having shortly after an Opportunity to wait on his Majesty, I told him the true Narrative of what had passed, with my Observation of the general Comportment of that Gentleman, and besought his Majesty, " If any ill Offices had been done
" him, or that any prejudice towards him was lodged in his Royal Breast, that
" he would graciously vouchsafed to tell me what it was, and that he would
" allow him an Access, to clear himself from any Imputations. The King very chearfully assured me, " That he had not only a very good Opinion
" of that Gentleman, but that he was most assured, he had no real Suspici-
" on to the contrary; and therefore, bid me, " proceed to the other part of
" my Business. I told him, " I had no more, and that I was sure, I should
" make a very happy Man, by satisfying, him of what I found. Then said the King, " You are not throughly instructed, for the other half of this
" Business must be a Suite. I replied, " If that were so, I was yet more ig-
" norant than I suspected my self. The Gentleman shortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the Jealousy of being in Umbrage; and when I gave him pregnant Assurance to the contrary, with the mention of some Expressions the King had used, which were indeed very gracious he seem'd to receive it with such a countenance and gusto, that I verily believ'd he had Had his Hearts desire. But the next Morning, he came to me again, and told me, " That I had made him abundantly happy; and that he doub-
" ted not, there was no just ground for the other reports, but only the Malice

of

" of thoſe who wiſh'd them true; yet, that they had leſſen'd his credit " abroad, even with his Friends; and that he found, there was no way to " keep up his Reputation, and Intereſt in the world, whereby he might be " able to do the King's Service (which was all he look'd after) but the receiving " ſome teſtimony of the King good opinion, which would be a publick evi- " dence that the other diſcourſes were falſe. I was ſurpriſed, and as much out " of countenance, as He ſhould have been; and adviſed him to patience, " and to expect the King's own time, and method, rather than to quicken " him by any importunity, which would give an ill reliſh to any obligation. He would not underſtand that Philoſophy, but ſhortly after found ſome other means to preſs the King very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without ſome implication, " That, without ſome ſuch earneſt of his Majeſty's goodneſs, he ſhould " not be able to continue in his Service; which probably was one of the modeſteſt Addreſſes, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the King's Trouble was ſo great, that he many times ſuffer'd more Vexation from the indiſpoſition, and humours of his own People, than from the Enemy, or the apprehenſion of their Counſels: which hath made me enlarge this digreſſion ſo much; conceiving it no leſs to be a part of Hiſtory, and more uſeful to Poſterity, to leave a Character of the times, than of the Perſons, or the Narrative of the matters of Fact, which cannot be ſo well underſtood, as by knowing the Genius that prevailed when they were tranſacted.

The beſt expedient his Majeſty could find to diſpel theſe Fumes, was Motion and Action; and therefore, though the Seaſon of the Year was too far ſpent, and too many Officers hurt, for the taking the Field again, beſides that many Regiments were return'd to their old Poſts (as the *Welſh* to defend their own Country from the Incurſions from *Gloceſter*, and to reduce ſome Towns in *Pembroke-ſhire*, which, lying on the Sea, by the help of the Parliament Ships, begun to fortify, and gather ſtrength) yet he reſolv'd his Forces about *Oxford* ſhould not lie ſtill.

In the beginning of *October*, Prince *Rupert* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, march'd into *Bedford ſhire*, and took the Town of *Bedford*, and in it a Party of the Enemy, who uſed it only as a ſtrong Quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance Sir *Lewis Dives*, whilſt he Fortified *Newport Pannel*, where he hoped to fix a Garriſon; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the Northern Parts, and reſtrain'd the Commerce between *London* and their Aſſociated Counties; which they well underſtood; and therefore, upon the firſt News of it, the Earl of *Eſſex* remov'd his head Quarters from *Windſor* to St. *Albans*, and the Train'd-bands of *London*, and their Auxiliary Regiments, marched again to him for his Recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a miſtake of Orders from *Oxford*, Sir *Lewis Dives* drew off his Forces from *Newport Pannel*; and the Enemy preſently poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and made it a very uſeful Garriſon. Upon which, Prince *Rupert* Fortified *Toſſiter*, a Town in *Northampton-ſhire*, and left a ſtrong Garriſon there; which though it infeſted the Enemy ſomewhat, and took great Revenge upon thoſe Counties which had expreſſed a violent Affection to the Parliament, in truth, added little ſtrength to the King; for he loſt many Horſe by the labour of duty, the greateſt part of the Body of his Horſe being forced to Quarter near that place, for the ſecurity of the Foot, till the Works about the Town were in ſuch a forwardneſs, that they needed not fear their Neighbours at St. *Albans*.

The King's Affairs in the Weſt.

In the mean time, the power of the Parliament was leaſt Manifeſt in the Weſt, where their Party was reduced to a lowneſs, and confin'd within narrow limits after the taking of *Exeter*; the Gentlemen of that County having been generally well devoted to the King's Service, though never able ſafely to declare it, at leaſt to appear in a poſture of oppoſing the violence of the other Party. Prince *Maurice* found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by Levies of Money, Men, and all Offices that could be expected; inſomuch as, within very few days after the Surrender of that Town, his Army of Foot, by the new Levies, contained no fewer than

ſeven thouſand Men (which was a Body the Weſt had not before ſeen) beſides a Body of Horſe, at leaſt proportionable to the other; and all in excellent Equipage for Action. And at the ſame time, Colonel *John Digby* was before *Plymouth*, with above three thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe, and had taken a work from the Enemy of great Importance, called *Mount-Stamford* in honour of that Earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the Town, and which Commanded ſome part of the River; the loſs whereof gave the Town a marvellous diſcouragement.

The firſt Error the Prince committed after the reducing of *Exeter*, was ſtaying too long there before he Advanced; for victorious Armies carry great Terror with them, whilſt the memory and fame of the Victory is freſh. The next, that he removed not directly towards *Plymouth*, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his Approach: for the Town was full of diſtraction, and jealouſy amongſt themſelves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an Enemy. It was a rich and populous Corporation, being, in time of Peace, the greateſt Port for Trade in the Weſt; and, except *Briſtol*, then more conſiderable than all the reſt. There was in it a Caſtle very ſtrong towards the Sea, with good Platforms and Ordnance; and little more than Muſquet-ſhot from the Town, was an Iſland with a Fort in it, much ſtronger than the Caſtle; both which were, before the Troubles, under the Command of a Captain, with a Garriſon of about fifty Men at the moſt; and were only intended for a ſecurity, and defence of the Town againſt a Forreign Invaſion; the Caſtle and the Iſland together, having a good Command of the Entrance into the Harbour, but towards the Land there was very little ſtrength. This Command was in the hands of Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, and as unprovided to expect, or reſiſt any Enemy, as the other Caſtles and Forts of the Kingdom; leſs for the receiving a Recruit; there being only Ordnance, and Ammunition, without any other Proviſions for the ſupport of the Soldiers within the Walls; and the Garriſon it ſelf being by Time, Marriages, and Trade, Incorporated into the Town, and rather Citizens than Soldiers: So that Sir *Jacob Aſhley* being ſent for to the King, before his ſetting up his Standard, as ſoon, as there was any apprehenſion of a Party for the King in *Cornwal*, after the appearing of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and thoſe other Gentlemen there, the Mayor, and Corporation of *Plymouth*, quickly got both the Caſtle and Iſland into their own Power.

It will be wonder'd at by many hereafter, that thoſe, and the like places of Strength in *England*, being under the Command of Perſons entirely of his Majeſty's Nomination, were not put into a good Poſture of Defence, when it grew firſt Evident, that there would be ſhortly occaſion to uſe them; for according to the old ſtory in *Ælian*, that when in one of the States of *Greece*, *Micippus*'s Sheep brought forth a Lyon, It was generally, and juſtly concluded, that That portended a Tyranny, and change of the State from a Peaceable to a Bloody Government; ſo when the two Houſes of Parliament firſt produced a Soveraign Power, to make, and alter, and ſuſpend Laws, before they raiſed an Army, or made a General, or declared War; when that mild and innocent Sheep, that Legal regular Convention of a ſober and modeſt Council, had once brought forth that Lyon which ſought whom he might devour, it might be eaſily, and naturally concluded by all wiſe and ſober Men, that the bleſſed calm, and temperate State of Government, by which every Man eat the fruit of his own Vine, was at an end; and Rapine, Blood, and Deſolation, to ſucceed; and therefore that thoſe Holds ſhould, in reaſon, have been then provided for.

But I ſhall ſay here once for all, that from the time that there was any reaſonable jealouſy of a War it was never in the King's Power to mend the condition of any of thoſe places; and if he had attempted it, with what caution or ſecrecy ſoever, the inconvenience he muſt have ſuſtained by it, beſides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the Advantage which could have accrued, if he had done what he deſired. I have very ill deſcribed the times We have paſſed through, if That be not apparent; and that it was rather an Error of the former times, that thoſe places needed any Supply, than that it was not apply'd to them in the ſucceeding.

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The Parliament was very glad *Plymouth* was thus ſecured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all Corporations, by ſhewing they thought them capable of the greateſt Truſts, as becauſe they could not, in truth, more reaſonably Confide in any other, they committed the Government thereof to that Mayor; who was well enough inſtructed, what reſpect to pay to their Committee; which was appointed to reſide there for his Aſſiſtance, and to conduct the Affairs in thoſe parts. of that Committee, Sir *Alexander Carew* was one; a Gentleman of a good Fortune in *Cornwal*, who ſerv'd in Parliament as Knight for that County, and had, from the beginning of the Parliament, concurr'd in all concluſions with the moſt Violent, with as full a Teſtimony of that Zeal and Fury, to which their Confidence was apply'd, as any Man. To Him the Cuſtody and Government of that Fort, and Iſland, which was look'd upon as the Security of the Town, was committed; and a ſufficient Garriſon put into it. The Mayor Commanded the Caſtle, and the Town, about which a Line was caſt up of Earth, weak, and irregular.

After the Battle of *Stratton*, and the King's Forces prevailing ſo far over the Weſt, that *Briſtol* was taken by them, and *Exeter* cloſely Beſieged, Sir *Alexander Carew* begun to think, his Iſland and Fort would hardly ſecure his Eſtate in *Cornwal*; and underſtood the Law ſo well (for he had had a good Education) to know, that the ſide he had choſen, would be no longer the better, than it ſhould continue the ſtronger; and having originally follow'd no other Motives, than of Popularity and Intereſts, reſolv'd now to redeem his Errors; and found means to correſpond with ſome of his old Friends and Neighbours in *Cornwal*, and by them to make a direct Overture to Surrender that Fort and Iſland to the King, upon an aſſurance of his Majeſty's Pardon, and a full remiſſion of his Offences. Sir *John Berkley*, who then lay before *Exeter*, was the next ſupreme Officer, qualified to entertain ſuch a Treaty; and he, inſtantly, by the ſame Conveyance, return'd him as ample aſſurance of his own Conditions as could be; with advice, "That he ſhould not, upon any defect "of forms (Which upon his engagement, ſhould be ſupplied with all poſſible "expedition, to his own ſatisfaction) defer the conſummating the work; "which hereafter, poſſibly, might not be in his power to effect: deſigns of that Nature being to be conſulted and executed together; for in thoſe caſes, according to *Mutianus* in *Tacitus*, *Qui deliberant, deſciverunt*; and the greateſt danger attends the not going on. But he was ſo ſottiſhly, and dangerouſly wary of his own Security (having neither Courage enough to obey his Conſcience, nor Wickedneſs enough to be proſperous againſt it) that he would not proceed, till he was ſufficiently aſſured, that his Pardon was paſſed the Great Seal of *England*; before which time, though all imaginable haſte was made, by the Treachery of a Servant whom he truſted, his Treaty and Deſign was diſcover'd to the Mayor, and the reſt of the Committee; and, according to the diligence uſed by that Party, in caſes of ſuch concernment, he was ſuddainly, and without reſiſtance, ſurpriſed in his Fort, and carried Priſoner into *Plymouth*; and from thence, by Sea, ſent to *London*; where what became of him, will be remember'd in it's place.

Sir Alexander Carew *Treats to Surrender the Fort of* Plymouth *to the King's Forces, but is ſurpriſed.*

Shortly after this accident, Colonel *Digby* came before the Town; and though the great damage was by this means prevented, yet it cannot be imagin'd, but the People were in great diſtraction, with the apprehenſion of the danger they had eſcaped; and thoſe diſcoveries bring always that Melancholy with them, that Men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no Man had, to common underſtanding, better deſerv'd to be truſted, or given leſs Argument for Suſpicion: and upon ſuch a defection, who could hope to ſtand free from jealouſy? Beſides he could not but have had much Familiarity with many in the Town, which muſt ſubject them to ſome Suſpicion, or, at leaſt, make them ſuſpect that they were ſuſpected; and without doubt, it awaken'd many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the Judgment, that he would not ſuffer a Man to recover the Security, and Comfort of his Allegiance, who had ſo ſignally departed from it againſt the light of his own Conſcience; and that a Man, who had been before precipitate againſt all reaſon, ſhould periſh by conſidering too much, when precipitation was only reaſonable.

The fame of the winning of *Exeter*, by which a Victorious Army was at liberty to viſit them, and then the loſs of *Mount-Stamford*, which was their only conſiderable Fortification to the Land, with thoſe other diſcompoſures, wrought a wonderful Conſternation amongſt them; and made them conſider, that if they could hold out, and defend their Town, the Country being all loſt, they muſt loſe all their Trade, and ſo from Merchants become only Soldiers; which was not the Condition they contended for. Inſomuch as the Mayor himſelf was not without a propenſity to ſend for a Treaty, upon which the Town might be deliver'd to the King: and it was by many then believ'd, that if Prince *Maurice* had then marched from *Exeter* before it, that Treaty would infalliably have enſued. But, when I ſay it was an error that he did not, I intended it rather as a Misfortune than a Fault; for his Highneſs was an utter ſtranger in thoſe parts; and therefore was not. without great appearance of reaſon, perſwaded firſt to bend his courſe to *Dartmouth*; which was look'd upon "As an eaſy work, and a Harbour, which being got, would "draw a very good Trade: and that ſhort work being perform'd, *Plymouth* "would have the leſs Courage to make reſiſtance; and if it ſhould, it were "much fitter for the Winter, which was now drawing on (for it was more than the middle of *September*) "than the other, by reaſon of the conveniency "of good Accommodation for the Soldiers, near about it; which could not "be had about *Dartmouth*.

Upon theſe reaſons, he march'd directly to *Dartmouth*; which, how unfit ſoever to make a defence againſt ſuch an Army, by the diſadvantage of Situation, and the want of all thoſe helps which uſe to make a Garriſon Confident, he found in no temper and diſpoſition to yield; ſo that he ſat down before it. And ſhortly after, there came ſo violent a Seaſon of Rain, and foul Weather, that very many of his Men, with lying on the ground, fell ſick, and died; and more run away. Yet, after near a Months Siege, and the loſs of many good Men (whereof the ſame Colonel *Chudleigh*, of whom We ſpoke before, was one, a Gallant young Gentleman, who receiv'd a ſhot with a Muſquet in the Body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loſs to the King's Service) it was given up on fair Conditions; and then the Prince, having placed a Garriſon there, under the Command of Colonel *Seymour*, a Gentleman of principal Account and Intereſt in *Devon ſhire*, loſt no more time, but with all convenient expedition, march'd to *Plymouth*; which was not now in the State it had been; for the Parliament being quickly inform'd, how terrible an impreſſion the loſs of almoſt all other Parts of the Weſt, had made upon the Spirts of that People, and before this time ſent a recruit of five hundred Men, and a *Scots* Officer to be Governour; who eaſed the Mayor of that unequal Charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the Prince ſate down before it with an Army much inferior, after he had joyn'd with Colonel *Digby*, to that with which he had march'd from *Exeter* to *Dartmouth*; yet with much confidence to reduce that Town, before the Winter ſhould be over.

Prince Maurice *ſits down before* Dartmouth; *and takes it.*

Sits down before Plymouth *too late.*

Though the King's Succeſs, and good Fortune, had met with a check in the relief of *Gloceſter*, and the Battle of *Newbury*, yet his Condition ſeem'd mightily improv'd by the whole Summers Service. For whereas he ſeem'd before confined, upon the matter, within *Oxford-ſhire*, and half *Berk-ſhire*, (which half was loſt too upon the loſs of *Reading* in the Spring) and the Parties which appear'd for him in other Counties, ſeem'd rather ſufficient to hinder a general Union againſt him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, Maſter of the whole Weſt; *Cornwal* was his own without a Rival; *Plymouth* was the only place, in all *Devon ſhire*, unreduced; and thoſe Forces ſhut within their own Walls: the large, rich County of *Somerſet*, with *Briſtol*, entirely His: In *Dorſet-ſhire*, the Enemy had only two little Fiſher-Towns, *Poole* and *Lyme*; all the reſt was declar'd for the King. And in every of theſe Counties, he had plenty of Harbours and Ports, to ſupply him with Ammunition, and the Country with Trade. In *Wilt-ſhire* the Enemy had not the leaſt footing, and rather a Town or two in *Hampſhire* than any poſſeſſion of the County; that People be-

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ing generally undevoted to them : The whole Principality of *Wales*, except a Sea Town or two in *Pembroke-ſhire*, was at his devotion; and that unfortunately obſtinate Town of *Gloceſter* only kept him from Commanding the whole *Severn*. The Parliament was nothing ſtronger in *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and *Lancaſhire*, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the Marquis of *New Caſtle* had been forced to riſe as unfortunately from *Hull*, as the King had been from *Gloceſter*, yet he had ſtill a full Power over *York-ſhire*, and a greater in *Nottingham-ſhire*, and *Lincoln ſhire*, than the Parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now ſtrong enough to make War; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greateſt reaſons that there was no Peace. And therefore many believ'd, that, what appearance ſoever there was of obſtinacy, the Winter would produce ſome Overtures of Accommodation; and that all the noiſe of preparation from *Scotland*, was only to incline the King to the greater Condeſcenſions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent deſire of the People, as the beſt reaſon for whatſoever they had propoſed, and traduced the King with a purpoſe of bringing Forreign Forces to awe, and impoſe upon his own Subjects, would not now have the hardineſs to bring in a ſtranger Nation to Invade their Country, and to compel that People, by whoſe Affections they would be thought to be guided, to ſubmit to Changes they had no mind to receive. And the Arrival of the Count of *Harcourt*, as Extraordinary Embaſſadour from the Crown of *France*, was look'd upon as an expedient to uſher in ſome Treaty, and to remove thoſe Ceremonies, and preliminary Propoſitions, which, by reaſon of the mutual Declarations, and Proteſtations againſt each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

The Conte d' Harcourt *arrives Embaſſadour from* France.

The King himſelf was not without expectation of notable Effects from this Embaſſy; for the State of *France* ſeem'd to be much alter'd from what it was at the beginning of theſe Troubles. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who the King well knew, had more than fomented the Troubles both in *England*, and *Scotland*, was now dead; and the King of *France* himſelf likewiſe; and thoſe old Miniſters of State who had been long in the *Baſtile*, or Baniſh'd, were now ſet at liberty, and recalled and in favour; the Queen Mother made Regent; who profeſſed great Perſonal kindneſs to the Queen of *England*, and ſo great a ſenſe of the indignities the King, and ſhe ſuffer'd, that ſhe ſeem'd ſenſible, that *France* had contributed too much to them, and to think, that the Intereſt, as well as Honour of that Crown, was concern'd to buoy up the Monarchy of *England*; with intimations, "That the King himſelf ſhould direct what way he would be ſerv'd by that Crown. The firſt Evidence they gave of meaning as they ſaid, was the revocation of Monſieur *la Ferte Senneterre*, the Embaſſadour then Reſident in *England*; who had contracted a wonderful Familiarity with the fierceſt Managers of the Parliament, and done the King all imaginable diſſervice; inſomuch as he had induſtriouſly perſwaded ſome *Engliſh* Prieſts, and Jeſuits, to engage thoſe of the Romiſh perſwaſion, by no means to aſſiſt the King; with a full aſſurance, "That the Parliament would allow them Liberty of Conſcience. This Miniſter his Majeſty deſired might be recalled; which was not only ſuddainly done, but a private intimation likewiſe given to our Queen, "That ſhe "ſhould nominate, what Perſon was to be employ'd in his Place; who "ſhould wholely guide himſelf by her Inſtructions: and her Majeſty was led to make choiſe of Monſieur *le Conte d' Harcourt*, one of the principal perſons of that Kingdom, being a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorraine*, and ſo allied to the King, and Grand Eſcuier; and had been their late fortunate General in *Catalonia*, where he had given the *Spaniard* the greateſt Defeat they had receiv'd; which was not thought an unſeaſonable Qualification in an Embaſſadour whoſe buſineſs was to mediate a Peace.

His Reception at *London* was with much ſolemnity, that he might not find there was any abſence of Ceremony or State, by the abſence of the King; yet when he had a Safe Conduct for *Oxford*, his Carriages were ſtopped at the going out of *London*, and his own Coach, as well as all other places, ſearch'd with great and unuſual rudeneſs, upon ſuſpicion that he

carried Letters; and though he expoſtulated the Affront, as a high violation of his Honour, and Privilege, he receiv'd no manner of reparation, or the Officer, that did it, any reprehenſion; which made many believe, that he would have been very keen in the reſentment. The King expected that, by this Embaſſadour, the Crown of *France* would have made a brisk Declaration on his Majeſty's behalf; and if the Parliament ſhould not return to their regular Obedience, that they ſhould have found no correſpondence, or reception in that Kingdom; and that they would really aſſiſt his Majeſty, in ſuch manner as he ſhould propoſe; which Declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the City of *London*, in reſpect of their Trade; but more with the *Scots*, who were underſtood to have an eſpecial dependence upon *France*.

When the Embaſſadour return'd from his Audience at *Oxford*, where he ſtay'd not many days, he ſent a paper to the Earl of *Northumberland*, by which he deſir'd his Lordſhip, "to impart to the Meſſieurs of Parliament, that he had made known to their Majeſties, the Affectionate deſire the King his Maſter, and the Queen his Miſtreſs, had to contribute all good Offices, in the procurement of Peace, and Tranquillity in this Kingdom; to which he found the deſires of their Majeſties well diſpoſed; and therefore he deſir'd to know, whether his Lordſhip thought the two Houſes did correſpond in the ſame intention; if they did, after they ſhould make him underſtand the Subject that had obliged them to take up Arms, he would interpoſe to pacify the differences, by ſuch expedients, as ſhould be moſt conformable to the ancient Laws, and Cuſtoms of the Realm.

After the Earl of *Northumberland* had inform'd the Houſe of Peers of this repreſentation, it was, at a Conference, imparted to the Houſe of Commons, and an Anſwer was framed by joynt agreement, to be return'd by the Earl of *Northumberland* to the Embaſſadour. In the form of it, they gave him the Title of *Prince of Harcourt*, and *Grand Eſcuier of France*; but omitted that of *Extraordinary Embaſſadour in England*, becauſe it did not appear to the Parliament, by Letters of Credence, or the ſight of his Inſtructions from the King, or Queen Regent of *France*, that he was by them employ'd Extraordinary Embaſſadour into *England*.

The Anſwer it ſelf was, "That the Lords and Commons in Parliament did, with all due Reſpects, accept of the Affectionate deſires of the King, and Queen Regent of *France*, to contribute good Offices, towards the procuring a happy Peace; and that, when the ſaid Monſieur *le Prince d' Harcourt* ſhould make any ſuch Propoſitions to the Parliament, by Authority from their Majeſties of *France*, they would give then ſuch an Anſwer to the ſame, as might ſtand with the Intereſt of both Kingdoms, and their late Solemn League and Covenant. The Lords propoſed, "That there might be a Committee appointed to Treat with the Embaſſadour: But the Commons would by no means conſent to it, "Till he ſhould make it manifeſt, "that he had Authority from his Maſter to Treat with the Parliament; and withal they declared, "That if he had, at any time, any thing farther to offer to them, they would not receive it from any particular Member of either Houſe; but that he ſhould apply himſelf by writing, or otherwiſe, to the Speaker of either, or both Houſes of Parliament; otherwiſe, they would hold no correſpondence with him. The ground of this reſolution was, that they might draw from the Embaſſadour (which they preſumed could not be without the Privity, and Approbation of the King) an Addreſs, and Acknowledgment that they were a Parliament, againſt the Freedom whereof, and conſequently the preſent Being, his Majeſty had, by his late Proclamation, declar'd. So the Embaſſadour, after a Journey or two to *Oxford*, and ſome perfunctory Addreſſes to the Houſes, return'd to *France re infecta*, and without the leaſt expreſſion of diſlike, on his Maſter's behalf, of their proceedings.

Returns into France without any good effect to the King.

Some were ſcrupulous in believing that *France* really intended to repair the miſchief it had done; and obſerv'd, that though there were ſome plauſible compliances, in point of Ceremony, with particular Perſons, after the death of the former Cardinal; yet, that the main Counſels were carried on upon

upon the Rules and Directions he had left; and that the Cardinal *Mazarin*, a Perſon who had been of the higheſt Truſt with the other, wholely now preſided over thoſe Counſels; and conſider'd how much *France* might imagine it would conduce to their Intereſt, that the King of *England* ſhould not have all his Subjects in perfect Obedience, leſt he might offer to be an Arbiter of their great differences: I ſay, theſe Men believ'd Count *Harcourt*'s Inſtructions privately were no other, than the laſt Embaſſadour's; whom the King had cauſed to be recalled. And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealouſy, had arguments enough to encreaſe it.

When this Extraordinary Embaſſadour was appointed to come for *England*, Mr. *Mountague* was in the Court of *France*, very much truſted by both their Majeſties, and by his Quality, and near relation to ſo great a Truſt, his long Converſation in that Court, and a ſingular dexterity in his Nature, adorn'd with excellent Parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favour and particular eſtimation of that Queen Regent, and in the opinion of the Cardinal; to whom he had been uſeful. With this Gentleman moſt of the Concluſions had been tranſacted, which were preparatory to the Embaſſadour's Journey; and it was thought fit, that He ſhould at the ſame time come into *England*; and, in ſuch a diſguiſe, as might eaſily conceal a Man better known in *France* than in his own Country, in the Embaſſadour's Train find a ſafe paſſage to *Oxford*; which was carried with ſo much ſecrecy, that, beſides to the Embaſſadour himſelf, he was known to very few of his Retinue. The Count of *Harcourt* was not Landed four and twenty hours, but in his Journey towards *London*, a Meſſenger from the Parliament apprehended Mr. *Mountague*, and carried him a Priſoner to the Houſes; by whom he was committed to the Tower; and though the Embaſſadour made a great ſhew of reſenting it, he never claimed him in ſuch a manner as to procure his Enlargement; which made Men believe the Cardinal liked well his Confinement, and deſir'd not he ſhould be either at *Oxford* or *Paris*.

At the Embaſſadour's firſt coming to *Oxford*, after general Overtures, and Declarations of the Reſolution of that Crown, "To give his Majeſty all poſ-"ſible Aſſiſtance for his re-eſtabliſhment, he propoſed a League Offenſive "and Defenſive with the King. His Majeſty, that knew well ſuch an Offer was not to be rejected, leſt they ſhould from thence take an occaſion to refuſe thoſe things he ſhould propoſe, appointed a Committee of his Council (according to the uſual courſe) to Treat with the Embaſſadour, upon all neceſſary Articles, which ſhould attend ſuch a Treaty; declaring an inclination to enter into ſuch a League as was propoſed; and thereupon deſired "A "preſent Loan of Money, and a ſupply of a good proportion of Arms, and "Ammunition; and likewiſe that the Crown of *France* would declare againſt "the Subjects of *England* and *Scotland*, who ſhould perſiſt in Rebellion; ac-"cording to an Article ratified in the laſt Treaty now in force.

The Embaſſadour, who, it ſeems, expected that there ſhould have been more pauſes in the Overture of the League Offenſive and Defenſive, for the preſent declined the Treating with the Committee; alledging, "That he "was, upon the matter, a Miniſter of both their Majeſties; and was to re-"ceive Command from them, and wholely to attend their Service; and "therefore that he deſir'd wholely to communicate with their Majeſties them-"ſelves: and ſhortly after waved any further mention of the League, with an affected Compliment, "That it would not appear a generous thing, to "preſs the King to any Act in this his diſtreſs, which he had made ſcruple "of conſenting to heretofore, when the Fortune of both Crowns were equal-"ly proſperous; but that his Maſter and Miſtreſs, would frankly contribute "all that could be reaſonably expected from them, towards his Majeſty's Re-"ſtoration, and Eſtabliſhment; and afterwards expect ſuch a return of Af-"fection from his Majeſty, as the greatneſs of the obligation ſhould merit in "his Princely eſtimation. And at the ſame time, the Queen Regent and Cardinal poſitively denied to the Lord *Goring*, Embaſſadour Extraordinary then from his Majeſty in *France*, that ever the Count of *Harcourt* had any Inſtruction to mention a League Offenſive and Defenſive. Theſe particular carriages, and his not reſenting the Indignities, offer'd to him by the Parliament, made

many Men believe, that this Embaſſadour, notwithſtanding all the ſpecious profeſſions, was ſent rather to foment, than extinguiſh the Fire that was kindled. Certain it is, during his ſtay in *England*, he did not, in the leaſt degree, advance the King's Service; and at his return, left the Parliament more united amongſt themſelves againſt the King, and the *Scots* more advanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the ſame time likewiſe a *French* Agent in *Scotland*; who produced no alteration in the Affections of that People, to the King's Advantage.

The return of the three Earls, formerly mention'd, to *London* in the Winter, who ſo ſolemnly applied themſelves to the King in the Spring, contributed exceedingly to the Union of the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*. The other two ſtay'd longer; and retired with much more decency, if not with a tacit permiſſion. But the Earl of *Holland*, when he ſaw his place in the Bed Chamber conferr'd upon the Marquis of *Hertford*, in much diſcontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the King's Quarters; and before he was miſs'd at *Oxford*, Intelligence was brought that he had render'd himſelf to the Parliament at *London*; and to make his return the more conſcientious, he declar'd, as hath been ſaid, " That the ground of his deſerting " them formerly, and going to the King, was a hope to incline his Ma" jeſty to a Treaty of Peace; but that he found he was miſtaken in the tem" per of the *Oxford* Councils; and that the King had ſtill about him ſome " Counſellors, who would never conſent to a ſafe, and well grounded Peace; " and that he heard they had perſwaded the King, to make a Ceſſation with " the Rebels in *Ireland*; which affected his Conſcience ſo much, that, though " he had been ſure to have loſt his Life by it, he would return to the Parlia" ment; profeſſing exemplary Fidelity to them, if they would again receive " him into their Favour.

It may be, his diſcourſe of *Ireland*, or the King's averſneſs to Peace, wrought upon very few; but the Evidence of the King's averſion ſo far to forgive, and forget former Treſpaſſes, as to receive them into Favour and Truſt again, made a deep impreſſion upon many. For it is undoubtedly true, that many of the principal and governing Members of both Houſes, that is, of them who had govern'd, and done as much miſchief as any, either out of apprehenſion that the King would prevail, or that They ſhould not prevail ſoon enough, or the animoſity againſt thoſe who had outgrown their Government, and followed new Leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally propoſed, or out of ſome motions of Conſcience, were quite weary of the Parliament, and deſirous to obtain a fair admiſſion to the King; and looked only upon the footing which thoſe Doves, which went firſt out of the Ark, ſhould find; and ſurely, if that expedient had been dexterouſly managed, it had been the moſt probable way to have drawn the Parliament into ſuch contempt, that it muſt have fallen of it ſelf: A way, that in no Civil War, which is arrived to any vigour and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a Body, that is not form'd by Policy, with any avowed and fixed Principles of Government, but by the diſtemper'd Affections, Ambition, and Diſcontent of particular Perſons, who rather agree againſt a common Adverſary, than are united to one juſt Intereſt, cannot ſo eaſily be diſſolved, as by Treating with particular Perſons, and rending thoſe Branches from the Trunk, whoſe beauty and advantage conſiſts only in the ſpreading.

The reaſons were unanſwerable, which the old Conſul *Fabius* in *Livy Lib.* 24. gave, in the Caſe of *Caſſius Altinius*, who, after the Defeat of *Cannæ*, deſerted the *Romans*, and fled to *Hannibal*, by which he got the City of *Arpos*; and when the Condition of the *Romans* was again recover'd and flouriſhing, came again to the *Roman* Army, and offer'd to betray that City into their hands. Many were of opinion, " That he ſhould be look'd upon as a Com" mon Enemy; and bound, and ſent to *Hannibal*, as a perfidious Perſon, " who knew neither how to be a Friend, nor an Enemy. *Fabius* reprehended the unſeaſonable ſeverity of thoſe who conſider'd, and judged *in medio ardore bellit tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, " That their principal care muſt be, " that none of their Friends and Allies might forſake them; the next, that " they who had forſaken them, might return again into their Obedience, " and

" and Protection : For, *ſi abire à Romanis liceat, redire ad eos non liceat*, it " could not be, but the State of *Rome*, from which, in the late misfortunes, " many had revolted, muſt become very deſperate.

Such was the King's condition, the Number of the Guilty being ſo much ſuperior to the Innocent, that the latter could reaſonably expect only to be preſerv'd by the converſion and reduction of the former. Neither did the King not foreſee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and ſpirit of the time was ſo averſe from the Stratagem, that it was evident his preſent loſs would be as great, by practiſing it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. Whatſoever damage his Majeſty ſuſtain'd, that unfortunate Earl receiv'd no acknowledgment, or encouragement from the other Party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his Eſtate was ſequeſter'd as ſoon as he left them, ſo he was now committed to Priſon, and that ſequeſtration continued; neither was it, in a long time after, taken off, nor himſelf ever after admitted to his place in their Council, notwithſtanding all the interceſſion of very powerful Friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

Certainly, there muſt be thought to be ſome extraordinary diſlike, in the very primary Law of Nature, of ſuch tergiverſation and inconſtancy; ſince we ſcarce find, in any Story, a Deſerter of a Truſt, or Party, he once adhered to, to be long proſperous, or in any eminent Eſtimation with thoſe to whom he reſorts; though, in the change, there may appear evident Arguments of reaſon and Juſtice: neither hath it been in the power, or prerogative of any Authority, to preſerve ſuch Men from the reproach, and jealouſy, and ſcandal, that naturally attends upon any Defection: *I have not found evil in thee, ſince the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheleſs the Lords favour thee not*, was the profeſſion of King *Achiſh*, when he diſmiſs'd *David* himſelf from marching with the Army of the *Philiſtins*; and that expoſtulation of thoſe Lords, *Wherewith ſhould he reconcile himſelf unto his Maſter? ſhould it not be with the Heads of theſe Men?* will be always an Argument to raiſe a diſtruſt of thoſe who have eminently quitted their Party: And the judgment of *Fabius* himſelf, which We touch'd before, of *Caſſius Altinius*, was not much in their favour; for, though he reprehended the Propoſition of ſending him to *Hannibal*, yet he concluded, " That he would " have no truſt repoſed in him, but that he ſhould be kept in ſafe cuſtody, with " Liberty to do any thing but go away, till the War was ended; *tum conſultandum, utrum defectio prior plus merita ſit pœnæ, an hic reditus veniæ.* As it falls out thus in Civil affairs, and the breach of Moral obligations, ſo it happens in Spiritual defections, and alterations in Religion: for as among the Jews, the Proſelytes were civilly and charitably treated without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, " That no Proſelyte ſhould be eligible " into the Court of their *Sanhedrin*; and in their very converſation, they had a caution of them; *Vel ad decimam uſque generationem à Proſelytis cave*, was an Aphoriſm amongſt them. And our own obſervation and experience, can give Us few examples of Men who have changed their Religion, and not fallen into jealouſy and diſtruſt, or diſreputation, even with thoſe with whom they ſide; that have made their future life leſs pleaſant, and delightſome; which, it may be, happens only becauſe We have rare inſtances of Men of extraordinary parts or great minds, who have entertain'd thoſe Converſions.

1 *Sam.* 29. 6.

The Lords and Commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongſt them, than who ſhould moſt advance the power which was to ſuppreſs the King's: new and ſtricter Orders were made for the general taking the Covenant; and an Ordinance, " That no Man ſhould be in any " Office of Truſt in their Armies, or the Kingdom, or of the Common " Council of *London*, or ſhould have a Voice in the Election of thoſe Officers, " but ſuch who had taken the Covenant; nor even they who had taken the " Covenant, if they had been formerly impriſon'd or ſequeſter'd for ſuſpicion " of Malignancy, or adhering to the King. And that they might as well provide for their Soveraign Juriſdiction in Civil matters, as their ſecurity in Martial, they again reſumed the conſideration of the Great Seal of *England*.

The Commons had often preſſed the Houſe of Peers to concur with them, "In the making a new Great Seal; as the proper Remedy againſt "the miſchiefs, which, by the abſence of it, had befallen the Common-"wealth; declaring, "That the Great Seal of *England*, of right, ought to "attend upon the Parliament; in which the Peers as often refuſed to joyn with them, being ſtartled at the Statute of the 25th. of *Edward* the III. by which the counterfeiting the Great Seal of *England* is, in expreſs terms declared to be High Treaſon; and it had been in all times before underſtood to be the ſole property of the King, and not of the Kingdom, and abſolutely in the King's own diſpoſal, where it ſhould be kept, or where it ſhould attend.

The Commons Vote a new Broad Seal; The Lords concurr'd with them.

This diſſent of the Lords hinder'd not the buſineſs; the Commons frankly Voted, "That a Seal ſhould be provided, and accordingly took Order that one was Engraven, and brought into their Houſe, according to the ſame Size and Effigies, and nothing differing from that which the King uſed at *Oxford*. Being in this readineſs, and obſerving the Lords to be leſs ſcrupulous than they had been, about the middle of *November* they ſent again to them, to let them know, "They had a Great Seal ready, which "ſhould be put into the Cuſtody of ſuch Perſons, as the two Houſes ſhould "appoint, and if they would name ſome Peers, a proportionable Num-"ber of the other Body ſhould joyn in the executing that Truſt. All objections were now paſſed over, and without any heſitation their Lordſhips not only concurr'd with them to have a Seal in their own diſpoſal, but in a Declaration and Ordinance; by which they declared, "All Letters, Pa-"tents, and Grants made by the King, and paſſed the Great Seal of *England*, "after the 22d. of *May* in the year 1642. (which was the day the Lord Keeper "left the Houſe, and went with the Great Seal to *York* to the King) to be "invalid, and void in Law; and henceforward, that their own Great "Seal ſhould be of the like force, power, and validity, to all intents and "purpoſes, as any Great Seal of *England* had been, or ought to be; and "that whoſoever, after publication of that Ordinance, ſhould paſs any thing "under any other Great Seal, or ſhould claim any thing thereby, ſhould be "held and adjudged a publick Enemy to the State.

At the ſame time, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Bullingbrook*, of the Peers, Mr. *Saint-John* (whom they had ſtill intituled the King's Sollicitor General, though his Majeſty had revoked his Patent, and conferr'd that Office upon Sir *Thomas Gardner*; who had ſerv'd him faithfully, and been put out of his Recorder's place of *London* for having ſo done) Serjeant *Wild* (who, being a Serjeant at Law, had with moſt confidence averr'd their legal power to make a Seal) Mr. *Brown*, and Mr. *Prideaux*, two private Practiſers of the Law, were nominated "To have the keeping, ordering, and diſpoſing of it, "and all ſuch, and the like Power and Authority, as any Lord Chan-"cellor, or Lord Keeper, or Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, for the time be-"ing, had had, uſed, or ought to have. The Earl of *Rutland* was ſo modeſt, as to think himſelf not ſufficiently qualified for ſuch a Truſt; and therefore excuſed himſelf in point of Conſcience: Whereupon they nominated, in his Room, the Earl of *Kent*, a Man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

The Seal then was deliver'd, in the Houſe of Commons to their Speaker; and by Him, with much ſolemnity, the Houſe attending him, to the Speaker of the Peers, at the Bar in that Houſe. The ſix Commiſſioners, were then, in the preſence of both Houſes, ſolemnly ſworn "To execute the "Office of Keepers of the Great Seal of *England*, in all things according to "the Orders and Directions of both Houſes of Parliament. And thereupon the Seal was deliver'd by the two Speakers to them, who carried it, according to Order, to the Houſe of the Clerk of the Parliament, in the old Palace; where it was kept lock'd up in a Cheſt; which could not be open'd but in the preſence of three of them, and with three ſeveral Keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the firſt exerciſe of this kind of Soveraignty, a Patent to be ſealed to the Earl of *Warwick*, of Lord High Admiral of *England*; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been put out of that great Office, for

The Seal deliver'd to ſix Commiſſioners.

Their

Their ſakes, was not reſtored to their full confidence; others, that he deſired not to wear Their Livery.

About the ſame time, to ſhew that they would be Abſolute, and not joynt Sharers in the Soveraign Power, they gave an Inſtance of boldneſs mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The King had publiſh'd ſeveral Proclamations, for the Adjournment of the Term from *London* to *Oxford*, which had been hitherto fruitleſs, for want of the neceſſary Legal form of having the Writs read in Court; ſo that the Judges at *Oxford*, who were ready to perform their Duty, could not regularly keep the Courts there; which elſe they would have done, notwithſtanding the Order and Declarations publiſhed by the two Houſes to the contrary; they who were learned in the Law, believing that Aſſumption to be unqueſtionably out of their juriſdiction. Theſe Writs of Adjournment had never yet been deliver'd ſeaſonably, to be read in Court, or into the hands of either of the ſworn Judges who yet attended at *Weſtminſter*: of which there were three in Number, Juſtice *Bacon* in the King's Bench, Juſtice *Reeve* in the Common Pleas, and Baron *Trevor* in the Exchequer; who, how timerous ſoever, and apprehenſive of the power and ſeverity of the Parliament, knowing the Law and their Duties, Men believed, would not have barefaced declined the execution of thoſe Commands they were ſworn to obſerve. Several Meſſengers were therefore ſent from *Oxford* with thoſe Writs; and appointed, on, or before ſuch a day (for that circumſtance was penal) "To find an onportunity to deliver the Writs "into the hands of the ſeveral Judges. Two of them perform'd their Charges, and deliver'd the Writs to Juſtice *Reeve*, and Baron *Trevor*; who immediately cauſed the Meſſengers to be apprehended.

The Houſes, being inform'd of it, gave direction, "That they ſhould be "tried by a Council of War, as Spies; which was done at *Eſſex*-Houſe. The Meſſenger alledg'd, "That they were ſworn Servants to his Majeſty for the "tranſaction of thoſe Services, for which they were now accuſed; and that "they had been legally puniſhable, if they had refuſed to do their duties; the Term being to be adjourn'd by no other way. Notwithſtanding all which, they were both condemn'd to be hang'd as Spies; and that ſuch a Sentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor Men were, within few days after, carried to the old *Exchange*, where a Gallows was purpoſely ſet up; and there one of them, one *Daniel Kniveton*, was without mercy executed; dying with another kind of Courage than could be expected from a Man of ſuch condition and education, did not the Conſcience of being Innocent beget a marvelous ſatisfaction in any condition. The other, after he had ſtood ſome time upon, or under the Gallows, looking for the ſame concluſion, was reprieved, and ſent to *Bridewell*; where he was kept long after, till he made an Eſcape, and return'd again to *Oxford*, This Example begot great terror in all the well affected about *London*, and ſo much the more, becauſe, about the ſame time, an Ordinance was made, "That "whoſoever went to *Oxford*, or into any of the King's Quarters, without "leave from one of the Houſes, or a Paſs from their General, or whoſoever "had any correſpondence with any Perſon in the King's Quarters, by wri-"ting Letters, or receiving Letters from thence, ſhould be proceeded againſt "as a Perſon diſaffected to the State; and his Perſon committed, and his E-"ſtate ſequeſter'd; and ſhould be liable, according to the circumſtances (of "which themſelves would be only Judges) to be tried as Spies.

As this made them exceeding terrible to thoſe who lov'd them not, ſo, about the ſame time, they gave another Inſtance of Severity which render'd their Government no leſs reverenced amongſt their Friends, and Aſſociates. The brave Defence of *Gloceſter*, and the great Succeſs that attended it, made the loſs of *Briſtol* the more felt by the Parliament; and conſequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally ſpoken of, and cenſur'd. The which Colonel *Fiennes* having not patience to bear, he deſired, being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and of a ſwaying Intereſt there, "That he "might be put to give an Account of it, at a Court of War, which was the "proper Judicature upon treſpaſſes of that Nature. And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon ſome collateral, and circumſtan-

Col. Fiennes *tried for ſurrendring* Briſtol, *and condemn'd; but pardon'd by the General.*

tial paſſages, to procure ſome of the Chief who inveigh'd againſt him, to be impriſon'd, and reprehended. This begot greater Paſſion and Animoſity in the Perſons, that thought they ſuffer'd unjuſtly and only by the Authority, and Intereſt of the Colonel and his Father; whieh, by degrees, brought Faction into the Houſe of Commons, and the Army, according to the ſeveral Affections and Tempers of Men.

There were but two Proſecutors appear'd, one Mr. *Walker*, a Gentleman of *Somerſet-ſhire*, of a good Fortune, and, by the loſs of that, the more provok'd; who had been in the Town when it was loſt, and had ſtrictly obſerv'd all that was done, or ſaid; and the famous Mr. *Pryn*, who had at firſt let himſelf into the diſquiſition of that buſineſs, out of the Activity, and reſtleſtneſs of his Nature, and was afterwards ſharpen'd by contempt. Theſe two, under pretence of Zeal to the Kingdom, and that ſuch an irreparable damage to it might not paſs away without due puniſhment, undertook the proſecution; and boldly charged the Colonel with Cowardiſe, and Treachery; and gave ſeveral Inſtances of great and high profeſſions, and performances faint, and not anſwerable; with ſome mixture of pride. and love of Money, throughout the Courſe of his Government. Colonel *Fiennes*, beſides the credit and reputation of his Father, had a very good ſtock of eſtimation in the Houſe of Commons upon his own ſcore; for truly he had very nood parts of Learning, and Nature, and was privy to, and a great Manager in, the moſt ſecret deſigns from the beginning; and if he had not incumber'd himſelf with Command in the Army, to which Men thought his Nature not ſo well diſpoſed, he had ſure been ſecond to none in thoſe Councils, after Mr. *Hambden*'s death. This made him too much deſpiſe thoſe who appear'd his Adverſaries, and others whom he knew to be ſuch, though they appear'd not (for he looked upon Sir *William Waller* as an Enemy, who, by his misfortune at *Round-way*-Down, having brought that ſtorm upon *Briſtol*, was induſtrious to make the ſecond loſs to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of Courage, and Conduct) and being ſure, that he was very free from wiſhing well to the King, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him, than might well be anſwer'd by the having done his Beſt; and that the eminency of his perfect Zeal againſt his Majeſty, would weigh down all Objections of diſſervice to the Parliament.

But notwithſtanding all this, after a long and ſolemn hearing before the Court of War, at St. *Albans*, where the Earl of *Eſſex* then lay, which took up many days, he was condemn'd to loſe his head, " For not having defended " *Briſtol* ſo well, and ſo long as he ought to have done. And though he had afterwards a Pardon for his life, granted to him by the Prerogative of the General, under his Hand and Seal, yet the infamy of the judgment could not be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an Officer of the Army; and the ſhame of it perſwaded him to quit the Kingdom; ſo that he went for ſome time into Forreign Parts, retaining ſtill the ſame full diſaffection to the Government of the Church and State, and only griev'd that he had a leſs capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this Example, as a foundation of great awe, and reverence in the Army, that the Officers might ſee, that no Titles or Relations ſhould be able to break through the ſtrict diſcipline of War. For this Gentleman was a Perſon of ſingular merit, and fidelity to the Party that he ſerv'd, and of extraordinary uſe to them in thoſe Counſels that requir'd the beſt underſtandings. Others thought it an Act of unadviſed ſeverity, to expoſe ſo eminent a Perſon, who knew all their Intrigues, upon the importunity of uſeleſs and inconſiderable Perſons to infamy; whilſt others conſider'd it, as a judgment of Heaven upon a Man who had been ſo forward in promoting the publick Calamities: and no doubt it increaſed much the Factions and Animoſities, both in the Parliament, and the Army; and might have done them farther miſchief, if it had not fallen on a man ſo throughly engaged, that no Provocations could make him leſs of their Party, or leſs concern'd in their Confederacy.

At this time, nothing troubled the King ſo much, as the Intelligence he receiv'd from *Scotland*, that they had already formed their Army, and reſolv'd to enter *England* in the Winter ſeaſon. All his confidence, which he had founded

founded there upon the Faith, and moſt ſolemn Profeſſions of particular Men, without whom the Nation could not have been corrupted, had deceiv'd him to a Man: and he found the ſame Men moſt engaged againſt him, who had, with moſt ſolemnity, vow'd all Obedience to him. The circumſtance of the time made the danger of the Invaſion the more formidable; for the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, lately Created a Marquis, had been compelled with his Army, as much by the murmurs and indiſpoſition of the Officers, as by the ſeaſon of the year, to quit his deſign upon *Hull*, and to retire to *York*; and the Garriſon of *Hull* had made many ſtrong infalls into the Country, and Defeated ſome of his Troops; ſo that the *Scots* were like to find a ſtrong Party in that large County. However, the Marquis ſent a good Body of Horſe towards the Borders, to wait their motion; and no ſooner heard of their march, which begun in *January*, in a great Froſt and Snow, than himſelf march'd into the Biſhoprick of *Durham* to attend them. The particulars of all that Affair, and the whole Tranſaction of the Northern Parts, where the Writer of this Hiſtory was never preſent, nor had any part in thoſe Councels, are fit for a relation apart; which a more proper Perſon will employ himſelf in.

The Scots *enter* England *in* Jan. 1643.

In theſe Streights, the King conſider'd two Expedients which were propoſed to him, and which his Majeſty directed ſhould be both conſulted in the Council. The one was "That all the Peers who were then in *Oxford*, or "in the King's Service, might ſubſcribe a Letter to the Council of State in "*Scotland*; whereby it would appear, by the ſubſcription, that above "five parts of ſix of the whole Nobility, and Houſe of Peers were in the "King's Service, and diſavow'd all thoſe actions which were done againſt "him, by the pretended Authority of the two Houſes; which poſſibly might "make ſome impreſſion upon the Nation of *Scotland*, though it was well "enough known before to their Seducers. A Letter was prepared accordingly, expreſſing, "The foulneſs of the Rebellion in *England*, under the Reputa-"tion of the Houſes of Parliament, and the carrying on the ſame, when "they had driven away, by force, much the Major part of the Members of "both Houſes, and expreſly againſt all the Laws of the Land: it put them in mind of "Their obligation to the King, and patheticall, concluded "With "conjuring them to deſiſt from their unjuſt, and unwarrantable purpoſe; ſince "they could have no excuſe for proſecuting the ſame, from the Autho-"rity of Parliament. The Letter was peruſed, and debated in the Council, and afterwards in the preſence of all the Peers, and being generally approv'd without any diſſenting Voice, it was order'd to be engroſſed, and ſign'd by all thoſe Peers, and Privy Counſellors, who were then in *Oxford*, and to be ſent to thoſe who were abſent in any of the Armies, or in the King's Quarters, and to be then ſent to the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*; who, after he had ſign'd it, with thoſe Peers who were in thoſe parts, was to tranſmit into *Scotland* by a Trumpet; all which was done accordingly.

A Letter from the Peers on the King's ſide to the Council in Scotland.

Of all the Peers who follow'd the King, there was only one who refuſed to ſign this Letter, the Earl of *Leiceſter*; who, after many pauſes and delays, whether he had not yet diſgeſted his late depoſal from the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, to which the Marquis of *Ormond* was deputed, and thought the diſobligation of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he thought the King's Fortune deſperate, and reſolv'd not to ſacrifice himſelf to any Popular diſpleaſure, and not to provoke the Parliament further than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his purpoſe to be found in their Quarters, as ſhortly after he was, did in the end poſitively refuſe to ſubſcribe the Letter; and thereby was the occaſion of a miſchief he did not intend. For both their Majeſties, in their ſecret purpoſe, had deſign'd him to ſucceed the Marquis of *Hertford* in the Government of the Prince: for which he would have been very proper; but upon this ſo affected a diſcovery of a nature, and mind, lyable to no kind of complyance, the King could not proſecute his Purpoſe; and ſo the Government of that hopeful and excellent Prince, was committed to the Earl of *Berk-ſhire*, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troubleſome: a Man of any who bore the Name of a Gentleman, the moſt unfit for that Province, or any

other that requir'd any proportion of Wiſdom and Underſtanding for the diſcharge of it.

But it was the unhappy diſtemper of the Court at that time, to think that it was no matter who was employ'd in that Office; for the King nor Queen were not at all deceiv'd, nor was the Earl leſs fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his want of Parts (his Fidelity there was no cauſe to ſuſpect) to be of little importance: and a Counſellor much truſted, ſpeaking at that time with the Lord *Jermyn*, "How aſtoniſhing a thing it was to "all the Nation, to ſee the Prince committed to ſuch a Governour, he ſmiled, according to his cuſtom, when he could not anſwer; and ſaid, "It was of no "moment, who had the name and ſtyle of Governour, ſince the King and "Queen meant to be his Governour, and firmly reſolv'd that He ſhould never "be out of Their Preſence, or of one of them: when, within little more than a year after, the King found it neceſſary to ſever the Prince from himſelf, and liv'd not to ſee him again: and his Majeſty then found, and lamented, that he had deputed ſuch a Governour over him.

The other Expedient propoſed, was, "That ſince the whole King-"dom was miſled by the reverence they had to Parliaments, and believ'd "that the Laws and Liberties of the People, could not be otherwiſe preſer-"ved, than by their ſole Authority, and that it appear'd to be to no purpoſe "to perſwade Men that what they did was againſt Law, when they were "perſwaded that their very doing it made it Lawful, it would be therefore "neceſſary, and could be only effectual to convince them, that they who "did thoſe monſtrous things, were not the Parliament, but a handful of "deſperate Perſons, who, by the help of the Tumults raiſed in the City "of *London*, had driven away the Major part of the Parliament, and called "themſelves the Parliament, whilſt they were, in truth, much the leſs, and the "leaſt conſiderable part of it; which would appear manifeſtly, if the King "would iſſue out a Proclamation, to require all the Members who had "left the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to repair to *Oxford*, by ſuch a day; "where his Majeſty would be willing to adviſe with them in matters of the "greateſt Importance, concerning the Peace, and Diſtractions of the King-"dom: by this means, he might, in many things, ſerve himſelf by their "Aſſiſtance, and it would evidently appear by the number of both Houſes, "whoſe names would be quickly known and publiſhed, how few remained "at *Weſtminſter*, who carried on the devouring War, ſo grievous to the whole "Kingdom.

The King was at firſt in ſome apprehenſion, that ſuch a Conflux of Perſons together of the Parliament, who would look to enjoy the Privileges of it in their Debates, might, inſtead of doing him Service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon ſome Treaty of Peace, which would have no effect; yet, whilſt it was in ſuſpence, would hinder his preparation for the War; and though no body more deſir'd Peace, yet he had no mind, that a Multitude ſhould be Conſulted upon the Conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greateſt Importance, as the giving up perſons, and other particulars of Honour, would not ſeem to them of moment enough to continue a War in the Kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been ſaid before, the Governours of the Parliament had not themſelves been too fearful of a Peace, to truſt any to make politick propoſitions, which, upon Refuſal, might have done good, but being conſented to had undone them, and fruſtrated all their deſigns.

The Council ſeem'd much inclined to the Expedient, and many conveniences were in view; and it might be reaſonably hoped, and preſum'd "That "perſons, who had that Duty to obey his Majeſty's Summons, in coming "thither, which would be none but ſuch as had already abſented themſelves "from *Weſtminſter*, and thereby incenſed thoſe who remain'd there, would "not bring ill and troubleſome humours with them, to diſturb that Service "which could only preſerve them: but on the contrary, would unite, and "conſpire together to make the King Superior to His and Their Enemies. "And as to the advancing any Propoſitions of Peace, which there could be

" be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor would it be fit for his " Majeſty to oppoſe, there could be no inconvenience; ſince their appear- " ing in it would but draw reproach from thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, who would ne- " ver give them any Anſwer, or look upon them under any Notion, but as " private Perſons, and Deſerters of the Parliament, without any Qualifica- " tion to Treat, or to be Treated with; which would more provoke thoſe " at *Oxford*, and, by degrees, ſtir up more Animoſities between them. The King diſcover'd more of hope than fear from ſuch a Convention; and ſo with a very unanimous Conſent and Approbation, a Proclamation was iſſued out, containing the true grounds and motives, and mentioning the League of *Scotland* to Invade the Kingdom; which was the moſt univerſally odious, and deteſtable; and Summon'd all the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, except only ſuch, as, having Command in his Majeſty's Armies in the North, and in the Weſt, could not be diſpenſed with, to be abſent from their Charges, to attend upon his Majeſty in *Oxford*, upon a day fix'd in *January* next.

The King's Proclamation for Aſſembling the Members of Parliament at Oxford.

The King was not all this while without a due ſenſe of the dangers that threaten'd him in the growth, and improvement of the power and ſtrength of the Enemy, and how impoſſible it would be for him, without ſome more extraordinary Aſſiſtance, to reſiſt that Torrent, which, he foreſaw, by the next Spring, would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not proviſion accordingly. And finding, by degrees, that it was not in his power to compoſe the diſturbances of *England*, or to prevent thoſe of *Scotland*, and abhorring the thought of introducing a Foreign Nation to Subdue his own Subjects, he begun to think of Expedients which might allay the diſtempers in *Ireland*; that ſo, having one of his Kingdoms in Peace, he might apply the Power of that, towards the procuring it in his other Dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an Argument that buſineſs of *Ireland* was, and how prepar'd Men were to pervert whatſoever he ſaid, or did in it; and therefore reſolv'd to proceed with that Caution, that whatſoever was done in it, ſhould be by the Counſel of that State who were underſtood to be moſt skilful in thoſe Affairs.

The Lords Juſtices, and Council, had ſent a ſhort Petition to his Majeſty, which was preſented to them, in the Name of his Catholick Subjects, then in Arms againſt him; by which they only deſired, with full expreſſions of Duty, and Submiſſion to his Majeſty, " That he would appoint ſome Per- " ſons to hear what they could ſay for themſelves; and to preſent the ſame " to his Majeſty. Hereupon the King Authoriſed by his Commiſſion the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, and ſome others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the leaſt Authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this Commiſſion, the Marquis, finding that this Petition was proſecuted with leſs ingenuity than it ſeem'd to have been preſented, was ſo far from being indulgent to them under that Notion, that he even then advanced againſt them with his Army, and gave them a very ſignal Defeat; which reform'd their Application, and made it more ſubmiſs.

In the mean time (though in all Actions and Counſels, the Lords Juſtices, and Council there, had yielded punctual Obedience to all directions from the Parliament) the Affairs of that Kingdom ſuffer'd exceedingly for want of Proviſions, Money, and Ammunition, out of *England*; which the two Houſes of Parliament were obliged, and were, to that purpoſe, enabled by his Majeſty to ſend. Inſomuch as that Board, by their Letters of the fourth of *April*, this preſent year, advertiſed the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, " That " they had been compelled, for the preſervation of the Army, to take " Money from all who had it, and to wreſt their Commodities from the " poor Merchants, whom they had now, by the Law of neceſſity, utter- " ly undone, and diſabled from being hereafter helpful to them, in bring- " ing them in Victuals, or other needful Commodities: And that there were " few of themſelves, or others, that had not felt their parts in the infor- " ced rigour of their proceedings, ſo as, what with ſuch hard dealing, no " leſs grievous to them to do, than it was heavy to others to ſuffer, and by

" their deſcending, againſt their hearts, far below the Honour and Dignity of " that Power they repreſented under his Royal Majeſty, they had, with un- " ſpeakable difficulties, prevail'd ſo as to be able to find Bread for the Soldiers " for the ſpace of one Month: That they were then expelling thence all " Strangers, and muſt inſtantly ſend away for *England* thouſands of poor " diſpoil'd *Engliſh*, whoſe very eating was now inſupportable to that place; " and therefore, they ſaid, they did again earneſtly, and finally deſire (for their " Confuſions would not now admit the writing of many more Letters, if any) " ſome Supplies of Victual and Munition might, in preſent, be haſten'd thither " to keep Life, until the reſt might follow; there being no Victuals in ſtore; " nor one hundred Barrels of Powder; which, according to the uſual neceſ- " ſary Expences, beſides extraordinary Accidents, would not laſt above a " Month.

A Copy of this Letter they likewiſe ſent to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, that his Majeſty might be inform'd of the ſadneſs of their Condition, and, with it, a Copy of a Paper that Morning preſented to the Board (which was likewiſe ſent in their Letter to the Speaker) from the Officers of the Army; who, after ſharp expreſſions of the Miſeries they ſuſtain'd, and expoſtulations thereupon, concluded, " That if their Lordſhips would take them into their time- " ly Conſiderations, before their urgent wants made them deſperate, they " would ſerve them readily and faithfully; but if their Lordſhips would not " find a way for their preſervations there, they humbly deſir'd they might " have leave to go where they might have a better being; and if they refu- " ſed to grant That, they themſelves muſt then take leave to have recourſe " to that firſt and primary Law, which God had endued all Men with, the " Law of Nature, which taught all Men to preſerve themſelves.

The King was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this Advertiſement; apprehending the State of his Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom to be almoſt deſperate, the Rebels receiving daily encouragement and aſſiſtance from Forreign Parts; and thereupon growing ſtrong and bold; yet he forbore to interpoſe his own Soveraign Power, hoping this laſt clear repreſentation would have made ſo deep an impreſſion in the two Houſes of Parliament, that they would have ſent ſuch a full ſupply, that at leaſt the Rebels might make no farther Progreſs in Victory, againſt his Proteſtant Subjects. About the end of *May*, the Lords Juſtices and Council, having receiv'd no probable hope of Aſſiſtance from the Parliament, ſent an Addreſs immediately to his Majeſty, that Himſelf might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done for preſervation of one of his three Kingdoms. This Letter, Subſcribed by the Lords Juſtices, ond every Member of the Council Board, being the ground and foundation of the Reſolutions which his Majeſty afterwards took, I think neceſſary to inſert in the terms of which it conſiſted; which were theſe:

An Addreſs of the Lords Juſtices and the Council in Ireland *to the King.*

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

" Aſſoon as We your Majeſty's Juſtices enter'd into the Charge of this " Government, We took into our Conſiderations, at the Board, the State of " your Army here; which We find ſuffering under unſpeakable Extremity of " want of all things neceſſary to the Support of their Perſons, or Mainte- " nance of the War, here being no Victuals, Cloaths, or other Proviſions re- " quiſite towards their Suſtenance; no Money to provide them of any thing " they want; no Arms in your Majeſty's Stores to ſupply their many defective " Arms; not above forty Barrels of Powder in your Stores; no ſtrength of " Serviceable Horſes being now left here; and thoſe few that are, their Arms " for the moſt part loſt, or unſerviceable; no Ships arriv'd here to guard the " Coaſt, and conſequently no ſecurity render'd to any that might, on their " private Adventures, bring in Proviſions of Victuals, or other neceſſaries " towards our Subſiſtence; and finally, no viſible means, by Sea or Land, " of being able to preſerve for you this Kingdom, and to render deliverance " from utter deſtruction to the remnant of your good Subjects yet left here.

" We

" We find, that your Majeſty's late Juſtices, and this Board, have often, " and fully, by very many Letters, advertiſed the Parliament in *England* of " the Extremities of Affairs here, and beſought Relief with all poſſible im- " portunity; which alſo have been fully repreſented to your Majeſty, and to " the Lord-Lieutenant, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, to be made known to " your Majeſty: And although the winds have of late for many days, and " often formerly, ſtood very fair for acceſſions of Supply forth of *England* " hither, and that We have ſtill, with longing Expectations, hoped to find Pro- " viſions arrive here, in ſome degree Anſwerable to the neceſſities of your " Affairs, ; yet now, to our unſpeakable grief, after full ſix Months waiting, " and much longer patience, and long-ſuffering, We find all our great ex- " pectations anſwer'd in a mean and inconſiderable quantity of Proviſions, " *viz.* threeſcore and fifteen Barrels of Butter, and fourteen Tun of Cheeſe " being but the fourth part of a ſmall Veſſel's Lading, which was ſent " from *London*, and arriv'd here the fifth day of this Month, which is not " above ſeven or eight days Proviſion, for that part of the Army which " lies in *Dublin*, and the out Garriſons thereof; no Money or Victual (other " than that inconſiderable proportion of Victual) having arriv'd in this " place, as ſent from the Parliament of *England*, or from any other Port " of *England*, for the uſe of the Army, ſince the beginning of *November* " laſt.

" We have, by the bleſſing of God, been hitherto proſperous and ſucceſs- " ful in your Majeſty's Affairs here, and ſhould be ſtill hopeful, by the mer- " cy of God, under the Royal directions of your Sacred Majeſty, to vindi- " cate your Majeſty's Honour, to recover your Rights here, and take due Ven- " geance on thoſe Traytors, for the Innocent Blood they have ſpill'd, if We " might be ſtrengthen'd, and ſupported therein, by needful Supplies forth of " *England*: but theſe Supplies having been hitherto expected to come from " the Parliament of *England* (on which if your Majeſty had not relied, We " are aſſured you would, in your high Wiſdom, have found out ſome other " means to preſerve this your Kingdom) and ſo great and apparent a failure " having happen'd therein, and all the former, and late, long continuing " Eaſterly Winds, bringing us no other Proviſions, than thoſe few Cheeſes and " Butter, and no advertiſements being brought us of any future Supply to " be ſo much as in the way hither, whereby there might be any likelyhood " that conſiderable means of ſupport for your Majeſty's Army might arrive " here, in any reaſonable time, before we be totally ſwallowed up by the " Rebels, and your Kingdom by them wreſted from you: We find our ſelves " ſo diſappointed of our hopes from the Parliament, as muſt needs trench " to the utter loſs of the Kingdom if your Majeſty in your high Wiſdom, ordain " not ſome preſent means of preſervation for Us. And conſidering that if " now, by occaſion of that unhappy, and unexpected failing of Support from " thence, We ſhall be leſs ſucceſsful in your Services here againſt the Re- " bels, than hitherto, whilſt We were enabled with ſome means to ſerve you, " We have been; the ſhame and diſhonour may, in common conſtruction of " thoſe that know not the inwards of the Cauſe, be imputed to us, and not " to the Failings that diſabled us: And conſidering principally, and above " all things, the high and eminent truſt of your Affairs here, depoſited with " us by your Sacred Majeſty, We may not forbear, in diſcharge of our " Duty, thus freely and plainly to declare our humble apprehenſions, to " the end your Majeſty, thus truly underſtanding the terribleneſs of our Con- " dition, may find out ſome ſuch means of Support, to preſerve to your Ma- " jeſty and your Royal Poſterity this your Ancient, and Rightful Crown, " and Kingdom: and derive deliverance and ſafety to the remnant of your " good Subjects yet left here, as in your excellent Judgment you ſhall find to " be moſt for your Honour, and Advantage. And ſo praying the King of " Kings to guide, and direct you for the beſt, in this high and important " Cauſe, and in all other your Counſels and Actions, We humbly remain:

From Your Majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin *the* 11th *of* May 1643.

There was no Sober Man in *Ireland* or *England*, who believ'd it to be in the King's Power to enable this People to carry on the War; for all Men too well knew, that he had neither Money, Victual, Ammunition, or Shipping, to ſupply them: and therefore his Majeſty could not but conclude, that by this application of that State to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguiſh that War which he could not maintain. And it is very true, that, at the ſame with this Letter, he receiv'd Advice and Information, from ſome of his prime Miniſters of that Kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledg'd, perfectly to abhor the Rebellion, "That there was no "reaſonable hope of preſerving his Proteſtant Subjects, and his own Inter- "eſt in that Kingdom, but by Treating with the Rebels, and making a "Peace, or Truce, with them. The King well foreſaw to what reproaches he ſhould object himſelf, by entering into ſuch a Treaty with thoſe Rebels; and that they who had perſwaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented the Rebellion, againſt all human Evidence that can be imagin'd, would more eaſily gain credit, when they ſhould be able to ſay, that he had made a Peace with them: Beſides that he had bound himſelf not to make a Peace with the Rebels in *Ireland*, without the conſent of his two Houſes of Parliament in *England*. On the other ſide, nothing was more demonſtrable, than that his Proteſtant Subjects there, could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and aſſiſtance out of *England*; that it was impoſſible for him to ſend any to them, and as viſible, that the Parliament Would not, or Could not; ſo that it ſeem'd only in his Election, whether he would preſerve the remainder of his Proteſtant Subjects there, and that whole Kingdom, in dependenceupon his Crown, with the inconvenience of ſome perverſe and unreaſonable ſcandal; or ſuffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having loſt a Kingdom, when it was in his own power to have retained it within his Subjection: and whatever he had obliged himſelf to, in thoſe Acts of Parliament which he had paſſed for relief of *Ireland*, before any Rebellion in *England*, was not, that there might never be a Peace in *Ireland*, but that the two Houſes might co-operate with him, whereby the Rebels might be reduced to thoſe Streights, that they might be compelled to ſubmit to the performance of their Duties: and that, inſtead of any ſuch ſuch co-operation, the two Houſes refuſed to concur with him in any thing, and had employ'd thoſe Monies, which had been raiſed by thoſe very Acts, for the relief of *Ireland*, in the maintenance of the Armies which had given his Majeſty Battle in *England*, expreſly contrary to the words of thoſe Acts; and therefore that his Majeſty might be reaſonably diſingaged from thoſe Covenants on his part.

Upon theſe Conſiderations, after two Months delay, to ſee whether yet the Parliament would take care of them, and having receiev'd freſh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of *July*, the King writ to the Lords Juſtices in *Ireland*, "That they ſhould iſſue out a Commiſſion, under "the Great Seal of *Ireland*, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, to Treat and Conclude "a Ceſſation of Arms with the Rebels, upon ſuch Articles and Conditions as "he ſhould judge moſt reaſonable; and during that Ceſſation that ſuch "Agents as they ſhould make choice of, ſhould have acceſs to his Royal Per- "ſon, to preſent their own Propoſitions for Peace: So careful was the King not to infringe that Act of Parliament, which many underſtood to be diſſolved by themſelves: there being no colourable Clauſe in it, by which it was not in his Majeſty's own Power to make a Ceſſation; and the Peace it ſelf he reſpited in ſuch a manner, that he might receive Advice and Coucurrence from the Parliament, if they would not decline any farther conſideration or care of that Kingdom.

Hereupon the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, being then only General of the Horſe there, enter'd upon a Treaty with Commiſſioners Authoriſed by the Council at *Kilkenny*; to whoſe Juriſdiction the Rebels had committed the

the whole Government of their Affairs; and Articles of Ceſſation being prepared for a Year, and peruſed, and approv'd by the Lords Juſtices and Council, without whoſe advice the Marquis would not proceed, and all the principal Officers of the Army having given it under their Hands, being preſent likewiſe at the Treaty, " That it was moſt neceſſary for the Preſervati-
" on of that Kingdom, that a Ceſſation ſhould be made for a Year, upon
" thoſe Articles and Conditions; and the Rebels undertaking to pay to his
" Majeſty's uſe, thirty thouſand and eight hundred pounds ſterling, within a
" ſhort time; whereof fifteen thouſand eight hundred pounds in ready Mo-
" ney, and the other fifteen thouſand pounds, one half in Money, and the o-
" ther half in good Beefs, at thirty pounds the Score; a Ceſſation of Arms was concluded by the Marquis; and publiſh'd, with the Articles and Conditions, by the Lords Juſtices and Council of *Ireland*, to begin on the fifteenth day of *September*, and to continue for the ſpace of a whole year.

A Ceſſation of Arms concluded for a year in Ireland, *Sep.* 7. *diſown'd by the two Houſes at* Weſtminſter.

This Ceſſation was no ſooner known in *England*, but the two Houſes declar'd againſt it, with all the ſharp gloſſes upon it to his Majeſty's diſhonour that can be imagin'd; perſwading the People, " That the Rebels were
" now brought to their laſt Gaſp, and reduced to ſo terrible a Famine, that
" like *Canibals*, they eat one another, and muſt have been deſtroy'd imme-
" diately, and utterly rooted out, if, by the Popiſh Counſels at Court, the
" King had not been perſwaded to conſent to this Ceſſation. It is one of the Inſtances of the ſtrange, fatal miſunderſtanding, which poſſeſſed this time, that notwithſtanding all the Caution the King uſed in medling at all with the Buſineſs of that Kingdom from the time of the Rebellion, and the clear diſcovery of all particular Reaſons, Grounds, and Counſels, when he found it neceſſary to interpoſe in it, the Calumnies and Slanders raiſed to his Majeſty's diſſervice and diſhonour, made a more than ordinary Impreſſion upon the minds of Men, and not only of Vulgar-ſpirited People, but of thoſe who reſiſted all other Infuſions, and Infection. And Poſterity, no Queſtion, will enquire, from what riſe or ſpring this diſadvantage flowed; to which Enquiry I can apply no other Satisfaction, beſides the diſeaſe of the time; which imputed all deſigns to deſigns upon Religion, and whatſoever was done by Papiſts, to the Zeal of the Queen on the behalf of her own Religion; than that the Managers, and Conducters of their Counſels, found it neceſſary to aver many things of Fact upon their own knowledge (by which they found the underſtanding of Men liable to be captivated) which in truth were not ſo: As I my ſelf found by ſome ſober Men, at ſuch times as there was Occaſion of Intercourſe, and Conferrence with them, that they did, upon ſuch Aſſurance, believe that the King had done ſomewhat in that Buſineſs of *Ireland* (ſome having avow'd, that they had ſeen his Hand to ſuch and ſuch Letters, and Inſtructions) which, upon as much knowledge, as any Man can morally have of a Negative, I am ſure he never did.

I ſhall here inſert, as the moſt natural and proper Evidence of the State of *Ireland*, at the time of the Ceſſation, and of the unanſwerable Motives which prevailed with the King to conſent to it, two Letters; the one, of Expoſtulation from the two Houſes to the Lords Juſtices and Council, which was received by them after the Ceſſation agreed on, though ſeeming to be ſent before; and the Anſwer of that Board thereunto; with the Contents whereof, the King, nor any of his Council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their Delivery. The Letters were in theſe words.

To Our very good Lords, the Lords Juſtices, and Council, for the Kingdom of Ireland.

" Our very good Lords,

A Letter concerning it, from the two Houſes to the Lords Juſtices July 4. 1643.

" The Lords and Commons in Parliament, have Commanded Us to let
" you know, they have ſeen your Letter of the tenth of *June*, directed to
" the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, accompanied with an Act of State;
" in the Preamble whereof, is an Expreſſion to this Effect, That your pre-
" ſent difficulties are occaſion'd through the failure of the Houſes of Parlia-

" ment in *England*, who undertook the charge of this War. This Let-
" ter, and Act of Council, were ſent by his Majeſty from *Oxford*; to whom
" they believe you have ſent Copies of both, and have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect,
" that there is an impious Deſign now on Foot, to ſell for nought, the
" crying Blood of many hundred thouſands of *Britiſh* Proteſtants, by a
" diſhonourable, unſufferable Peace with the Rebels; and then to lay the
" Blame and Shame of this upon the Parliament; a Plot ſuitable to thoſe
" Counſels that have both projected, and fomented this unparallel'd Rebel-
" lion: For thoſe who contriv'd the Powder Treaſon, intended to lay it
" on the Puritans. And although they cannot think your Lordſhips inten-
" ded to further this Deſign by this Expreſſion, yet they have cauſe to be-
" lieve you have forgotten the preſent Condition of this Kingdom; the
" Supplies they have ſent thither of all ſorts, even in the midſt of their
" own wants; what Relief going thither hath been taken away by Sea, and
" Land, and by whom; and what Diſcouragements have been given them
" in return; ſo that, as your Lordſhips do truly obſerve the Proteſtant Par-
" ty in that City deſirous to contribute, in all things, towards Preſervation
" of that Kingdom, and that all the Oppoſition therein is from thoſe of the
" Popiſh Party, ſo ought you juſtly to conclude, that the Proteſtant Party
" in this Kingdom have contributed, and are ſtill endeavouring to contri-
" bute, Monies, Ammunition, Victuals, and other Neceſſaries, for the ſaving
" of that Kingdom: And that the Popiſh, and Malignant Party here, now
" in Arms againſt the Parliament and Kingdom, have not aſſiſted, in the
" leaſt meaſure, this pious Work; but on the contrary, do hinder, and op-
" poſe the ſame: Neither ſhould your Lordſhips conceive, that only the
" charge of that War was referr'd to, and undertaken by the Parliament,
" as if Their part was to be Your Bankers, only to provide Money for you
" to ſpend, and were not to adviſe and direct the the managing of the War;
" although an Act of Parliament hath inveſted them with that Power:
" which they muſt aſſume and vindicate as the means to ſave that Kingdom;
" and ſhall bring to condign Puniſhment thoſe there, who, in this Conjun-
" cture of Affairs, have adviſed the Commiſſion to hear what the Rebels
" can ſay, or propound, for their own Advantage; the Letters to diveſt their
" Committee of an Authority given them by both Houſes; aud that adviſed
" the late Alteration of Government there; as Enemies to the Weal of both
" Kingdoms, and Fautors of that Rebellion. In the laſt place, We are for-
" bidden to tell you, what Supplies of Money, Victuals, Ammunition, and other
" Neceſſaries, are in good forwardneſs to be ſent over, for the ſupport of
" the Officers and Soldiers there; and by whoſe inceſſant care; leſt they
" ſhould ſeem to Anſwer that Scandal by excuſe, which deſerves an high
" Reſentment. This being all We have in command for the preſent, We
" bid your Lordſhips farewel, and remain,

" Your Lordſhips Friends to ſerve you,

Grey of Warke
Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, pro tempore;

William Lenthall
Speaker of the Commons Houſe in Parliament.

" The Lords and Commons will examine the demeanour of the Ships
" appointed to guard thoſe Coaſts; and might have expected a Copy of
" *Mountroſs*'s Letter to Colonel *Crawford*, which came to your Hands be-
" fore the 10th of *June*; and, happily, would diſcover the Treaſon of the
" Rebels, ſent by your Enemies to deſtroy you; as well as a complaint of
" thoſe Sea Captains ſent by your Friends to defend you; whoſe neglects
" and miſdeeds are notwithſtanding to be puniſh'd, according as their De-
" merits ſhall appear.

Weſtminſter the 4th of July 1643.

To

To our very good Lord, the Lord Speaker of the Right Honourable the Lords Houſe of Parliament, in the Kingdom of England; *and to our very loving Friend,* William Lenthall, *Eſq*; *Speaker of the Honourable Commons Houſe in Parliament, in the ſaid Kingdom.*

" Our very good Lord, and Mr. Speaker of the Commons Houſe in " Parliament.

" Your joynt Letters, of the fourth of *July* laſt directed to Us, were ſo " long in coming, as they came not to our hands until the ſixth of *October*. " By thoſe your Letters, you ſignify, that the Lords and Commons in " Parliament, have commanded you to let us know, that they have ſeen " our Letters of the Tenth of *June*, directed to the Speaker of the Houſe " of Commons accompanied with an Act of State, in the preamble whereof, " there is an expreſſion to this effect, That our preſent difficulties were " occaſion'd through the failure of the Houſes of Parliament in *England*, " who undertook the charge of this War; to which expreſſion, it ſeems, " exception is taken, and interpretations made thereof, far otherwiſe we are " ſure than was intended by Us; and, as We conceive, otherwiſe than the " true ſenſe of thoſe words can bear. It is true, that when We were ne- " ceſſitated to ſet on foot the new Impoſition, raiſed here in nature of an " Exciſe, towards keeping this Army from periſhing by Famine, it became " neceſſary to expreſs, in the Act of Council whereby We order'd it, the " reaſon inducing Us to ſet on foot here a thing ſo unknown to his Majeſty's " Laws, and gracious Government, and the difficulties wherewith We con- " tended, which did neceſſitate that reſolution; and in expreſſing thoſe difficul- " ties, We uſed that expreſſion, to ſhew whence our difficulties were occa- " caſion'd; and that We have therein declar'd the truth, We crave leave " to mind you of ſome particulars.

The Lords Juſtices Anſwer.

" If We ſhould look ſo far back as to repeat the Subſtance of many diſ- " patches ſent from this Board, ſince the beginning of this Rebellion; ſome, " to our very good Lord, the Lord-Lieutenant of this Kingdom; ſome to the " Lords, and others, Members of both Houſes, his Majeſty's Commiſſio- " ners for the Affairs of this Kingdom, and ſome to the Speaker of the " Commons Houſe of Parliament there; it would prove a voluminous work; " and therefore We forbear to look farther back into thoſe diſpatches, " than to the time when the Committee ſent thence hither, were here: who, " at their Arrival here, in the end of *October* 1642, brought with them " ſome Money and Proviſions, but far ſhort of that which the Neceſſities of " this Army requir'd; and indeed ſo inconſiderable, in reſpect of thoſe Ne- " ceſſities, as even before that Committee departed, they ſaw the Money they " had brought, wholely iſſued; and the high and unavoidable neceſſity of " a farther, ſpeedy, and plentiful ſupply of Money, and other Proviſions. " By Letters from this Board of the 20th of *January* 1642, and directed " to the Speaker of the Commons Houſe of Parliament there, it was ſignifi- " ed thither, that that Proviſions of Victuals here, were then at the very " bottom; that that Committee then here, had certified thither thoſe " Wants; that if a perſonal ſupply of Victual arrived not here very ſpeedily, " the Army could not ſubſiſt, but muſt have been conſtrain'd to disband, to " the loſs of this Kingdom, and utter deſtruction of the few Subjects here: " that the want of Treaſure here, to pay the Army, enforced this Board to iſ- " ſue Victual to the Common Soldier, an others, towards their pay, which did " the ſooner exhauſt the Magazine of Victual; that the Captains, and other " Officers, not having relief that way, were reduced to great extremities, as " had been formerly often repreſented thither; and therefore this Board, by " the ſaid Letters, then moved, that Treaſure might be ſent us ſpeedily, ſo " to redeem the Officers from the Calamities they ſuffer'd, and this

" Board from their unſupportable Clamours; and to enable the Payment,
" in ſome part, in Money to the Common Soldier; ſo to make the Victu-
" al We then expected, to hold out the longer.

" It was alſo by thoſe Letters then advertiſed thither, that the extremities of
" the Officers of the Army had begotten ſo much diſcontent amongſt them,
" as divers Colonels, and others of them, preſented at this Board a Re-
" monſtrance, whereof a Copy was then ſent incloſed in the ſaid Letters;
" which Remonſtrance did exceedingly trouble, and perplex Us, leſt it
" might beget ſuch diſtractions amongſt Us, as might give too much advantage
" to the Rebels. But, after full Debate thereof at this Board, it was here
" directed, that in preſent, to render ſome Subſiſtance to the Officers un-
" til Treaſure arrived forth of *England*, every Man in this City ſhould bring
" in half of his Plate, to be paid for it when Treaſure arrived; whereupon
" ſome Plate was brought in, and applied towards the Army. This Board
" did alſo ſignify by thoſe Letters, that without ſome ſpeedy relief forth of
" *England*, the Burden here was become too heavy to be borne; and there-
" fore, in diſcharge of our Duty to God, to our Gracious Soveraign, to
" that Kingdom, and to This, We held our ſelves bound clearly to make
" known, that unleſs We were ſpeedily ſupplied from thence, with Money,
" Arms, and Victual, it would be impoſſible for Us any farther to proſecute
" this War, or to preſerve from ſuddain confuſion this State and Govern-
" ment: ſo highly did the diſcontent of the Officers, and the diſorder of
" the Soldiers, threaten Us, that it might be eaſily apprehended, what, in
" all human probability, muſt become of Us, when it was then evident, that
" here was no Money, nor any poſſibility of procuring any in this City,
" when our Victuals were ſpent; when a great part of the Army had no
" Arms; upon which We doubted, and feared, for the reaſons in thoſe Letters
" expreſs'd, that the Soldiers would make Prey of Us and this City at laſt;
" and when We ſaw that the deſtruction, then threaten'd againſt Us, muſt
" then go farther, even to the loſs of this Crown, aud Kingdom; and
" to the highly endangering of that Kiugdom alſo; which, for the Honour
" of his Majeſty, aud the *Engliſh* Nation, We by our ſaid Letters deſired
" might, by the Wiſdom of that Honourable Houſe, be ſpeedily prevented,
" by haſtening away, with all poſſible ſpeed, Supply of Money, Arms, and
" Victuals.

" By other Letters of this Board, directed to Mr. Speaker, and dated the
" ſaid twentieth of *January* 1642, it was advertiſed thither, that it was be-
" come of abſolute neceſſity, that there ſhould be ſent Us from thence, ſpee-
" dily, ſix hundred light Geldings for Recruits, to be defaulked out of the
" entertainments of thoſe who ſhould receive them. By other Letters from
" this Board, of the ſame date, directed to Mr. Speaker, it was ſignified thi-
" ther, that We had contracted an Agreement here with *Theodore Schout*,
" and *Jocob Ablin*, Merchants, that *Anthony Tyrenes*, in *London*, or *Daniel*
" *Wibrant* in *Amſterdam*, ſhould receive ſeven thouſand eight hundred four-
" ſcore and thirteen pounds three ſhillings; for which the ſaid *Theodore* and
" *Jacob*, had undertaken, by their agreement with Us, to buy in *Holland*,
" and to Tranſport from thence hither, at their own charge and adventure,
" ſeveral proportions of Arms mention,d in a Docquet, then ſent iucloſed in
" our ſaid Letters; and they undertook ſo to ſecure it by inſurance, and
" provide ſuch a Ship of force, as We might be aſſured to have all thoſe
" Arms arrive here by the tenth of *March* now laſt paſt. And We, by our ſaid
" Letters earneſtly beſought that the ſaid ſum of ſeven thouſand eight hun-
" dred fourſcore and thirteen pounds three ſhillings might, by order of that
" Honourable Houſe, be ſpeedily paid to the ſaid *Tyrenes*, or *Wibrant*,
" that thoſe Proviſions might arrive here by the tenth of *March*; that we
" might not loſe the advantage of the then next Spring, for recovering of
" ſuch of the Sea-Ports, and other places of importance, as the Rebels had
" gotten; and for proceeding effectually in this War. Thoſe Letters alſo
" mov'd for other proviſions of War, which We conceiv'd might be had in *Eng-*
" *land* in reaſonable time. And We then ſent a Docquet of thoſe alſo; de-
" ſtring

" ſiring earneſtly they might be ſent to us ſpeedily. And although there was " an Agent ſent from hence in *November* 1641, to ſolicite the diſpatches ſent " from hence who attended at *London*, when thoſe our Letters were ſent " hence; yet of ſo great Importance was that diſpatch, requiring inſtant and " ſpeedy Anſwer and Supply from thence, as We adjudged it neceſſary to " give ſpecial Inſtructions to the Lord *Conway*, and others (beſides that A- " gent then there attending) to move his Majeſty, and ſollicite the Houſes of " Parliament, to haſten unto Us, with all poſſible Speed, the Proviſions in " thoſe Letters contain'd: and that there might nothing be omitted, that by " Sollicitation could be obtain'd, there were Agents alſo ſent thither from " the Army to ſollicite for them. By Letters from this Board of the twen- " tieth of *February* 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, We again deſir'd, with " all poſſible earneſtneſs, that the Proviſions of all ſorts, expreſſed in thoſe three " Letters of the twentieth of *January*, and the Docquets therewith ſent, " might be haſten'd to us; and that the ſaid ſeven thouſand eight hundred four- " ſcore and thirteen pounds, three ſhillings, for Arms to be provided in *Hol-* " *land*, might be ſpeedily paid. And in thoſe laſt Letters We again ſigni- " fied our miſerable, and unſpeakable want of Victuals, Arms, Ammunition, " Money, Shoes, and other Neceſſaries; and that if the Supplies We moved " for, came not ſpeedily, We were unavoidably in danger to be as much de- " vour'd by our own wants, as by the Sword of the Rebels; and that our " want of Corn was ſo much the more, in regard that, in confidence to be " plentifully ſupplyed forth of *England*, We cauſed great Deſtruction to be " made of Corn; there being indeed nothing conducing more to the Deſtru- " ction of the Rebels, than the burning of all Corn.

" We alſo then ſignified the neceſſity of ſending a farther Supply of Pow- " der, and Match; and We declar'd, that no Words could ſufficiently ex- " preſs the greatneſs of the Danger We ſhould incur, if our Supplies came " not ſpeedily; That the Plate brought in, amounted not to one thouſand " two hundred pounds; a Sum very inconſiderable towards Relief of the " Officers. By Letters of this Board of the 25th of *February* 1642, directed to " Mr. Speaker, We ſignified, that when our means from thence failed, and " our Credits could hold out no longer, We were conſtrain'd, towards Re- " lief of the Army, to force from the Proteſtant Merchants here, as well " *Engliſh* as Strangers, not only the Commodities they had brought hither, " but the Native Commodities alſo; undertaking to them that they ſhould " receive Payment at *London*; which failing, that thoſe that would ſupply " Us, were diſhearten'd, and durſt not come hither with Commodities; " wherefore We again, by thoſe Letters, beſought ſpeedy ſupply from thence; " declaring that otherwiſe, the Army, and We, muſt periſh; and ſo far we " were tranſported with grief, in the conſideration of the high Extremities " of this Kingdom, and Army, as We did, by thoſe Letters, lament for the " ſhame and diſhonour, which We then foreſaw would reflect upon the *Eng-* " *liſh* Nation, if then, after ſo long and often forewarnings, given by Us to " that Honourable Houſe, this Kingdom were loſt, and that for want of Sup- " plies from thence; wherein We then declar'd, that all the comfort left us, " was, that We had done our parts, and diſcharged our duties to God, to his " Majeſty, and to all his Kingdoms, who muſt have born their parts with " us in ſo heavy a loſs.

By Letters from this Board dated the 23d of *March* 1642, " directed to " Mr. Speaker, We ſignified that our wants enforced us to diſtribute the " Soldiers, for their Victuals, in and throughout this City and Suburbs; " which, We ſignified, could not long hold, conſidering the Poverty of this " place; and therefore to avoid utter Confuſion, We did again and again " beſeech moſt earneſtly, that, above all things, Victuals and Munition " might be ſent us ſpeedily; and that Money, Arms, Cloaths, Shoes, and " other Proviſions might alſo be ſent; declaring, that if they yet came ſpee- " dily, the Kingdom, and his Majeſty's Forces here, might be thereby re- " deem'd out of part of their Diſtreſſes; and We enabled, by the bleſſing " of God, to give his Majeſty ſuch an account of this Kingdom, as would " be

" be for the Glory of the King our Maſter, and the Houour of the *Engliſh*
" Nation, in the ſubduing this horrid Rebellion; which, by reaſon our wants,
" and in no other reſpect, was then grown very terrible: and We did again
" call for the Proviſions, moved for by our ſeveral former Letters of the
" twentieth of *January*, and twentieth of *February*, and for the Payment,
" of the ſeven thouſand eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen pounds three
" ſhillings, for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, and thoſe alſo
" which We expect from *London*; declaring, that unleſs thoſe Supplies came,
" We ſhould be diſabled from doing Service on the Rebels the then next
" Spring, or the then ſucceeding Summer; and muſt undoubtedly put the
" Rebels into a Condition of prevailing againſt us, which We well believ'd,
" the Kingdom of *England* would never have permitted againſt ſo faith-
" ful Servants and valiant Soldiers, as his Majeſty yet had here.

" By thoſe Letters alſo We ſignified, that it was neceſſary that there
" ſhould be here, at this Harbour of *Dublin*, by the middle of *April*, at leaſt
" two Ships of good Strength; and that the Ships deſign'd for guarding the
" other parts of the Coaſts of this Kingdom, ſhould be haſten'd away with
" all poſſible Speed. By Letters from this Board directed to Mr. Speaker,
" dated the fourth of *April* 1643, We preſented again the unſpeakable miſe-
" ries of the Officers and Soldiers, for want of all things; and all thoſe
" made the more inſupportable, in the want of Food; and that this City was
" then apparently found to be unable to help us, as it had formerly done;
" and repeated again, in as lively Terms as We could, the high Extremities
" fallen, and encreaſing upon us; declaring, that We were enforced to ſee
" who had any thing yet left him not taken from him, to help us; and that
" although there were but few ſuch, and ſome poor Merchants, whom We
" had formerly, by the Law of neceſſity, utterly undone; yet, that We were
" forced to wreſt their Commodities from them: That there were few here,
" of our ſelves or others, that had not felt their parts in the inforced rigour
" of our proceedings towards preſerving the Army; and We earneſtly de-
" ſir'd, that his Majeſty, and the *Engliſh* Nation, migth not ſuffer ſo great,
" if not irrecoverable prejudice and diſhonour, as muſt unavoidable be the
" conſequence of our not being Reliev'd ſuddenly; but that yet, although it
" were then even almoſt at the point to be too late, Supplies of Victuals
" and Ammunition, in preſent might be haſten'd hither, to keep Life, until
" the reſt might follow: declaring alſo, that there was no Victual in the
" Store, and that there would not be an hundred Barrels of Powder left,
" when the out Garriſons, as they muſt then inſtantly have been, were ſup-
" plied; and that the reſidue of our Proviſions muſt alſo come ſpeedily after,
" or otherwiſe that *England* could not hope to ſecure *Ireland*, or ſecure
" Themſelves againſt *Ireland*; but in the loſs of it, muſt look for ſuch Ene-
" mies from hence, as would pertually diſturb the Peace of his Majeſty, and
" his Kingdom of *England*; and among them, by Sea and Land, as We had
" often formerly repreſented thither; which miſchiefs We ſignified might yet
" be prevented, if We were but then forthwith enabled, from thence, with
" means to overcome this Rebellion.

" We then alſo again renew'd our requeſts for the Proviſions, mention'd
" in our Letters of the twentieth of *January*, and for the payment of the
" ſeven thouſand eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen pounds three ſhillings,
" for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, beſides thoſe We expected from
" *London*; We then alſo ſent, incloſed in our Letters to Mr. Speaker, a
" Copy of writing, ſign'd by ſundry Officers of the Army, which was in a
" Style threating much danger; whereby appear'd the high neceſſity of haſt-
" ning Treaſure hither to pay them, and the reſt of the Officers,
" and provide Victual for the Soldiers. On the 10*th* of *April* 1643, We
" receiv'd Letters from Mr. Speaker, of the ſeventeenth, of *March*, in An-
" ſwer to our Letters of the 20*th* and 25*th* of *February*. Thoſe Letters
" from Mr. Speaker, adviſed free Trade and Truck to be given to Mer-
" chants, by taking our Native Commodities, that cannot be Manufactur'd here,
" for their Corn, and other Victuals, and carrying them into *England*, or

" other

" other places not prohibited. And by our Letters directed to Mr. Speaker, " dated the 22d, of *April*, in Anſwer to his ſaid Letters of the ſeven- " teenth of *March*, We made it appear, that That deſign could not hold " to derive benefit to this Army. By thoſe our Letters We ſignified al- " ſo, that the neceſſities of the Army ſtill preſſed us, by degrees, to break " the Merchants here, by wreſting their Commodities from them, upon " promiſe of Satisfaction in *England* : That the failing of that Satisfaction " in *England*, as it had undone Them, ſo had it infinitely prejudiced the " Service here : That We engaged the Word of this State to procure " Pavment to many others, out of the next Treaſure that ſhall arrive forth " of *England* (which Courſes though very hard, did help us for a time) " that when thoſe failed, We begun at our ſelves, then at others, then at " all Fraternities, and Corporations, as Bakers, Brewers, Butchers, Vint- " ners, and the like; then at all particular Perſons obſerv'd to have any " viſible Subſtance, not being able to ſpare poor Men, who (to gain a " poor living) made Profeſſion, ſome of ſelling Hot Waters, and ſome of " Cutting Tobacco : That in the end, all other means failing, We had " Recourſe to the only Native Commodity, Hydes; ſeiſing on all that " could be found, either on Ship-board, ready to be exported hence (with " purpoſe in ſome of the owners of them to return Victuals hither; which " We were not able to wait for) or on Shore prepared for Ship-board; " and made uſe of them to get the Army in a few days Bread, ſtill hoping " Proviſions of Victual might come to keep them alive; which did draw " upon us infinite Clamours.

" And by the ſaid Letters We earneſtly beſought, that before We " ſhould be utterly ſwallow'd up in the Confuſion of Affairs, wherewith " We were beſet, the Deſtruction of this State, and Army, and King- " dom, being then no leſs feared to ariſe from the Army, though ſent hi- " ther for their Preſervation, than from the Fury of the Rebels, if that " Honourable Houſe would not look back into all our ſeveral Letters " ſent thither, which We then declar'd ſhould for ever acquit us before " God, and the World; as having diſcharged our Duties to God, to his " Majeſty, and to this his Kingdom, in fully, and timely, and often repre- " ſenting thither the evils then ready to ſeiſe upon this State, the Army, " and the Kingdom, and the means of preventing them; yet at laſt they " would be pleaſed to review our ſaid ſeveral Letters of the 20*th* and " 25*th* of *February*, of the 20*th* of *January*, 23*d* of *March*, and 4*th* of " *April*. We th n alſo ſignified that the Soldiers, preſſed through wants, " attempted Tumults, and Mutiny plunder'd divers of the Inhabitants of " this City, as well *Engliſh*, and Proteſtants, as others : That We appre- " hended thoſe Diſorders but Beginnings of what, We doubted, would " then ſhortly enſue, even the Ranſack of this City, if by Supplies forth " of *England*, it were not prevented : That then there would be no " Refuge left, either for the Army, or other *Engliſh* here : That we " were not able to ſend out the Soldiers, for want of Money to furniſh " ordinary neceſſities, and of Ammunition : Wherefore We then again " earneſtly moved, that ſome means might be found for complying with " our Deſires, in thoſe our ſeveral Letters expreſſed; certifying, that " the State of Affairs here, could not poſſibly admit the leaſt deferring; " and that no help was to be expected from hence; as We had often, " and fully, in former Letters, ſignified thither; that if it were not imme- " diately ſupplied forth of *England* with Powder, We ſhould not be able " to defend our ſelves, or offend the Rebels; and that, above all things, " Munition, Money, and Victuals, were of neceſſity to be ſent in the " firſt place; and the other Proviſions to be ſent after, which alſo We " certified moſt needful to be done with all poſſible Speed.

" By our Letters of the ſixth of *May* 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, " We ſignified how neceſſary it was, that the intended Eſtabliſhment " ſhould

" ſhould be conſider'd there, and put into ſuch a way as to be made per-
" fect, and receiving his Majeſty's gracious Approbation, might be ſent
" hither; which We deſir'd to be haſten'd, that the Officers, who daily
" labour in the Publick Services, might the better know what they are
" to have, of which Eſtabliſhment We have not yet had any return.
" By our Letters to Mr. Speaker of the eleventh of *May*, 1643, We
" ſignified, that although by Letters from Mr. Speaker, dated the 17*th* day
" of *March*, it was Advertiſed hither, that ſix weeks Proviſion of Victu-
" als, for each Province, was in preparing, yet that it was not come, or
" if it was come, that it was a Supply far below that which was neceſſa-
" ry to be then ſent hither. And We then again repeated the miſerable
" Condition of this Army, through want of all things, eſpecially Money,
" Victuals, Cloaths, Arms, and Munition: That there were not above
" forty Barrels of Powder in the Store (a mean and inconſiderable quan-
" tity for this Army, on whom depends the Preſervation of the King-
" dom) and We again deſir'd, in caſe of ſo high and eminent Danger,
" and that with all poſſible Importunity, that a Courſe might be then in-
" ſtantly taken for haſtening away Powder with all Speed, and that the
" other Proviſions alſo of all Sorts, mention'd in our former ſeveral Let-
" ters of the 20*th* of *January*, 20*th*, and 25*th* of *February*, the 23*d* of
" *March*, and the 4*th*, and 22*d* of *April*, might be alſo haſten'd away;
" and that the ſeven thouſand eight hundred and fourſcore and thirteen
" pounds three ſhillings, for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, beſides thoſe
" We expected from *London*, might be paid.

" By thoſe Letters alſo VVe ſignified, that VVe could not but lament
" our Misfortune, and the Diſhonour reflecting on the *Engliſh* Nation,
" that the Seaſon of the Year ſhould be ſo far enter'd into, and yet (not-
" withſtanding all the Repreſentations, often, and timely enough made
" thither of Affairs here) no means put into our Power to make uſe
" thereof, in a vigorous Proſecution of the VVar; but inſtead thereof,
" notwithſtanding all the endeavour and induſtry here uſed to prevent
" it, VVe then beheld our ſelves ſunk deeply into a Gulph of Confu-
" ſion, and Diſtreſs of Affairs, being equally in Danger to be de-
" vour'd through our wants, or to be deſtroy'd by the Rebels, for want
" of needful Habiliments of VVar to enable our Defence, as had been
" formerly often and fully declared thither; and therefore VVe again
" preſſed to be redeem'd from the Terribleneſs of our Condition, by ſuch
" timely Acceſſions of Supplies forth of *England*, as were contain'd in
" our ſaid former Diſpatches.

" By our Letters to Mr. Speaker, dated the ſixteenth of *May* 1643,
" VVe deſired that 320*l.* might be paid there, as VVe had formerly de-
" ſired, for ſundry particulars neceſſary for the Chirurgeons of this Army;
" there being a great want thereof for the Cures of wounded Men. And
" then VVe ſent, and employ'd Sir *Thomas Wharton* Knight, a Mem-
" ber of this Army, purpoſely to ſollicite the means of our Relief, that
" ſo VVe might omit nothing that VVe conceiv'd might conduce to the
" haſtening of our expected Supplies. And by our Letters of the ſix-
" teenth of *May*, then ſent to Mr. Speaker, VVe ſignified, that the King-
" dom was then in more Danger than ever to be forced out of our
" Hands, for want of timely Supplies out of *England*; and VVe deſir'd
" moſt earneſtly, that his Diſpatch might be haſten'd for our Preſervation,
" that, if it were poſſible, the King, and Kingdom of *England*, might
" yet then be preſerv'd from that irrecoverable prejudice and diſhonour,
" which muſt neceſſarily accompany, and follow the Loſs of this King-
" dom.

" And here VVe may not omit to mention, that VVe prevail'd with
" divers Perſons to advance Proviſions to us, at ſeveral times, to anſwer
" the

" the crying neceſſities of this Army; and to ſome, We gave our Bills,
" in nature of Bills of Exchange, and to others, our own Bonds, under-
" taking Repayment at *London* by the Parliament there; which We did
" in Confidence to find ready Payment there accordingly: And We do not
" yet hear that thoſe Bills of Exchange, or Bonds, are yet paid there;
" but We find ſome of the Parties ready to Sue, and Implead us here,
" for thoſe Debts, though contracted only for the Publick Service.

" Which proceeding of this Board, from time to time, We thus at
" large deduce, that ſo it may appear fully that We have diſcharg'd
" thoſe Duties which We owe to his Majeſty, and to the truſt of his Ma-
" jeſty's Affairs here, in repreſenting thither fully, and timely, aud of-
" ten, the wants and extremities to which this Kingdom and Army were
" reduced, and the means requiſite to be ſent for Relief and Preſerva-
" tion of both; and yet in all that time, namely from the ſaid twenti-
" eth day of *January*, 1642, to the tenth of *June*, 1643, which is the
" Day of the date of our Letters, to which yours of the fourth of *July*
" is an Anſwer, or from that time to this, there arriv'd here, as ſent
" from the Parliament of *England*, towards the Relief of this Army,
" and for Maintenance of this War, but the particulars following, *viz.*
" Forty nine thouſand two hundred forty eight pounds of Butter;
" forty nine thouſand ſix hundred forty nine pounds of Cheeſe, four hun-
" dred forty ſeven Barrels and a half of Wheat, and Rye, three hundred
" threeſcore and ſeven Barrels of Peaſe; and three hundred fifty ſix Bar-
" rels of Oats; alſo five hundred Suits of Cloaths, one thouſand Caſſocks,
" two thouſand eight hundred and eighteen Caps, alſo eight and twenty
" hundred three quarters and one pound of Match; thirty eight hundred
" two quarters and nine pound of Shot, and three hundred threeſcore
" and fourteen Barrels of Powder; of which Proviſions of Munition,
" there were three hundred and one and forty Barrels of Powder, and
" five hundred fifty five pound two quarters and four and twenty pound
" of Match, which was the Munition We had contracted for here,
" and in the way, coming from *Holland*, was intercepted at Sea, and
" carried to *Calais*, and afterwards ſet free there by the mediation of his
" Majeſty, and the Houſes of Parliament in *England*; but the price
" thereof ſtands, charg'd on the ſaid Houſes of Parliament.

" This was not above a weeks Proviſion, or thereabouts, of Victuals,
" for the Army in *Lemſter*, being fifteen Regiments of Foot, and twen-
" ty two Troops of Horſe, and four Troops of Dragoons, beſides Train
" of Artillery, and four hundred Firelocks; ſo as certainly there was a
" failure in ſupplying us, and that failure was not occaſion'd through
" any neglect on our parts, in not repreſenting thither the wants and
" extremities endured by this Army; and the means of their Supply is, as
" We conceive, very clear by thoſe ſeveral diſpatches ſent from us to
" Mr. Speaker. And ſeeing, that the charge of this War was referr'd to,
" and undertaken by the Houſes of Parliament of *England*, and that by
" thoſe diſpatches they fully underſtood the Condition of Affairs here, We
" offer it to any Man's Conſideration, whether or no We had not juſt cauſe
" to conceive, and accordingly to expreſs in that Act of Council, that our
" difficulties, which were neceſſary to be mention'd in that Act, were oc-
" caſion'd through the failure of the Houſes of Parliment in *England*.

" And whereas you write, that the Lords and Commons in Parlia-
" ment do believe We have ſent Copies of our ſaid Letters, and Act
" of Council to his Majeſty, it is true, that We have ſo done; and
" therein acquitted our ſelves towards that Duty which We owe Him;
" and had failed in our Duties, if We had done otherwiſe. But how from
" that, as We conceive, neceſſary and true expreſſion of ours in the
" ſaid

" ſaid Act of Council, or from our ſending a Copy thereof, and of
" our ſaid Letters to his Majeſty, there can be any juſt cauſe to
" ſuſpect (as your Letters ſeem to infer) there is ſuch an impious de-
" ſign now on foot, as your Letters mention, We confeſs We do not
" underſtand, or any deſign at all other than the needful ſettling here of
" the Impoſition, in Nature of an Exciſe, in thoſe our Letters and
" Act of Council mention'd; without which this Army could not have
" ſubſiſted to this time; and was preſſed by the Committee from the
" Parliament here, but then avoided; our hopes being then more, and
" our neceſſities not ſo great as they were when we laid it. And
" as We find by your Letters, that the Lords and Commons in Par-
" liament there have done us the right, by your ſaid Letters, to ſig-
" nify that they cannot think We intended by that expreſſion, to
" farther the deſign in your Letters mention'd, ſo We hold it neceſſary
" to declare, that We neither have forgotten, nor can forget, the pre-
" ſent Condition of that Kingdom; but We have a long time beheld,
" and ſtill behold, and lament with bleeding Hearts, the woful Condi-
" tion of that Kingdom, and how God's Hand is ſtill ſtretch'd out
" againſt us, in thoſe heavy Diſtractions there; yet We Comfort our
" ſelves with hope, that God, in mercy to his Majeſty, and to all his
" Kingdoms and People, will at length, in his own good time, an-
" ſwer the Prayers and Tears of us his Majeſty's Sevants, and many
" thouſands of others his good Subjects there, and here, continually
" pour'd out for his Majeſty, and his Kingdom, in removing that hea-
" vy Judgment, and ſettling Peace and Tranquillity there, to the Glo-
" ry of God, the Honour of his Majeſty, and the joynt Happineſs of
" all his Subject, in all his Kingdoms and Dominions.

" Nor have We forgotten the Supplies of all ſorts ſent hither by
" the Parliament, but do very well remember them. But We confeſs
" We know not, what relief coming hither hath been taken away, either
" by Sea or Land, or by whom, or what diſcouragement hath been
" given them in return: Only we have heard, that the Shipping, em-
" ployed by the Rebels at *Wexford*, did give them ſome interruption
" at Sea; and that was occaſion'd by neglect of duty in thoſe who Com-
" manded the Ships deſign'd for the Guard of the Coaſts of this King-
" dom: and the ſaid Ship bound hither from *Holland* with Munition,
" which We had contracted for here, was intercepted at Sea, and car-
" ried to *Calais* and afterwards ſet free there, by the mediation of his
" Majeſty and the Houſes of Parliament in *England*. And We find
" that ſome Ships, ſent hither it ſeems at firſt with Proviſions from *Lon-*
" *don*, and other Ships bound hither with Proviſions on private Mens
" Adventures, were taken away even from this Harbour, a few days be-
" fore the Ceſſation of Arms here, as they were coming in, and carried
" to *Leverpool*, by one Captain *Dausk* a Perſon employed by the two
" Houſes of Parliament there, in the Command of a Ship, and that Ship
" commanded by *Dausk*, and other Ships employed at *Leverpool*, do
" now, and have a long time ſtay'd on that ſide, laden with Proviſion
" of Victuals, Coals and other neceſſary relief bound from thence hither
" to be ſold; which, if they had arrived here, would have brought great re-
" lief to this Army, and the Inhabitants in this City, though on the Ad-
" venture of the Bringers; which We hold neceſſary to repreſent thither, to
" the end that their uncharitableneſs towards thoſe poor Men that would
" Adventure hither to relieve us, and their inhumanity towards this diſ-
" treſſed Army, and City, and many of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects
" therein, might appear ſo as they, or others, may not preſume here-
" after to offend in that kind.

" And whereas you write, that We ſhould not conceive, that only the
" Charge of this War was referr'd to, and undertaken by the Parliament,
" as if their part were to be our Bankers, only to provide Monies for Us to
" ſpend, and were not to adviſe, and direct the managing of the War; We
" confeſs

" confeſs We neither did, nor do conceive the Parliament there to be " Bankers for Us; but did eſteem them, as thoſe to whom the King " our Maſter referr'd the Charge of this War, and to whom, as ſo en- " truſted by his Majeſty, this Board, from time to time, made Applica- " tion; and if any advice had come from them, concerning the manag- " ing of the War, We ſhould have endeavour'd to have made the beſt " uſe thereof, for the furtherance of his Majeſty's Service here. And " here We hold it neceſſary to declare, that when We underſtood, that " his Majeſty, at the humble deſire of the Lords and Commons of Par- " liament in *England*, had, in *April*, 1642, granted a Commiſſion to " ſome Members of both Houſes, for ordering and diſpoſing all matters " there, for the Defence, Relief, and Recovery of this Kingdom; and " that his Majeſty Commanded all his Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects " of his Kingdom of *England*, and *Ireland*, to be obedient, aiding, and " aſſiſting to the ſaid Commiſſioners in the due Execution of the ſaid " Commiſſion; and that by his Majeſty's Inſtructions annexed to the ſaid " Commiſſion, his Majeſty gave it in charge to thoſe Commiſſioners, to " advertiſe his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Council, and other Governours " and Commanders here, what they conceiv'd to be needful for the " Proſecution of the War in the beſt manner for the Defence of this " his Kingdom, and eaſe of the great Charges and Expences, which by " occaſion of this Rebellion, lay upon his loving Subjects of his King- " dom of *England*: We therefore, by our Letters of the ſeventh of " *June*, 1642, directed to thoſe his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, beſought, " among other things, preſent and particular Direction for the Proſecu- " tion of the War; which yet We have not receiv'd: Only We had " advice from thence, to ſend ſome Forces into *Connaught*; which was " done: and for ſending ſome Forces into *Munſter*, which, by Our Let- " ters of the thirteenth of *September*, 1642, to the Commiſſioners there, " We ſignified was not poſſible for Us to do, unleſs VVe were plen- " tifully ſupplyed of thoſe things, whereof the wants then certified thi- " ther did then diſable Us.

" Concerning the Commiſſion in your Letters mention'd, it was not " to hear what the Rebels would ſay, or propound for their own Ad- " vantage, as your Letters mention; but his Majeſty having receiv'd an " humble Petition, in the Name of the Recuſants of *Ireland*, deſiring " to be heard, his Majeſty thought it not unjuſt, or inconvenient for " him, to receive from them what they could ſay unto him; to whom " they inſinuated that they would yet yield due Obedience. And there- " fore his Majeſty, by his Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England* " (wherein he declared his extreme Deteſtation of the odious Rebellion, " which the Recuſants of *Ireland* have, without any Ground or Colour, " raiſed againſt Him, his Crown, and Dignity) Authoriſed ſome of his " Miniſters here, to hear at large what the Petitioners ſhould ſay, or pro- " pound; which his Majeſty, by the ſaid Commiſſion, directed that the " Petitioners, or the principal of them, Authoriſed by the reſt, ſhould ſet " down in writing under their Hands; and the Commiſſioners to ſend " the ſame to his Majeſty; whereupon his Majeſty by the ſaid Commiſ- " ſion declar'd, he would take ſuch farther Conſideration, as ſhould be " juſt, Honourable, and fit for his Majeſty: And that that Courſe gave " not the leaſt Interruption to the proceeding of the VVar, appears by " this, that on the eighteenth of *March* (being in the time the Commiſ- " ſioners, Authoriſed by his Majeſty, gave meeting to thoſe of the o- " ther ſide, upon that Commiſſion) the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, " though one of thoſe Commiſſioners, in his return from *Roſſe* with a- " bout two thouſand five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horſe of his " Majeſty's Army, fought with the Army of the Rebels, conſiſting of a- " bout ſix thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred and fifty Horſe, and obtain'd a " happy

" happy and glorious Victory againſt them; and the Rebels Army be-
" ing Defeated, and wholly Routed, and their Baggage and Munition ſeiſed
" on, his Majeſty's Forces lodged that Night where they had gained
" the Victory, as by former Letters of this Board, of the fourth of
" *April*, 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, We formerly ſignified thither:
" Which We thus repeat, to manifeſt that that Commiſſion, or the Meet-
" ing thereupon, gave not any manner of Interruption to the proceed-
" ing of the War.

" Concerning the Letters you mention, to deveſt the Committee of
" both Houſes there, of an Authority given them by both Houſes, We
" remember that his Majeſty, by his Letters of the third of *February*,
" 1642, underſtanding that the then Juſtices and Council had admitted,
" without His Order or Knowledge, to ſit in Council with them in this
" his Kingdom, Mr. *Robert Goodwin* and Mr. *Reynolds*, and that
" thereby they were become ſo bold, as to take upon them to hear
" and Debate of Matters Treated of in Council, his Majeſty, by his
" ſaid Letters, ſignified by his expreſs Command, that they ſhould not
" be permitted to ſit, or be preſent any more at his Majeſty's Council
" Table here; but if they had any Buſineſs, his Majeſty willed, that they
" ſhould attend as others of their Quality: Which his Majeſty's Plea-
" ſure was humbly obeyed by his ſaid Juſtices, and Council, with that
" Duty and Submiſſion, which was due from them to his Royal Com-
" mands. And as his Majeſty, by his ſaid Letters required, that, if
" thoſe Perſons had any Buſineſs, they ſhould attend, as others of their
" Quality; ſo, if they had afterwards offer'd any Buſineſs at this Board,
" they ſhould have been heard therein: Which was alſo ſignified to
" them before their departure hence. And now, upon this Occaſion,
" We having peruſed the Copies they deliver'd at this Board, of the
" Order of both Houſes Dated the ſixth of *October*, 1642, and of their
" Inſtructions, do find indeed, that, by the ſaid Order, the ſaid *Robert*
" *Reynolds*, and *Robert Goodwin*, were to have the Credence, Power,
" and Eſteem of a Committee ſent hither by the Advice, and Authori-
" ty of both Houſes of Parliament; and that, by the ſaid Inſtructions,
" they were to be admitted to be preſent, and Vote at all Conſultati-
" ons concerning the War; yet there is nothing in the ſaid Order, or
" Inſtructions, for admitting them to ſit, or be preſent at his Majeſty's
" Council Table; which is that which his Majeſty, by his ſaid Letters,
" required, ſhould not be permitted; which cannot be conceiv'd to be a
" deveſting them of any Authority given them by both Houſes.

" And as to the late Alteration of Government here, expreſſed in
" your Letters, although his Majeſty in his high Wiſdom adjudged it fit
" to alter one of thoſe Governours, which he had placed here, which
" was no more than He, and his Royal Predeceſſors had uſually done in
" all Ages, as often as they thought fit, yet that made no Alteration in
" the Government; but it in all times continued, and ſtill continues
" the ſame, though in other Perſons.

" That part of your Letters which declares, that you are forbidden
" to tell Us what Supplies of Money, Victual, Ammunition, and other
" Neceſſaries, were then in a good forwardneſs to be ſent hither for
" the Support of the Officers, and Soldiers here, requires no Anſwer on
" Our parts, other than this truth, that they are not yet arriv'd here.
" Concerning *Mountroſs*'s Letters to Colonel *Crawford*, We know of
" no Treaſon to be diſcover'd thereby; but for the Sea Captains in your
" Letters mention'd, it is certain that their neglects and miſdeeds deſerve
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From his Majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin *28th of* Octob. 1643.

" Your Lordſhips very loving Friends.

Jo. Borlaſe.
La. Dublin.
Ant. Midenſis.
Geo. Shurley.
Fr. Willoughby.
Hen. Tichborne.
Ormond.
Ed. Brabazon.
Ger. Lowther.
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The diſtractions in *Ireland* being, by means of the Ceſſation, in ſome degree allayed, and both Parties having time to breathe, the King, in the next place, conſider'd how he might apply that Ceſſation to the Advancement of his Affairs in *England*. One of the principal Motives that induced that Ceſſation, was the miſerable State of the Army there, ready, through extreme wants, to disband; ſo that there being now leſs uſe of them there, and an impoſſibility to keep them, his Majeſty had it only in his Election, whether he ſhould ſuffer them there to disband, and diſpoſe of themſelves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite diſorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular diſſervice; or whether he ſhould draw over ſuch a Number as might be ſafely ſpared, to his own Aſſiſtance in *England*; to which he was aſſured, that the devotion, and affection of moſt of the principal or conſiderable Officers there, chearfully inclined; and of this latter he made little ſcruple to make choice, when he was not only inform'd of the preparations and readineſs in *Scotland*, to invade this Kingdom; but that they had called over their old General, the Earl of *Leven*, who Commanded the *Scots* Forces in *Ireland*, and many other Officers and Soldiers out of that Kingdom, to form and conduct their Army into This; and that there were alſo Arts and Induſtry uſed, by ſome Agents for the Parliament, to perſwade the *Engliſh* Officers likewiſe to bring over their Men for their Service.

The King ſends for part of the Engliſh *Army out of* Ireland

So that the King directed the Marquis of *Ormond*, to make choice of ſuch Regiments and Troops, as were neceſſary for the Defence of the ſeveral Garriſons, or as could be provided for, and ſupported in that Kingdom, and that the reſt ſhould be ſent for *England*. To which purpoſe, Shipping was ſent; with direction that thoſe from, and about *Dublin*, ſhould be Shipp'd for *Cheſter*, to be joyn'd to thoſe Forces under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; whereby he might be able to reſiſt the growing power of Sir *William Bruerton*; who, by an addition of Forces from *London*, and with the Aſſiſtance of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and Sir *John Gell*, was grown very ſtrong; being backed by *Lancaſhire*, which upon the matter was wholely reduced to the obedience of the Parliament: and that the other Forces out of *Munſter* ſhould be landed at *Briſtol*, to be diſpoſed by the Lord *Hopton*; who was forming a new Army, to oppoſe Sir *William Waller*; who threaten'd an in-road in-

" happy and glorious Victory againſt them; and the Rebels Army be-
" ing Defeated, and wholly Routed, and their Baggage and Munition ſeiſed
" on, his Majeſty's Forces lodged that Night where they had gained
" the Victory, as by former Letters of this Board, of the fourth of
" *April*, 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, We formerly ſignified thither:
" Which We thus repeat, to manifeſt that that Commiſſion, or the Meet-
" ing thereupon, gave not any manner of Interruption to the proceed-
" ing of the War.

" Concerning the Letters you mention, to deveſt the Committee of
" both Houſes there, of an Authority given them by both Houſes, We
" remember that his Majeſty, by his Letters of the third of *February*,
" 1642, underſtanding that the then Juſtices and Council had admitted,
" without His Order or Knowledge, to ſit in Council with them in this
" his Kingdom, Mr. *Robert Goodwin* and Mr. *Reynolds*, and that
" thereby they were become ſo bold, as to take upon them to hear
" and Debate of Matters Treated of in Council, his Majeſty, by his
" ſaid Letters, ſignified by his expreſs Command, that they ſhould not
" be permitted to ſit, or be preſent any more at his Majeſty's Council
" Table here; but if they had any Buſineſs, his Majeſty willed, that they
" ſhould attend as others of their Quality: Which his Majeſty's Plea-
" ſure was humbly obeyed by his ſaid Juſtices, and Council, with that
" Duty and Submiſſion, which was due from them to his Royal Com-
" mands. And as his Majeſty, by his ſaid Letters required, that, if
" thoſe Perſons had any Buſineſs, they ſhould attend, as others of their
" Quality; ſo, if they had afterwards offer'd any Buſineſs at this Board,
" they ſhould have been heard therein: Which was alſo ſignified to
" them before their departure hence. And now, upon this Occaſion,
" We having peruſed the Copies they deliver'd at this Board, of the
" Order of both Houſes Dated the ſixth of *October*, 1642, and of their
" Inſtructions, do find indeed, that, by the ſaid Order, the ſaid *Robert*
" *Reynolds*, and *Robert Goodwin*, were to have the Credence, Power,
" and Eſteem of a Committee ſent hither by the Advice, and Authori-
" ty of both Houſes of Parliament; and that, by the ſaid Inſtructions,
" they were to be admitted to be preſent, and Vote at all Conſultati-
" ons concerning the War; yet there is nothing in the ſaid Order, or
" Inſtructions, for admitting them to ſit, or be preſent at his Majeſty's
" Council Table; which is that which his Majeſty, by his ſaid Letters,
" required, ſhould not be permitted; which cannot be conceiv'd to be a
" deveſting them of any Authority given them by both Houſes.

" And as to the late Alteration of Government here, expreſſed in
" your Letters, although his Majeſty in his high Wiſdom adjudged it fit
" to alter one of thoſe Governours, which he had placed here, which
" was no more than He, and his Royal Predeceſſors had uſually done in
" all Ages, as often as they thought fit, yet that made no Alteration in
" the Government; but it in all times continued, and ſtill continues
" the ſame, though in other Perſons.

" That part of your Letters which declares, that you are forbidden
" to tell Us what Supplies of Money, Victual, Ammunition, and other
" Neceſſaries, were then in a good forwardneſs to be ſent hither for
" the Support of the Officers, and Soldiers here, requires no Anſwer on
" Our parts, other than this truth, that they are not yet arriv'd here.
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to the Weſt; or rather to ſeek him out by viſiting *Hampſhire*, and *Suſſex*, if the other were not ready to advance.

The Court at *Oxford* was much encreaſed by the Queen's Preſence, and the neceſſities were increaſed with the expence. All correſpondence was abſolutely broken with *London*, inſomuch as a ſworn Meſſenger of the Chamber, ſent to *London* with a Writ, and Proclamation for the Adjournment of the Term to *Oxford*, was apprehended as a Spy (as hath been ſaid before) and executed by Martial Law; and the two Houſes had cauſed a Great Seal to be made with the King's Image, and Inſcription, and put the ſame into the hands of Commiſſioners; and ſo the Courts were continued in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, for the diſpatch of Juſtice (as they call'd it) as had been formerly, notwithſtanding the King's Proclamation. The money, which by the particular Perſons of all conditions had been very plentifully ſupplied in the beginning of the War, now near ſpent, and the ſtopping the intercourſe with *London*, had ſhut the door againſt farther Supply; ſo that all Men were weary of the condition they were in, and expreſſed it as weary Men uſed to do, in Murmurs and Complaints. And now all the hope was in the Covention of the Members of Parliament; which being a new thing, ſuſpended the preſent indiſpoſition, and adminiſter'd ſome expectation, what they, who came from all Quarters of the Kingdom, would do.

The Members of both Houſes met at Oxford.

According to the King's Proclamation, the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, who had withdrawn out of Conſcience and Duty from thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, appear'd at *Oxford* at the day appointed; except ſuch as could not reaſonably be abſent from their Commands in the Counties, where the Armies were. They were graciouſly, and ſolemnly welcom'd by his Majeſty, with that Cermony which is uſed at the opening of a Parliament; when his Majeſty told them:

The Subſtance of the King's Speech to them.

" That he had called them to be Witneſſes of his Actions, and privy " to his Intentions; and that he deſir'd to receive any Advice from them, " which they thought would be ſuitable to the miſerable and diſtracted " condition of the Kingdom; in preſenting whereof, they ſhould uſe all " that Parliamentary freedom which would be due to them if they were " with him at *Weſtminſter*, and which, with all their other Privileges, " they ſhould enjoy at *Oxford*, though they could not in the other place; with many expreſſions of grace towards them, and confidence in them. As ſoon as they had withdrawn to thoſe places which were aſſign'd to their Counſels, both Lords and Commons enter'd upon the deliberation of all poſſible expedients, in order to Peace; moſt Men believing, according to the reaſon and conſcience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was greater, to diſpoſe thoſe at *London* to the honeſty and confidence of a Treaty, than, in that Treaty, to agree on ſuch Concluſions as might be ſatisfactory to all Parties; judging it impoſſible, that Men could deſire to bring ruin and deſolation upon their Country, if they were once perſwaded that it might be prevented with their own preſervation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a diſpoſition to intercourſe, appear'd very hard, When they thought of adviſing the King to ſend a gracious Meſſage and Overture to the two Houſes, they preſently remember'd, and conſider'd, what his Majeſty had already done that way, and how ill returns of Reverence and Duty, he had receiv'd from them: That to the two laſt Meſſages he had ſent (it being not poſſible now to ſend any more gracious and obliging) they had never return'd Anſwer, and that they ſtill detain'd his laſt Meſſenger in ſtrict durance, after having expoſed him to a Trial for his Life at a Court of War: That they had prohibited any kind of Addreſs to be made to them from his Majeſty, except through the hands of the Earl of *Eſſex* their General. From thence thoſe at *Oxford* enter'd upon the

the diſpoſition, how they might engage his Lordſhip to the ſame thoughts and deſires with them; to the which they eaſily believ'd, Experience, Obſervation, and Intereſt, would engage him. They perſwaded themſelves, that the principal ground which had hitherto fruſtrated all Overtures from his Majeſty towards Peace, was the Conſcience thoſe at *Weſtminſter* had of their own guilt, and the jealouſy, that proceeded from thence, that no Peace could ſecure them, whilſt there was power left in his Majeſty; but that they could not poſſibly ſuſpect the performance and exact obſervation of any agreement, which ſhould be concluded upon the interceſſion of all the King's Party; which muſt be ſecurity for the accompliſhment of it. From the reaſonableneſs of this Aſſertion, they entertain'd an Aſſurance, that the Earl of *Eſſex* would as greedily embrace the opportunity, and concur with them in promoting the Overture; which was all they deſired; for that would remove thoſe forms, which, as ſo many Rocks, were in the way Hereupon the Lords and Commons, the Members of both Houſes, reſolv'd to write a Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, in their own Names, which, with the King's Conſent, was by Trumpet ſent to him, within four days after their meeting. The Letter was in theſe very Terms.

My Lord,

They ſend a Letter to the Earl of Eſſex.

"His Majeſty having, by his Proclamation of the 22d. of *December* "(upon the occaſion of the Invaſion threaten'd, and in part begun, by ſome "of his Subjects of *Scotland*) ſummon'd all the Members of both Houſes of Par- "liament, to attend him here at *Oxford*, We whoſe Names are underwrit- "ten, are here met and aſſembled, in obedience to thoſe his Majeſty's Com- "mands. His Majeſty was pleaſed to invite Us, in the ſaid Proclamation, "by theſe gracious Expreſſions, that his Subjects ſhould ſee, how willing he "was to receive Advice, for the preſervation of the Religion, Laws, and "Safety of the Kingdom, and as far as in him lay, to reſtore it to it's former "Peace and Security (his chief and only end) from thoſe whom they had "truſted; though he could not receive it in the place where he appointed. This "moſt gracious Invitation hath not only been made good unto Us, but ſe- "conded, and heighten'd by ſuch unqueſtionable Demonſtrations of the "deep and Princely ſenſe, which poſſeſſes his Royal heart, of the Miſeries, "and Calamities of his poor Subjects in this unnatural War, and of his "moſt entire and paſſionate Affections to redeem them from that ſad and de- "plorable condition, by all ways poſſible, conſiſtent either with his Hon- "our, or with the future Safety of the Kingdom, that as it were impiety to "queſtion the ſincerity of them, ſo were it great want of duty and faithfulneſs "in Us (his Majeſty having vouchſafed to declare, that he did call Us to be "Witneſſes of his Actions, and Privy to his Intentions) ſhould We not Teſti- "fy, and Witneſs to all the world, the Aſſurance We have of the piety and "ſincerity of both. We being moſt entirely ſatisfied of this truth, We cannot "but confeſs, that amidſt our higheſt Afflictions, in the deep and piercing ſenſe "of the preſent miſeries and deſolations of our Country, and thoſe farther "dangers threaten'd from *Scotland*, We are at length erected to ſome chear- "ful and comfortable thoughts, that poſſibly We may yet (by God's mercy, "if his juſtice have not determin'd this Nation, for it's Sins, to total ruin "and deſolation) hope to be happy Inſtruments of our Countries redemption, "from the miſeries of War, and reſtitution to the bleſſing of Peace.

"And We being deſirous to believe your Lordſhip, however engaged, "a Perſon likely to be ſenſibly touched with theſe conſiderations, have "thought fit to invite you to that part in this bleſſed work, which is only capa- "ble to repair all our misfortunes, and to buoy up the Kingdom from ruin; "that is, by Conjuring you by all the obligations that have Power upon "Honour, Conſcience, or Publick Piety, that laying to Heart, as We do, "the inward bleeding Condition of your Country, and the outward more mena- "cing deſtruction by a Forreign Nation, upon the very point of Invading it,

" you will cooperate with us to it's preſervation, by truly repreſenting " to, and faithfully and induſtriouſly promoting with thoſe by whom you are " truſted, this following moſt ſincere, and moſt earneſt deſire of ours; that " they joyning with us in a right ſenſe of the paſt, preſent, and more threat- " ning Calamities of this deplorable Kingdom, ſome Perſons be appointed on " either part, and a place agreed on, to Treat of ſuch a Peace, as may yet re- " deem it from the brink of Deſolation.

" This Addreſs We ſhould not have made, but that his Majeſty's Sum- " mons, by which We are met, moſt graciouſly proclaiming Pardon to all " without exception, is evidence enough, that his mercy and clemency can " tranſcend all former provocations; and that he hath not only made us wit- " neſſes of his Princely Intentions, but honour'd us alſo with the Name " of being ſecurity for them. God Almighty direct your Lordſhip, and " thoſe to whom you ſhall preſent theſe our moſt real deſires, in ſuch a Courſe " as may produce that happy Peace, and Settlement of the preſent Diſtra- " ctions; which is ſo heartily deſired, and pray'd for, by us, and which " may make us,

" Your *&c.*

From Oxford 29th. *of Jan.* 1643.

This Letter was Subſcribed by his Highneſs the Prince, the Duke of *York*, and three and forty Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, and Barons, and one hundred and eighteen Members of the Houſe of Commons; there being ſuch expedition uſed in the diſpatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferr'd for a greater Subſcription: Albeit it was known that many Lords and Commoners were upon the way, who came within few days; and there were, at that time, near twenty Peers abſent with his Majeſty's leave, and employ'd in his Affairs, and Armies, in the Kingdom; and ten at the ſame time in the Parts beyond the Seas. So that the Numbers at *London* were very thin; for there were not above two and twenty Peers, who either ſat in the Parliament, or were engaged in their Party; that is to ſay, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Lincoln*, *Rutland*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, *Warwick*, *Mancheſter*, *Mulgrave*, *Denbigh*, *Stamford*, *Bullingbrook*; the Lords *Say*, *Dacres*, *Wharton*, *Grey* of *Wark*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, *Rochfort*, and *Roberts*; who were preſent, or had Proxies there.

The Trumpeter found the Earl of *Eſſex* at his Houſe in *London*, where he was detain'd three or four days; during which time, the Committee of both Houſes, that Committee which they called the Committee of Safety for the two Kingdoms (the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners being a part of it) reſorted to the Earl for his Advice: and in the end, the Trumpeter return'd with this ſhort Letter to the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General.

My Lord,

The Earl of Eſſex's *Anſwer directed to the Earl of* Forth. *with the two following Declarations.*

" I Receiv'd this Day a Letter, of the 29th of this inſtant, from your " Lordſhip, and a Parchment Subſcribed by the Prince, Duke of *York*, " and divers other Lords and Gentlemen; but it neither having Addreſs to the " two Houſes of Parliament, nor therein, there being any acknowledgment " of them, I could not communicate it to them. My Lord, the Mainte- " nance of the Parliament of *England*, and of the Privileges thereof, is that " for which We are reſolv'd to ſpend our Blood; as being the foundation " whereupon all our Laws, and Liberties are built. I ſend your Lordſhip " herewith a National Covenant, ſolemnly enter'd into by both the Kingdoms " of *England* and *Scotland*; and a Declaration paſſed by them both together, " with another Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. I reſt

Your Lordſhips *&c.*

What

What the Covenant was, being the ſame particularly ſet down before, I need not mention; and the Declarations are as publick, and would be thought too large to be in this place inſerted, to the interruption of the thread of this diſcourſe; yet it cannot be amiſs to make a ſhort Extract of ſome particular heads, or concluſions of them; that the World may ſee what kind of reaſoning this time had introduced, and that they were as bold with God as with the King.

An Extract of the Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland.

That Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* alone, was, to juſtify their preſent Expedition into *England*; in which they ſaid, "It was moſt neceſ-"ſary, that every one, againſt all doubting, ſhould be perſwaded in his mind "of the lawfulneſs of his Undertaking, and of the goodneſs of the Cauſe main-"tain'd by him; which they ſaid was no other, than the good of Religion "in *England*, and the deliverance of their Brethren out of the depths of Af-"fliction; the preſervation of their own Religion, and of themſelves from "the extremity of Miſery, and the Safety of their Native King, and his "Kingdoms, from deſtruction and deſolation. Any one of which (they ſaid) "by all Law divine, and humane, was too juſt cauſe of taking of Arms; "how much more, when all of them were joyn'd in one? And therefore, "they wiſh'd any Man, who did withdraw, and hide himſelf in ſuch a De-"bate and Controverſy, to conſider; whether he were not a hater of his "Brethren, againſt Chriſtian and common Charity; an hater of Himſelf "and his Poſterity, againſt the law and light of Nature; an hater of the "King, and his Kingdoms, againſt Loyalty, and common Duty; and a "hater of God, againſt all Religion, and Peace.

They ſaid, "The Queſtion was not, nor need they diſpute, whether they "might propagate their Religion by Arms? but whether, according to their "power, they ought to aſſiſt their Brethren in *England*, who were calling "for their help, and were ſhedding their Blood in defence of that Power, "without which Religion could neither be defended, nor reform'd; nor u-"nity of Religion with them, and other Reform'd Kirks, be attained. So "that, they ſaid, the Queſtion was no ſooner rightly ſtated, but it was af-"ſoon reſolv'd; and concluded, *That the Lord would ſave them from the curſe "of Meroz, who came not to help the Lord againſt the Mighty.* They ſaid, the "Queſtion could not be, as their Enemies would make it, whether they ſhould "enter into *England*, and liſt Arms againſt their own King, who had pro-"miſed and done as much, as might ſecure them in their own Religion, "and Liberties; but whether againſt the Popiſh, Prelatical, and Malignant "Party, their Adherents prevailing in *England* and *Ireland*, they were not "bound to provide for their own preſervation. That they might well have "known, from their continual Experience, ever ſince the time of their firſt "Reformation, eſpecially after the two Kingdoms were united under one "Head and Monarch, and from the Principles of their own Declarations, "in the time of their late Troubles and Dangers, that they could not long, "like *Goſhen*, enjoy their light, if darkneſs ſhould cover the face of other "Reform'd Kirks: that *Juda* could not long continue in Liberty, if *Iſrael* "were led away in Captivity; and that the Condition of the one Kirk and "Kingdom, whether in Religion or Peace, muſt be common to both.

"They ſaid the Queſtion was not, Whether they ſhould preſume to be "Arbitrators in the matter, now debated by Fire and Sword, betwixt his "Majeſty and the Houſes of Parliament; which might ſeem to be forreign "and extrinſecal to that Nation, and wherein they might be conceiv'd "to have no Intereſt; but, Whether, their Mediation and Interceſſion be-"ing rejected by the one Side, upon hope of Victory, or ſuppoſe by both "Sides, upon Confidence of their own ſtrength and ſeveral Succeſſes, it "were not their Duty, it being in their Power, to ſtop or prevent the Effu-"ſion of Chriſtian Blood; or, Whether they ought not to endeavour to re-"ſcue their Native King, his Crown and Poſterity, out of the midſt of ſo "many dangers, and to preſerve his People and Kingdom from Ruin and "Deſtruction. If every private Man were bound in Duty to interpoſe

" himſelf as a Reconciler, and Sequeſtrator between his Neighbours, arm'd " to their mutual Deſtruction; if the Son ought to hazard his own Life for " the preſervation of his Father and Brother, at Variance one againſt the " other, ſhould a Kingdom ſit ſtill, and ſuffer their King and Neighbouring " Kingdom to periſh in an unnatural War? in the time of Animoſity, and " appetite of Revenge, ſuch an Interpoſing might be an irritation; but after- " wards, when the Eyes of the Mind, no more blood-run with Paſſion, did " diſcern things right, it would be no grief or offence of Heart, but mat- " ter of Thankſgiving to God, and to the Inſtruments which had kept from " ſhedding Blood, and from Revenge.

With this kind of Divinity, and this kind of Logick, to ſhew that they had a clear proſpect of whatever could be ſaid againſt them, they reſolv'd to Invade their Neighbour Nation, and to interpoſe themſelves as Reconcilers, by joyning againſt their Native and Natural King, with his Rebellious Subjects, in all the Acts of Animoſity and Blood, which have been ever practiced in the moſt raging, and furious Civil War.

An Extract of the Declaration of England *and* Scotland.

The other Declaration, mention'd in the Earl's Letter, was a Declaration paſſed, and publiſhed in the Name of both Kingdoms, *England* and *Scotland*, after their Marriage by their new League and Covenant, and about the very time that this very Overture for Peace came from *Oxford*. They were now both equally inſpired with the *Scotch* Dialect and Spirit; talked, " How " clearly the light of the Goſpel ſhined amongſt them; that they placed not " their Confidence in their own Counſels and Strength; but their Confidence " was in God Almighty, the Lord of Hoſts, who would not leave nor for- " ſake his People. It was his own Truth and Cauſe, which they maintain'd " againſt the Hereſy, Superſtition, and Tyranny of Anti Chriſt: the Glory " of his Name, the Exaltation of the Kingdom of his Son, and the Pre- " ſervation of his Church was their aim, and the end which they had be- " fore their Eyes. It was His Covenant, which they had ſolemnly in both " Nations Sworn and Subſcribed; which he would not have put in their " Hearts to do, if he had been minded to deſtroy them. Upon theſe and " the like Grounds and Conſiderations, being confident that this War, " wherein both Nations were ſo firmly united, and deeply engaged, was of " God, they reſolve with Courage and Conſtancy to the end to do their " part; and the Lord who had ſtirr'd up their Spirits, diſplay'd his Banner " before them, and given the Alarm, do that which ſeemeth him good.

They gave now " Publick warning to all Men to reſt no longer upon " their Neutrality, or to pleaſe themſelves with the naughty and ſlothful pre- " text of indifferency; but that they addreſs themſelves ſpeedily to take the " Covenant, and joyn with all their power, in the Defence of this Cauſe " againſt the Common Enemy; and by their Zeal, and forwardneſs hereaf- " ter, to make up what had been wanting through their Lukewarmneſs; this " they would find to be their greateſt Wiſdom, and Safety; otherwiſe they " did declare them to be Publick Enemies to their Religion, and Country; " and that they were to be cenſur'd and puniſh'd, as profeſſed Adverſaries, " and Malignants.

Then they proclaim'd " A Pardon to all thoſe who would before ſuch a day " deſert the King, and adhere to them, and take the Covenant; and con- cluded, " That they made not that Declaration, from any preſumption, or " vain glorying in the ſtrength of their Armies and Forces, but from the " ſenſe of their Duty, which was required and expected from the high " Places, and publick Relations, wherein they ſtood; and from the As- " ſurance they had of the Aſſiſtance of God, by whoſe Providence, the Truſt " and Safety of thoſe Kingdoms were put into their hands at this time; " having; after long and grave Conſultations, reſolv'd and decreed never to " lay down Arms. till Truth and Peace, by the bleſſing of God, be ſettled " in this Iſland, upon a firm foundation for the preſent, and future Gene- " rations; which, they ſaid, ſhould be eſteeem'd of them an abundant re- " ward of all that they could do, or ſuffer in that Cauſe.

Theſe

Theſe were the Declarations which the Earl of *Eſſex*, together with the Covenant, ſent, as an Anſwer to that Letter from the Prince of *Wales*, and thoſe Lords and Gentlemen; which might have been the foundation of an Honeſt, and Honourable Peace to all the King's Dominions. And I cannot but obſerve, that after this time that the Earl declin'd this opportunity of declaring himſelf, he never did proſperous Act in the remainder of his Life; but whereas before, he had throughout the Courſe of his Command, how unwarrantably ſoever undertaken, behaved himſelf with very ſignal Courage and Conduct, and at this time was adorn'd with the Teſtimony of Friends and Enemies, of a right good General, upon the concluſion of the buſineſs of *Gloceſter*; he never, after his taking this Covenant, and writing this Letter, did one Succeſsful thing; but prov'd Unfortunate in all he went about, even to his Death; of which We ſhall ſay more in it's place.

We the rather extracted theſe ſhort Clauſes of thoſe two Declarations, that Poſterity may obſerve the Divine Hand of Almighty God upon the People of theſe miſerable Kingdoms; that after they had broken looſe from that excellent Form and Practice of Religion, which their Anceſtors, and Themſelves had obſerv'd, and enjoy'd, with a greater meaſure of Happineſs, than almoſt any Nation liv'd under, ſo long a time; and after they had cancelled, and thrown off thoſe admirable and incomparable Laws of Government, which was compounded of ſo much exact reaſon, that all poſſible Miſchiefs were foreſeen, and provided againſt by it; they ſhould be now Captivated by a Prophane and preſumptuous entitling themſelves to God's Favour, and uſing his holy Name in that manner, that all ſober Chriſtians muſt ſtand ſcandalized, and amazed at; and ſhould be deluded by ſuch a kind of reaſoning and debate, as, one would think, could only impoſe upon Men unnurtur'd, and unacquainted with any Knowledge or Science.

There wanted not a juſt indignation at the return of this Trumpet; and yet the Anſwer being ſo much in that Popular Road, of ſaying ſomething plauſibly to the People, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at leaſt the World might ſee, that they did, in plain *Engliſh*, refuſe to admit of any Peace. So the Earl of *Forth* was adviſed to write again to the other General, for a Safe Conduct for two Gentlemen then named, againſt whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from *Weſtminſter*, to be ſent by his Majeſty concerning a Treaty of Peace. To this the Earl of *Eſſex* return'd Anſwer, "That whenſoever he ſhould receive any "directions to thoſe who had intruſted him, he ſhould uſe his beſt endea- "vours; and when a Safe Conduct ſhould be deſir'd for thoſe Gentlemen, "mention'd in his Letter, from his Majeſty to the Houſes of Parliament, his "Lordſhip would, with all chearfulneſs, ſhew his willingneſs to farther any "way that might produce that happineſs, which all honeſt Men pray'd for; "which is a true underſtanding between his Majeſty, and his faithful, and only "Council, the Parliament.

This expreſſion of his reſolution of interpoſing, if he had a Letter from his Majeſty to the Houſes of Parliament (together with ſome intimation in Letters from *London*, which at theſe Seaſons never wanted) perſwaded many, that the Earl wanted only an opportunity to poſſeſs the Houſes with the Overture, and if it were once within the Walls, there were ſo many well affected to Peace, that the propoſition would not be rejected; though no particular Perſon, or Combination of Men, had the Courage, of themſelves, to propoſe it. And therefore at the ſame time, making all poſſible preparations for the Field, as the Scene where the differences were like to be decided, his Majeſty was prevailed with, though he concluded it would be rejected, to ſend this enſuing Meſſage, which was encloſed to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to be by him managed.

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes.

" Out of Our moſt tender and pious Senſe of the ſad and bleeding Con-
" dition of this Our Kingdom, and Our unwearied deſires to apply all
" remedies, which by the bleſſing of Almighty God, may recover it from
" an utter Ruin, by the Advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament,
" aſſembled at *Oxford*, We do propound, and deſire, that a convenient
" Number of fit Perſons may be appointed, and authoriſed by You, to meet,
" with all convenient ſpeed, at ſuch Place as you ſhall Nominate, with
" an equal Number of fit Perſons whom We ſhall appoint, and authoriſe to
" Treat of the ways and means to ſettle the preſent Diſtractions of this
" our Kingdom, and to procure a happy Peace: And particularly, how all
" the Members of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in a full and free Conven-
" tion of Parliament, there to Treat, Conſult, and Agree upon ſuch things
" as may conduce to the maintenance, and defence of the true Reform'd
" Proteſtant Religion, with due conſideration to all juſt, and reaſonable eaſe
" of tender Conſciences; to the ſettling and maintaining of our juſt Rights
" and Privileges, of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, the Laws
" of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and all other Ex-
" pedients, that may conduce to that bleſſed end of a firm and laſting
" Peace both in Church and State, and a perfect underſtanding betwixt Us
" and our People: wherein no Endeavours, or Concurrence of Ours ſhall be
" wanting: And God direct your Hearts in the way of Peace.

Given at our Court at Oxford, 3d. March 1643.

This Meſſage being ſign'd by his Majeſty, was ſuperſcribed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*; which, though it was a Style they could not reaſonably except againſt, was yet no other than the Lords and Commons at *Oxford* took upon themſelves, as they well might. After two or three debates in the Houſes, and with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, without whoſe Concurrence nothing was tranſacted, this Anſwer was return'd to his Majeſty; which put a period to all Men's hopes, who imagin'd that there might be any diſpoſition in thoſe Councils to any poſſible, and honeſt Accommodation.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty.

The two Houſes Anſwer.

" We the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England*,
" taking into our conſideration a Letter ſent from your Majeſty, dated the 3d.
" of *March* inſtant, and directed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament
" aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* (which by the contents of a Letter from the Earl
" of *Forth* unto the Lord General the Earl of *Eſſex*, We conceive was
" intended to our ſelves) have reſolv'd with the concurrent Advice, and
" Conſent of the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to repreſent to your
" Majeſty, in all humility and plainneſs, as followeth: That as We have uſed
" all means for a juſt and ſafe Peace, ſo will We never be wanting to do
" our utmoſt for the procuring thereof; but when We conſider the ex-
" preſſions in that Letter of your Majeſty's, We have more ſad and deſpairing
" thoughts of attaining the ſame than ever; becauſe thereby thoſe Perſons
" now aſſembled at *Oxford*, who, contrary to their Duty, have deſerted
" your Parliament, are put into an equal Condition with it. And this
" preſent Parliament, conven'd according to known and fundamental Laws
" of the Kingdom (the continuance whereof is eſtabliſh'd by a Law conſented
" to by your Majeſty) is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the ſcope and
" intention of that Letter being to make proviſion how all the Members, as is
" pretended, of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in a full and free Convention
" of Parliament; whereof no other concluſion can be made, but that this pre-
" ſent Parliament is not a full, nor free Convention; and that to make it a

" full

" full and free Convention of Parliament, the preſence of thoſe is neceſſary, " who notwithſtanding that they have deſerted that great Truſt, and do levy " War againſt the Parliament, are pretended to be Members of the two Houſes " of Parliament.

" And hereupon We think our ſelves bound to let your Majeſty know, " that ſeeing the continuance of this Parliament is ſettled by a Law, which " (as all other Laws of your Kingdom) your Majeſty hath ſworn to maintain, " as We are ſworn to our Allegiance to your Majeſty (theſe obligations be- " ing reciprocal) We muſt in duty, and accordingly are reſolv'd, with our " Lives and Fortunes, to defend and preſerve the juſt Rights and full power " of this Parliament; and do beſeech your Majeſty to be aſſured, that your " Majeſty's Royal and hearty concurrence with Us herein, will be the moſt " effectual and ready means of procuring a firm and laſting Peace in all your " Majeſty's Dominions, and begetting a perfect Underſtanding between your " Majeſty and your People: without which, your Majeſty's moſt earneſt " profeſſions, and our moſt real Intentions concerning the ſame, muſt ne- " ceſſarily be fruſtrated. And in caſe your Majeſty's three Kingdoms ſhould " by reaſon thereof, remain in this ſad and bleeding condition, tending, by " the continuance of this unnatural War, to their ruin, your Majeſty can- " not be the leaſt, nor the laſt Sufferer. God in his goodneſs incline your " Royal breaſt, out of pity and compaſſion to thoſe deep ſufferings of your " innocent People, to put a ſpeedy and happy Iſſue to theſe deſperate evils, " by the joynt advice of both your Kingdoms, now happily united in this " Cauſe by their late ſolemn League and Covenant; which as it will prove " the ſureſt remedy, ſo it is the earneſt prayer of your Majeſty's loving Sub- " jects, the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England*.

Gray of Warke
Speaker of the Houſe of Peers in Parliament
[pro tempore;

Weſtminſter the
9th of March 1643.

William Lenthall
Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament.

Means agreed upon by the Lords and Commons at Oxford *to raiſe Money.*

The hope of Peace, by this kind of interpoſition, did not in any degree make the Counſels remiſs for the providing of Money to ſupply the Army: Upon which they had more hope than for a Treaty. But the Expedients for Money were not eaſily thought on; though there was a conſiderable part of the Kingdom within the King's Quarters, the Inhabitants were frequently robbed, and plunder'd by the Incurſions of the Enemy, and not very well ſecured againſt the Royal Troops, who begun to practice all the Licenſe of War. The Nobility, and Gentry, who were not Officers of the Army, lived for the moſt part in *Oxford*; and all that they could draw from their Eſtates, was but enough for their own Subſiſtance; they durſt not enter upon charging the People in general, leſt they ſhould be thought to take upon them to be a Parliament; and their care was, that the Common People might be preſerv'd from Burthens; and they were as careful not to expoſe the King's Honour, or Name, to affronts and refuſals; but were willing that the Envy and Clamour, if there ſhould be any, ſhould fall upon Themſelves.

They appointed all the Members of the Commons, " To bring in the " Names of all the Gentlemen of Eſtate, and other Perſons who were repu- " ted to be rich, within their ſeveral precincts; and what Sum of Money every " Body might be well able to ſupply the King with, in this exigent of the

" publick State. And then a form of a Letter was conceiv'd, which ſhould " be ſent to every one of them, for ſuch a Sum; the Letter to be Subſcribed " by the two Speakers of the Houſes, to the end that the People might " know, that it was by the advice of the Members of Parliament aſſembled " there; which was as much the advice of Parliament, as could be deliver'd " at that time in the Kingdom. When the way and method of this was approv'd by the Lords, and his Majeſty likewiſe conſented to it; they begun, the better to encourage others, with Themſelves; and cauſed Letters to be ſign'd and deliver'd to the ſeveral Members of both Houſes, " For ſuch Sums as they " were well diſpoſed to furniſh; which were to that proportion as gave good Encouragement to others; and the like Letters to all Perſons of condition who were in the Town. And by this means, there was a Sum raiſed in ready Money, and Credit, that did ſupply many neceſſary occaſions, near the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, whereof ſome came in every day to enable the King to provide for the next Campagne; which, the Spring coming on, was to be expected early; the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* having raiſed vaſt Sums of Money, and being like to bring many Armies into the Field. All, who were to furniſh Money upon theſe Letters, had liberty to bring, or ſend it in Plate, if that was for their convenience; the King having called the Officers and Workmen of his Mint to *Oxford*, who Coyn'd ſuch Plate as was brought in; his Majeſty likewiſe made a Grant of ſome Forreſts, Parks, and other Lands, to certain Perſons in Truſt, for the ſecuring of ſuch Money as ſhould be borrow'd, or thoſe Perſons who ſhould be bound for the payment of ſuch Money; and by this means likewiſe many conſiderable Sums of Money were procured, and Cloth, and, Shoes, and Shirts, were provided for the Army.

The two Houſes at Weſtminſter *impoſe an Exciſe.*

The two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, who called themſelves, and they are often called in this diſcourſe, the Parliament, had at this time by an Ordinance, that is an Order of both Houſes, laid an Impoſition, which they called an Exciſe, upon Wine, Beer, Ale, and many other Commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically ſet down by them, for the carrying on the War. This was the firſt time, that ever the Name of payment of Exciſe was heard of, or practiced in *England*; laid on by thoſe who pretended to be moſt jealous of any exaction upon the People: and this Pattern being then printed, and publiſhed at *London*, was thought by the Members at *Oxford*, as a good Expedient to be followed by the King; and thereupon it was ſettled, and to be govern'd, and regulated by Commiſſioners, in the ſame Mtthod it was done at *London*. And in *Oxford*, *Briſtol*, and other Garriſons, it did yield a reaſonable ſupply for the Proviſion of Arms and Ammunition; which, for the moſt part, it was aſſign'd to; both ſides making ample Declarations with bitter reproaches upon the neceſſity that drew on this impoſition, " That it ſhould be continued no longer than to the " end of the War, and then laid down, and utterly aboliſh'd; which few wiſe Men believ'd it would ever be.

The two Houſes at Oxford *follow the Example*

The high and inſolent proceedings at *Weſtminſter*, made no impreſſion at *Oxford* towards the ſhaking the Allegiance, and Courage of thoſe whom his Majeſty had called to adviſe him. But when they found the temper of thoſe ſo much, above belief, averſe to Peace, and intending utter ruin to the King, the Church, and all who ſhould continue true *Engliſh* Men and Subjects, they reſolv'd as frankly to declare their Reſolutions, that the People might ſee the Iſſue they were at; and therefore they publiſh'd a Declaration of the Grounds and Motives which had forced them to leave the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; in which they mention'd " All the indirect Paſſages, and the " Acts of Violence, by which they had been driven thence; and the obligations upon them in Conſcience, and Law, to adhere to his Majeſty; and " the miſery which the other Party had already brought upon the Kingdom, " and the deſolations which muſt inevitably follow thoſe concluſions: and " with a greater Unanimity and Conſent, than was ever known in ſo great

The Subſtance of the Declaration of the Lords and Commons at Oxford.

a

a Council, where there were ſo many Perſons of Honour, and Judges, and others Learned in the Law, among whom there was ſcarce one diſſenting Voice, they declared,

1. "That all ſuch Subjects of *Scotland*, as had conſented to the Declaration, "entitled the Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concerning the preſent "Expedition into *England*, had thereby denounced War againſt the King-"dom of *England*, and broke the Act of Pacification.

2. "That all his Majeſty's Subjects of the Kingdom of *England* and Domi-"nion of *Wales*, are both by their Allegiance, and the Act of Pacification, "bound to reſiſt and repreſs all thoſe of *Scotland* as had, or ſhould enter upon "any part of his Majeſty's Realm and Dominions, as Traytors, and Enemies "to the State; and that whoſoever ſhould Abet, Aid, and Aſſiſt the *Scots* "in their Invaſion, ſhould be deem'd as Traytors and Enemies to the State.

3. "That the Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſtminſter*, that had "given their Votes, or Conſent to the raiſing of Forces under the Com-"mand of the Earl of *Eſſex*, or had been Abetting, Aiding, or Aſſiſting there-"unto, had levied and raiſed War againſt the King, and were therein guilty "of High Treaſon.

4. "That thoſe Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſtminſter*, that "had given their Votes and Conſents for the making and uſing a new Great "Seal, had thereby Counterfeited the King's Great Seal, and therein com-"mitted High Treaſon.

5. "That the Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſtminſter*, who "had given their Conſents to the preſent coming in of the *Scots* in a War-"like manner, had therein committed High Treaſon: and that in theſe "three laſt Crimes, they had broken the Truſt repoſed in them by their Coun-"try, and ought to be proceeded againſt as Traytors to the King, and King-"dom.

So that the Engagement ſeem'd fuller of Animoſity on both ſides, than ever; and the King exceedingly ſtrengthen'd by the Lords and Commons having more poſitively and concernedly wedded his Cauſe, than they were before underſtood to have done; and in truth, in the Civil Counſels, nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable Advancement.

It had been very happy for the King, if the Winter had been ſpent only in thoſe Counſels which might have provided Money, and facilitated the making his Army ready to take the Field in the Spring; when he was ſure to have occaſion enough to uſe it; and to be in great diſtreſs, if it ſhould not be then in a condition to march; but the Invaſion, which the *Scots* made in the depth of Winter, and the Courage the Enemy took from thence, deprived his Majeſty even of any reſt in that Seaſon. Upon the *Scots* unexpected march into *England* in *January*, in a moſt violent Froſt and Snow, hoping to reach *New-Caſtle* before it could be Fortified, and perſwading their Common Soldiers, that it would be deliver'd to them as ſoon as required; thither the vigilant Sir *Thomas Glemham* had been before ſent to attend their Coming, and the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* with his Army, upon the fame of their Invaſion, marched thither with a reſolution to Fight with them before they ſhould be able to joyn with the *Engliſh* Rebels; leaving in the mean time the Command of *York*, and the Forces for the guard of that County, to Colonel *John Bellaſis*, Son to the Lord *Falconbridge*, a Perſon of great Intereſt in the Country, and of exemplary Induſtry and Courage. But by this means, and the remove of the Marquis with his Army ſo far North, the Enemy grew to a great ſtrength in thoſe Parts; and not only able to diſquiet *York ſhire*, but drawing a great Body of Horſe and Foot out of *Derby-ſhire*, *Stafford-ſhire*, and *Lincoln-ſhire*, ſat down before his Majeſty's Garriſon of *Newark* upon *Trent*, with a full confidence to take it; and ſo to cut off all correſpondence between his Majeſty and the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*. And Sir *Thomas Fairfax* from *Hull*, in the head of a ſtrong Party, had fallen upon a Quarter not far from *York*, Commanded by Colonel *John Bellaſis* at *Selby*, and had totally Defeated it, taken the Cannon, and many Officers Priſoners, and amongſt thoſe the Colonel himſelf. This was the firſt Action for which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was taken Notice of; who in a ſhort time grew the ſupreme General under the Par-

The Marquis of New-Caſtle *marches to oppoſe the* Scots.

Sir Thomas Fairfax *Defeats and takes Col.* Bellaſis *at* Selby.

Parliament. This Defeat, which was great in it ſelf, was made much greater by the terrible apprehenſions the City of *York* had upon it; inſomuch that the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, who till then had kept the *Scots* at a Bay, found it neceſſary to withdraw his Army, and with great part of it to make haſte into *York*, to prevent any farther miſchiefs there; by which means the *Scots* were at liberty to advance as they pleaſed; and *Fairfax* improv'd his Reputation by a ſpeedy, and unlook'd for march into *Cheſhire*.

Whereupon the Marquis of New-caſtle *retires to* York.

Upon the Ceſſation in *Ireland*, the King made the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and appointed him to make uſe of the Winter Seaſon (when the Parliament Ships could not attend that Coaſt) to tranſport thoſe Regiments of Foot which might be well ſpared during the Ceſſation, and which could not be ſupported there, to *Cheſter*; from whence his Majeſty could eaſily draw them in the Spring to *Oxford*, and were, in truth, the principal Recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the Field. The Lord *Byron* then Commanded *Cheſter*, and that County; and was appointed to take care for the reception, and accommodation of thoſe Troops; which was a right good Body of Foot, and being excellent Men, both Officers and Soldiers, carried great terror with them from the time of their Landing; and quickly freed North *Wales* from the Enemy; who at that time begun to have great power there. It was towards the end of *November* when they Landed, and being a People who had been uſed to little eaſe in *Ireland*, the King having given the Lord *Byron* leave to employ them in ſuch Services as might ſecure that Country, the Seaſon of the year made little impreſſion on them; they were always ready, and deſirous of Action; and in the ſpace of a Month reduced, by Aſſault and Storm, many places of notable importance, as *Howarden*-Caſtle, *Beeſton*-Caſtle, *Crew* Houſe, and other places of ſtrength; and encountring the whole Body of the Rebels, at *Middlewich* in *Cheſhire*, Broke and Defeated them with great Slaughter; and drove all that Surviv'd, and were at liberty, into *Nantwich*; the ſingle Garriſon they had then left in *Cheſhire*: into which the whole Party was retired, and which had been Fortified and Garriſoned from the beginning of the Troubles, as the only refuge for the diſaffected in that County, and the Counties adjacent. The Pride of the late Succeſs, and the Terror the Soldiers believ'd their Names carried with them, carried them at this moſt unſeaſonable time of the year thither; for it was about the firſt week in *January* when the Lord *Byron* came with his Army before the Town, and Summon'd it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unſpeakable importance to the King's Affairs, there being, between that and *Carliſle*, no one Town of Moment (*Manchester* only excepted) which declared againſt the King; and thoſe two populous Counties of *Cheſter*, and *Lancaſhire*, if they had been united againſt the Parliament, would have been a ſtrong Bulwark againſt the *Scots*.

The Marquis of Ormond *made Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *ſends the King Aſſiſtance.*

Theſe conſiderations, and an opinion that the Town would yield as ſoon as Summon'd, brought the Army firſt thither; and then a paſſionate deſire of Honour, and Contempt of the Enemy within, or of any other who could undertake their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and ſo they raiſed Batteries, and undertook a formal Siege againſt the Town. The ſeventeenth day of *January* they made a general Aſſault upon five ſeveral Quarters of the Town, ſomewhat before day-break, but were with equal Courage oppoſed from within, and near three hundred Men loſt, or wounded in the Service; which ſhould have prevailed with them to have quitted their deſign. But thoſe repulſes ſharpen, rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger; and the Aſſailants, no leſs than the Beſieged, deſiring an Army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience long for the ſame thing; the *Iriſh* (for under that name, for diſtinction ſake, we call that Body of Foot, though there was not an *Iriſh* Man amongſt them) ſuppoſing themſelves Superior to any that would encounter them in the Field, and the Horſe being ſuch as might as reaſonably undervalue thoſe who were to oppoſe them.

In this their confidence, ſupply came too ſoon to the Town, and confuſion to the King's Forces: For Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, upon his Victory at *Selby*, brought

brought out of *York ſhire* a good Body of Horſe to *Mancheſter*; and, out of that place, and the neighbours places, drew near threee thouſand Foot, with which, joyning with Sir *William Bruerton*, and ſome other ſcatter'd Forces from *Stafford-ſhire*, and *Derby*, who had been Routed at *Middlewich*, he advanced near *Nantwich*, before he was look'd for; the *Iriſh* being ſo over confident that he would not preſume to attack them, that, though they had Advertiſement of their motion, they ſtill believ'd that his utmoſt deſign was by Alarms to force them to riſe from the Town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their Poſts too long; and when they found it neceſſary to draw off; a little River which divided their Forces, on a ſuddain thaw, ſo much ſwelled above it's Banks, that the Lord *Byron* with the greateſt part of the Horſe, and the Foot which lay on one ſide of the Town, were ſever'd from the reſt, and compelled to march four or five miles, before he could joyn with the other; before which time the other part, being Charged by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* on the one ſide, and from the Town on the other, were broken; and all the Chief Officers forced to retire to a Church call'd *Acton* Church, where they were caught as in a Trap, and the Horſe, by reaſon of the deep ways with the ſuddain thaw, and narrow Lanes, and great Hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themſelves Priſoners to thoſe whom they ſo much deſpiſed two hours before. There were taken, beſides all the Chief and Conſiderable Officers of Foot, near fifteen hundred Soldiers, and all their Cannon, aad Carriages: The Lord *Byron* with his Horſe, and the reſt of his Foot, retiring to *Cheſter*. There cannot be given a better, or it may be, another reaſon for this Defeat, beſides the Providence of God, which was the effect of the other, than the extreme contempt and diſdain this Body had of the Enemy; and the preſumption in their own Strength, Courage, and Conduct; which made them not enough think, and rely upon Him who alone diſpoſes of the event of Battles: though it muſt be acknowledged, moſt of the Officers were Perſons of ſignal Virtue, and Sobriety; and, in their own Natures, of great Modeſty and Piety; ſo hard it is to ſuppreſs thoſe motions, which Succeſs, Valour, and even the Conſcience of the Cauſe, is apt to produce in Men not over much inclined to preſumption.

The Iriſh Forces routed by Sir Thomas Fairfax at Nantwich.

There was another reſult of Council at *Oxford*, in this Winter Seaſon, which deſerves to be mention'd; and the rather, becauſe all the inducements thereunto were not generally underſtood, nor known to many; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more cenſured. When the *Scots* were viſibly Arm'd, and upon their march into *England*, which the King was the laſt Man in believing; and when there was no way to ſtop, or divert them, his Majeſty was the better inclined to hearken to ſome Men of that Nation, who had been long propoſing a way to give them ſo much trouble at home, that they ſhould not be at leiſure to infeſt or trouble their Neighbours; to which Propoſitions leſs care had been given, out of too much confidence in Perſons, upon whoſe integrity or intereſt there had been too great a dependence. The Earl of *Mountroſe*, a young Man of a great Spirit, and of the moſt ancient Nobility, had been one of the moſt principal and Active Covenanters in the beginning of the Troubles; but ſoon after, upon his obſervation of the unwarrantable proſecution of it, he gave over that party, and his Command in that Army; and at the King's being in *Scotland* after the pacification, had made full tender of his Service to his Majeſty; and was ſo much in the jealouſy, and deteſtation of the violent party, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was the Head, that there was no cauſe or room left to doubt his ſincerity to the King.

The Earl of Mountroſe comes to the King, and informs him of the ſtate of Scotland.

Upon the beginning of the Parliament at *Edenborough*, and the manifeſtation that Duke *Hamilton* would give no oppoſition to the proceedings thereof (as hath been mention'd before) the Earl privately withdrew out of *Scotland*, and came to the King few days before the Siege was raiſed from *Gloceſter*, and gave his Majeſty the firſt clear information of the carriage and behaviour of Duke *Hamilton*, and of the poſture that Kingdom would ſpeedily be in, and of the reſolutions that would be there taken; and made ſome ſmart Propoſitions to the King for the remedy; which there was not then time to conſult; but as ſoon as the King retired to *Oxford*, after the Battle

of *Newbury*, and had had fuller intelligence, by the reſort of others of that Nobility who deſerv'd to be truſted, how the Affairs ſtood in *Scotland*; and heard that Duke *Hamilton*, and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanrick*, were upon their way as far as *York* towards *Oxford*; his Majeſty was very willing to hearken to the Earl of *Mountroſe*, and the reſt, what could be done to prevent that miſchief that was like to enſue. But they all unanimouſly declared, "That they durſt make no Propoſitions for the advancement of "the King's Service, except they might be firſt aſſured, that no part of it "ſhould be communicated to Duke *Hamilton*; nor He ſuffer'd to have any "part or ſhare in any Action that ſhould depend upon it; for they were "moſt aſſured that he had always betray'd his Majeſty; and that it had been "abſolutely in his power, to have prevented this new Combination, if he "would reſolutely have oppoſed it. But if they might be ſecure in that "particular, they would make ſome ſuch attempt under his Majeſty's Com-"miſſion in their own Country, as might poſſibly make ſome diſturbance "there. His Majeſty thought he had much leſs reaſon to be confident of the Duke than formerly; for he had expreſly failed of doing ſomewhat which he had promiſed to do; yet he thought, he had not ground enough to withdraw all kind of Truſt from him, except he did, at the ſame time, ſecure him from being able to do him farther miſchief; towards which kind of ſeverity, he did not think he had evidence enough. Beſides he had a very good opinion of the Earl of *Lanrick*, as a Man of much more plainneſs and ſincerity, than his Brother; as in truth he was. That he might bring himſelf to a full reſolution in this important Affair, his Majeſty appointed the Lord Keeper, his two Secretaries, the Maſter of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to examine the Earl of *Mountroſe*, the Earl of *Kinnoul*, the Lord *Ogilby*, and ſome others, upon Oath, of all things they could accuſe Duke *Hamilton*, or his Brother *Lanrick* of; and to take their Examinations in writing; that ſo his Majeſty might diſcover, whether their Errors proceeded from infidelity, and conſider the better, what Courſe to obſerve in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much ſecrecy, as an Affair of that Nature could be, wherein ſo many were truſted.

Upon their Examination, there appear'd too much cauſe to conclude, that the Duke had not behaved himſelf with that Loyalty, as he ought to have done. The Earl of *Mountroſe*, whilſt he had been of that party, had been privy to much of his Correſpondence, and Intelligence. But moſt of the particulars related to the time when he Commanded the Fleet in the *Frith*, and when he had many Conferences with his Mother (who was a Woman moſt paſſionate in thoſe contrivances and with others of that Party; and when he did nothing to hurt, or incommodate the Enemy; all which was expreſly pardoned by the Act of Oblivion, which had been paſſed with all Formality and Solemnity by the King in the Parliament of both Kingdoms: And, ſo much to Queſtion what was ſo forgot, might raiſe a greater Fire, than that as which they deſir'd to quench; thouhg the knowing ſo many particulars might be a good and proper Caution. In the late Tranſactions of *Scotland*, it was manifeſt that the Duke had abſolutely oppoſed all Overtures of Force, and of ſeiſing thoſe Perſons who could only be able to raiſe new Troubles; which had been very eaſy to have done; and that he had betray'd the King, and all the Lords, in conſenting to the meeting of the Parliament, called and ſummoned againſt the King's Expreſs Pleaſure and Command, and without any pretence of Law. And to this, the King's Approbation and Conſent had been ſhew'd to them, by the Duke, under the King's own Hand; which they durſt not diſobey, though they foreſaw the Miſchief.

The Caſe was thus; the Duke had given the King an Account, after he had himſelf promiſed him that the Parliament ſhould never be aſſembled (which his Majeſty abhorr'd) "That though ſome few hot, "and paſſionate Men, deſir'd to put themſelves in Arms, to ſtop both "Elections of the Members and any meeting together in Parliament; "yet, that all ſober Men who could bear any conſiderable part in the Action,

" Action, were clearly of the Opinion, to take as much pains as they " could to cauſe good Elections to be made, and then to appear themſelves, and that they had hope to have ſuch a major part, that they " might more advantageouſly diſſolve the meeting as ſoon as they came " together, than prevent it; however, that Then would be the fit time " to proteſt againſt it, and immediately to put themſelves into Arms, " for which they would be well provided at the ſame time; and to this he deſired the King's poſitive Direction. And his Majeſty, in Anſwer to it, had ſaid, " Since it was the Opinion of all his Friends, he would " not Command them to do that which was againſt their Judgment; " but would attend the Succeſs; and was content that they ſhould all " appear in the Parliament at it's firſt meeting; and the Duke had ſhewed the Lords thoſe Words in the King's Letter, with which they acquieſced, without knowing any thing of the Ground of ſuch his Permiſſion: Whereas, in truth, there was no one Perſon who was of that Opinion, or had given that Counſel, but had ſtill deteſted the Expedient when propoſed.

Then the Duke's Carriage in the Parliament, and his Brother's, at their firſt coming together, appear'd to be as is ſet down before, by the Teſtimony of thoſe who were preſent; and the Earl of *Lanrick*'s applying the Signet to the Proclamation for that Rendezvous where the Army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuſe; and ſo the clear State of the Evidence, upon the Depoſitions of the Perſons examin'd, was preſented to the King for his own Determination. His Majeſty had ſome Thoughts of ſending to the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* to ſtop the Duke and his Brother at *York*, and not ſuffer them to come nearer; but whilſt that was in Deliberation, they both came to *Oxford*, and meant the ſame Night to have kiſſed their Majeſties Hands; but aſſoon as they arriv'd, they receiv'd a Command from the King, " To keep their Chambers; and had a Guard attended them. The King reſolv'd to conſult the whole Affair then with the Council Board, whereas, hitherto the Examinations had been taken by a Committee, to the end that he might reſolve what way to proceed; and to that purpoſe directed that a Tranſcript might be prepared, of all the Examinations at large; and that the Witneſſes might be ready to appear before the Board, if it ſhould be thought neceſſary: His Majeſty at that time inclining to have both the Lords preſent, and the Depoſitions read, and the Witneſſes confronted before them. But whilſt this was preparing, the ſecond Morning after their coming to the Town, the Earl of *Lanrick*, either having corrupted or deluded the Guard, found a means to eſcape; and by the Aſſiſtance of one *Cunningham* (a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and of that Nation) had Horſes ready; with which the Earl and his Friend fled, and went directly to *London*; where he was very well receiv'd. Hereupon the King inform'd the Board of the whole Affair; and becauſe one of them was eſcaped, and the matters againſt the other having been tranſacted in *Scotland*, and ſo, in many reſpects, it was not a Seaſon to proceed judicially againſt him, it was thought enough for the preſent to prevent his doing farther Miſchief, by puttiug him under a ſecure Reſtraint: And ſo he was ſent in Cuſtody to the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and from thence to *Exeter*, and ſo to the Caſtle at *Pendennis* in *Cornwal*; where We ſhall at the preſent leave him.

Duke Hamilton *made Priſoner at* Oxford.

About this time the Councils at *Weſtminſter* loſt a principal Supporter, by the Death of *Jo. Pym*; who died with great Torment and Agony of a Diſeaſe unuſual, and therefore the more ſpoken of, *Morbus pediculoſus*, as was reported; which render'd him an Object very Loathſome to thoſe who had been moſt delighted with him. No Man had more to anſwer for the Miſeries of the Kingdom, or had his Hand, or Head, deeper in their Contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much Higher even in his Life, than he deſign'd. He was a Man of a private Quality and Condition of Life; his Education in the Office of the *Exchequer*, where he had been a Clerk; and his Parts rather acquired

Mr. Pym's *Death.*

by Induſtry, than ſupplied by Nature, or adorn'd by Art. He had been well known in former Parliaments; and was one of thoſe few, who had ſate in many; the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments having worn out moſt of thoſe who had been acquainted with the Rules and Orders obſerv'd in thoſe Conventions. This gave him ſome Reputation, and Reverence amongſt thoſe who were but now introduced.

He had been moſt taken Notice of, for being concern'd and paſſionate in the Jealouſies of Religion, and much troubled with the Countenance which had been given to thoſe Opinions that had been imputed to *Arminius*; and this gave him great Authority and Intereſt with thoſe who were not pleaſed with the Government of the Church, or the growing Power of the Clergy: Yet himſelf induſtriouſly took care to be believ'd, and he profeſs'd to be very entire to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*. In the ſhort, Parliament before this, he ſpoke much, and appeared to be the moſt Leading Man; for, beſides the exact knowledge of the Former, and Orders of that Council, which few Men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expreſſing himſelf, with great volubility of Words, Natural and Proper; and underſtood the Temper and Affections of the Kingdom as well as any Man; and had obſerv'd the Errors and Miſtakes in Government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy Diſſolution of that Parliament, he continued for the moſt part about *London*, in Converſation and great Repute amongſt thoſe Lords who were moſt Strangers to the Court, and were believ'd moſt averſe to it; in whom he improved all imaginable Jealouſies, and Diſcontents towards the State; and aſſoon as this Parliament was reſolv'd to be ſummon'd, he was as diligent to procure ſuch Perſons to be Elected, as he knew to be moſt inclin'd to the way he meant to take.

At the firſt opening of this Parliament, he appeared paſſionate and prepar'd againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; and though in private deſigning he was much govern'd by Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Saint-John*, yet he ſeem'd to all Men to have the greateſt Influence upon the Houſe of Commons of any Man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and ſome Months after, the moſt Popular Man, and the moſt able to do hurt, that hath liv'd in any time. Upon the firſt deſign of ſoftning, and obliging the powerful Perſons in both Houſes, when it was reſolv'd to make the Earl of *Bedford* Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, the King likewiſe intended to make Mr. *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer; for which he receiv'd his Majeſty's promiſe, and made a return of a ſuitable profeſſion of his ſervice and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no ſecret, ſomewhat declin'd from that ſharpneſs in the Houſe, which was more Popular than any Man's, and made ſome Overtures to provide for the Glory and Splendour of the Crown; in which he had ſo ill ſucceſs, that his Intereſt and Reputation there, viſibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do Hurt than Good; which wrought very much upon him to Melancholy, and complaint of the violence and diſcompoſure of the People's Affections, and Inclinations. In the end, whether upon the death of the Earl of *Bedford*, he deſpair'd of that Preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing, which upon his Converſion to the Court, he thought might be diſcover'd to his damage, or for pure want of Courage, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be carried by thoſe who would not follow Him; and ſo continued in the head of thoſe who made the moſt deſperate Propoſitions,

In the Proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, his Carriage and Language was ſuch as expreſs'd much Perſonal Animoſity; and he was accuſed of having practiſed ſome Arts in it not worthy a good Man; as an *Iriſh* Man of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an Evidence of one part of the Charge againſt the Lord Lieutenant, in a particular of which a Perſon of ſo vile Quality would not be reaſonably thought a competent Informer; Mr. *Pym* gave him Money to buy him a Sattin Sute and Cloak; in which Equi-

Equipage he appear'd at the Tryal, and gave his Evidence; which if true, may make many other things which were confidently reported afterwards of him, to be believ'd; as that he receiv'd a great Sum of Money from the *French* Embaſſador (which hath been before mention'd) to hinder the Tranſportation of thoſe Regiments of *Ireland* into *Flanders*, upon the disbanding that Army there; which had been prepared by the Earl of *Strafford* for the buſineſs of *Scotland*; in which, if his Majeſty's directions and commands had not been diverted, and contradicted, by the Houſes, many do believe the Rebellion in *Ireland* had not happen'd.

Certain it is, that his power of doing Shrewd Turns was extraordinary, and no leſs in doing good Offices for particular Perſons; and that he did preſerve many from cenſure, who were under the ſevere diſpleaſure of the Houſes, and look'd upon as eminent Delinquents; and the Quality of many of them made it believ'd, that he had ſold that protection for valuable Conſiderations. From the time of his being accuſed of High Treaſon by the King, with the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the other Members, he never entertain'd thoughts of moderation, but always oppoſed all Overtures of Peace and Accommodation; and when the Earl of *Eſſex* was diſpoſed, the laſt Summer, by thoſe Lords to an inclination towards a Treaty, as is before remember'd, Mr. *Pym*'s power and dexterity wholely changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards ſwerv'd not from. He was wonderfully ſollicitous for the *Scots* coming into their Aſſiſtance, though his indiſpoſition of body was ſo great, that it might well have made another impreſſion upon his mind. During his ſickneſs, he was a very ſad Spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurr'd with him, it is not known what his laſt thoughts, and conſiderations were. He died towards the end of *December*, before the *Scots* enter'd; and was buried with wonderful Pomp and Magnificence, in that place where the Bones of our *Engliſh* Kings and Princes are committed to their reſt.

The Prince Elector Arrives at London.

The Arrival of the Prince Elector at *London* was no leſs the diſcourſe of all Tongues, than the death of Mr. *Pym*. He had been in *England* before the Troubles, and was receiv'd and cheriſh'd by the King with great demonſtration of grace and kindneſs, and ſupplied with a Penſion of twelve thouſand pounds Sterling yearly. When the King left *London*, he attended his Majeſty to *York*, and reſided there with him till the differences grew ſo high, that his Majeſty found it neceſſary to reſolve to raiſe an Army for his Defence. Then, on the ſuddain, without giving the King many days notice of his reſolution, that Prince left the Court; and taking the opportunity of an ordinary Veſſel, Embark'd himſelf for *Holland*, to the wonder of all Men; who thought it an unſeaſonable Declaration of his fear, at leaſt of the Parliament, and his deſire of being well eſteem'd by them, when it was evident they eſteem'd not the King as they ſhould. And this was the more ſpoken of, when it was afterwards known that the Parliament expreſſed a good Senſe of his having deſerted the King, and imputed it to his Conſcience, "That "he knew of ſome ſuch deſigns of his Majeſty, as he could not comply "with. At this time, after many loud diſcourſes of his coming (which were deriv'd to *Oxford*, as ſomewhat that might have an influence upon his Majeſty's Counſels, there being then ſeveral whiſpers of ſome high proceedings they intended againſt the King) he arriv'd at *London*, and and was receiv'd with Ceremony; Lodged in *White-Hall*, and order taken for the payment of that Penſion which had been formerly aſſign'd to him by his Majeſty; and a particular direction by both Houſes, "That he ſhould be admitted to ſit in the Aſſembly of Divines; where, after he had taken the Covenant, he was contented to be often preſent: of all which the King took no other notice, than ſometimes to expreſs, "That he was ſorry on his Nephew's behalf, that "he thought fit to declare ſuch a compliance.

The Defeat of Colonel *John Belhaſis* at *Selby*, by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the deſtruction of all the *Iriſh* Regiments under the Lord *Byron*, together with the terror of the *Scotiſh* Army, had ſo let looſe all the King's Enemies in the Northern parts, which were lately at the King's Devotion, that his Friends were in great diſtreſs in all places before the Seaſon was ripe to take the Field. The Earl of *Derby*, who had kept *Lancaſhire* in reaſonable Subjection, and incloſed all the Enemies of that County within the Town of *Manchester* was no longer able to continue that reſtraint, but forced to place himſelf at a farther diſtance from them; which was like, in a ſhort time, to encreaſe the Number of the Rebels there. *Newark*, a very neceſſary Garriſon in the County of *Nottingham*, which had not only ſubjected that little County, the Town of *Nottingham*, only excepted, which was upon the matter confin'd within its own Walls, but had kept a great part of the large County of *Lincoln* under Contribution, was now reduced to ſo great ſtreights by the Forces of that Country, under the Command of *Meldrum* a *Scotch*-Man, with addition of others from *Hull*, that they were compell'd to beg relief from the King at *Oxford*; whilſt the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* had enough to do to keep the *Scots* at a Bay, and to put *York* in a condition to endure a Siege, if he ſhould be forced to continue within thoſe Walls,

Prince Rupert *ſent to relieve* Newark, *and effects it.*

In theſe Streights, though it was yet the depth of Winter, and to provide the better for the Security of *Shrewsbury*, and *Cheſter*, and North *Wales*, all which were terrified with the Defeat of the Lord *Byron*, the King found it neceſſary to ſend Prince *Rupert*, with a good Body of choſen Horſe, and Dragoons, and ſome Foot, with Direction, after he had viſited *Shrewsbury* and *Cheſter*, and uſed all poſſible Endeavours to make new Levies, that he ſhould attempt the Relief of *Newark*: Which, being loſt, would cut off all poſſible Communication between *Oxford* and *York*. In *Newark*, the Garriſon conſiſted moſt of the Gentry of the County, and the Inhabitants, ill ſupplied with any thing requiſite to a Siege, but Courage and excellent Affections. The Enemy entrench'd themſelves before the Town, and proceeded by Approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it poſſible to be diſturb'd: And indeed it was not eaſy for the King to find a Way for their Relief. To ſend a Body from *Oxford* was very Hazardous, and the Enemy ſo Strong, as they would quickly follow; ſo that there was no hope but from *Shrewsbury*, and *Cheſter*, where Prince *Rupert* had given ſo much Life to thoſe parts, and drawn ſo conſiderable a Body together, that the Enemy found little advantage by their late Victory, in the enlargement of their Quarters. His Highneſs then reſolv'd to try what he could do for *Newark*, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby perform'd it. For the Enemy, who had always excellent Intelligence, was ſo confident that he had not a ſtrength ſufficient to attempt that work, that he was within ſix Miles of them, before they believ'd he thought of them; and Charging and Routing ſome of their Horſe, purſued them with that Expedition, that he Beſieged them in their own Intrenchment, with his Horſe before his Foot came within four Miles. In that conſternation, they concluding that he muſt have a vaſt power and ſtrenth, to bring them into thoſe ſtreights, He, with a Number inferior to the Enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an Action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their Arms, or any Carriage or Baggage. Thus he reliev'd *Newark*, and took above four thouſand Arms, eleven Piecesof Braſs Cannon, two Mortar Pieces, and above fifty Barrels of Powder; which was as unexpected a Victory, as any happen'd throughout the War; with this proſperous Action, which was perform'd on the 22*d*. of *March*, We ſhall conclude the Tranſactions of this Year.

The End of the Seventh BOOK.

THE

Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK VIII.

2 Eſd. v. 9.

And ſalt waters ſhall be found in the ſweet, and all friends ſhall deſtroy one another; then ſhall Wit hide it ſelf, and underſtanding withdraw it ſelf into his ſecret Chamber.

Iſa. iii. 5.

And the People ſhall be oppreſſed every one by another, and every one by his Neighbour; the Child ſhall behave himſelf proudly againſt the Ancient, and the Baſe againſt the Honourable.

1644.

AS the Winter had been very unproſperous, and unſucceſsful to the King, in the diminution and loſs of thoſe Forces, upon which he chiefly depended to ſuſtain the Power of the Enemy the Year enſuing; ſo the Spring enter'd with no better preſage. When both Armies had enter'd into their Winter Quarters, to refreſh themſelves after ſo much fatigue, the great preparation that was made at *London*, and the fame of ſending Sir *William Waller* into the Weſt, put the King upon the Reſolution of having ſuch a Body in his way, as might give him interruption, without Prince *Maurice*'s being diſturb'd in his Siege of *Plymouth*; which was not thought to be able to make long reſiſtance. To this purpoſe the Lord *Hopton* was appointed to Command an Army apart, to be levied out of the Garriſon of *Briſtol*, and thoſe Weſtern Counties adjacent newly reduced; where his Reputation and Intereſt was very great; and by it he had in a ſhort time raiſed a pretty Body of Foot and Horſe; to which receiving an Addition of two very good Regiments (though not many in Number) out of *Munſter*, under the Command of Sir

Charles Vavaſour, and Sir *John Pawlet*, and a good Troop of Horſe under the Command of Captain *Bridges*, all which had been tranſported, according to former Orders, out of *Ireland* to *Briſtol*, ſince the Ceſſation, that Lord advanced to *Salisbury*, and ſhortly after to *Wincheſter*; whither Sir *John Berkley* brought him two Regiments more of Foot, raiſed by him in *Devonſhire*; ſo that he had in all, at leaſt, three thouſand Foot, and about fifteen hundred Horſe; which, in ſo good a Poſt as *Wincheſter* was, would in a ſhort time have grown to a conſiderable Army; and was at preſent ſtrong enough to have ſtopped, or attended *Waller* in his Weſtern Expedition; nor did He expect to have found ſuch an obſtruction in his Way. And therefore, when he was upon his March, and was inform'd of the Lord *Hopton*'s being at *Wincheſter* with ſuch a ſtrength, he retir'd to *Farnham*; and Quarter'd there, till he gave his Maſters an Account that he wanted other Supplies.

It was a general misfortune, and miſcomputation of that time, that the Party, in all Places, that wiſh'd well to the King (which conſiſted of moſt of the Gentry in moſt Counties; and for the preſent were aw'd, and kept under by the Militia, and the Committees of Parliament) had ſo good an Opinion of their own Reputation and Intereſt, that they believ'd they were able, upon the Aſſiſtance of few Troops, to ſuppreſs their Neighbours who were of the other Party, and who, upon the Advantage of the Power they were poſſeſs'd of, exerciſed their Authority over them with great Rigour, and Inſolence. And ſo the Lord *Hopton* was no ſooner poſſeſſed of *Wincheſter*, where Sir *William Ogle* had likewiſe ſeiſed upon the Caſtle for the King, and put it into a tenable condition, than the Gentlemen of *Suſſex*, and of the adjacent Parts of *Hampſhire*, ſent privately to him, "that if he would advance into Their Country, they would undertake, in a ſhort time, to make great Levies of Men for the recruit of his Army; and likewiſe to poſſeſs themſelves of ſuch Places as they ſhould be well able to defend; and thereby keep that part of the Country in the King's Obedience.

Sir *Edward Ford*, a Gentleman of a good Family, and fair Fortune in *Suſſex*, had then a Regiment of Horſe in the Lord *Hopton*'s Troops, and the King had made him High-Sheriff of *Suſſex* that Year, to the End, that if there were occaſion, he might the better make impreſſion upon that County. He had with him, in his Regiment, many of the Gentlemen of that County of good Quality: And they all beſought the Lord *Hopton*, "that he would, ſince *Waller* was not "like to advance, at leaſt ſend ſome Toops into thoſe Parts, to give a little "Countenance to the Levies they ſhould be well able to make; aſſuring him, "that they would, in the firſt place, ſeiſe upon *Arundel*-Caſtle; which, ſtanding near the Sea, would yield great advantage to the King's Service, and "keep that rich Corner of the Country at his Majeſty's Devotion. Theſe, and many other ſpecious undertakings, diſpoſed the Lord *Hopton*, who had an extraordinary appetite to engage *Waller* in a Battle, upon old Accounts, to wiſh himſelf at Liberty to comply with thoſe Gentlemen's deſires: of all which, he gave ſuch an Account to the King, as made it appear, that he liked the deſign, and thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a Regiment or two of Foot, under good Officers; for that Quarter of *Suſſex*, which he meant to viſit, was a faſt and incloſed Country, and *Arundel*-Caſtle had a Garriſon in it, though not numerous, or well provided, as being without apprehenſion of an Enemy.

It was about *Chriſtmas*, and the King had no farther deſign for the Winter, than to keep *Waller* from viſiting and diſturbing the Weſt, and to recruit his Army to ſuch a Degree as to be able to take the Field early; which he knew the Rebels reſolved to do: yet the good Poſt the Lord *Hopton* was already poſſeſs'd of at *Wincheſter*, and theſe poſitive undertakings from *Suſſex*, wrought upon many to think, that this opportunity ſhould not be loſt. The King had likewiſe great Aſſurance of the general good Affections of the County of *Kent*; inſomuch as the People had with difficulty been reſtrain'd from making ſome attempt, upon the confidence of their own ſtrength; and if there could be now ſuch a foundation laid, that there might be a conjunction between that and *Suſſex*, it might produce an Aſſociation little inferior to that of the Southern Counties under the Earl of *Mancheſter*; and might, by the Spring, be an occaſion of that diſtraction to the Parliament, that they ſhould not well know to what part to diſpoſe their Armies; and the King might apply his own to that part, and purpoſe, as ſhould ſeem moſt reaſonable to him.

Theſe,

Theſe, and other reaſons prevailing, the King gave the Lord *Hopton* order to proſecute his deſign upon *Suſſex*, in ſuch manner as he thought fit; provided, that he was well aſſured, that *Waller* ſhould not make advantage, upon that Enterpriſe, to find the way open to him to march into the Weſt. And that he might be the better able to proſecute the one, and to provide for the other, Sir *Jacob Aſtley* was likewiſe ſent to him from *Reading*, with a thouſand commanded Men of that Garriſon, *Wallingford*, and *Oxford*; which ſupply no ſooner arriv'd at *Wincheſter*, but the Lord *Hopton* reſolv'd to viſit *Waller*'s Quarters, if it were poſſible to engage him; however that he might judge by the poſture he was in, whether he were like to purſue his purpoſe for the Weſt. *Waller* was then Quarter'd at *Farnham*, and the Villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his Men, and faced the Enemy, as if he intended to Fight, but, after ſome light Skirmiſhes for a day or two, in which he always receiv'd loſs, he retired himſelf into the Caſtle of *Farnham*, a place of ſome ſtrength; and drew his Army into the Town; and within three or four days, went himſelf to *London*, more effectually to ſollicite Recruits, than his Letters had been able to do.

When the Lord *Hopton* ſaw that he could attempt no farther upon thoſe Troops, and was fully aſſur'd that Sir *William Waller* was himſelf gone to *London*, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the Gentlemen of *Suſſex*; and march'd thither, with ſuch a Body of Horſe and Foot, as he thought competent for the Service. The exceeding hard Froſt made his March more eaſy through thoſe deep dirty Ways, than better Weather would have done; and he came to *Arundel* before there was any imagination that he had that place in his proſpect. The place in it's Situation was ſtrong; and though the Fortifications were not regular, but of the old faſhion, yet the Walls were good, and the Graff broad, and deep; and though the Garriſon was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit againſt a powerful Army, yet it was ſtrong enough, in all reſpects, to have defied any ſuddain Aſſault; and might, without putting themſelves to much trouble, have been very ſecure againſt the Attempts of thoſe without. But the Proviſions of Victual, or Ammunition, was not ſufficient to have endured any long Siege; and the Officer who commanded, had not been accuſtom'd to the proſpect of an Enemy. So upon an eaſy and ſhort Summons, that threaten'd his obſtinacy with a very rigorous chaſtiſement, if he ſhould defer the giving it up; either from the effect of his own Fear, and want of Courage, or from the good Inclinations of ſome of the Soldiers, the Caſtle was ſurrender'd the third Day; and appear'd to be a Place worth the keeping, and capable, in a ſhort time, to be made ſecure againſt a good Army.

Arundel-Caſtle ſurrendered to the Lord Hopton.

The Lord *Hopton*, after he had ſtayed there five or ſix Days, and cauſed Proviſions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the Command and Government thereof to Sir *Edward Ford*, High Sheriff of the County, with a Garriſon of above two hundred Men; beſides many good Officers; who deſir'd, or were very willing, to ſtay there; as a place very favourable for the making Levies of Men, which they all intended. And, it may be, the more remain'd there, out of the wearineſs and fatigue of their late Marches, and that they might ſpend the remainder of the Winter with better Accommodation.

The News of Sir *William Waller*'s return to *Farnham* with ſtrong recruits of Horſe and Foot, made it neceſſary to the Lord *Hopton*, to leave *Arundel*-Caſtle before he had put it into the good Poſture he intended. And, without well conſidering the mixture of the Men he left there, whereof many were of Natures not eaſy to be govern'd, nor like to conform themſelves to ſuch ſtrict Rules as the condition of the place required, or to uſe that induſtry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made neceſſary, the principal thing he recommended and enjoyn'd to them was, "in the firſt place, ſetting all other things aſide, to "draw in ſtore of Proviſions of all kinds, both for the Numbers they were al-"ready, and for ſuch as would probably in a ſhort time be added to them; all which from the great Plenty that Country then abounded in, was very eaſy to have been done. And if it had been done, that Place would have remain'd long ſuch a Thorn in the ſide of the Parliament, as would have render'd it very uneaſy to them, at leaſt have interrupted the current of their Proſperity.

Waller's Journey to *London* anſwer'd his expectation; and his Preſence ha an Extraordinary operation, to procure any thing deſired. He reported the Lord

Hopton's

Hopton's Forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them. And the quick progreſs that Lord had made in *Suſſex*, and his taking *Arundel* Caſtle, made them thought to be greater than He reported them to be. His ſo eaſily poſſeſſing himſelf of a place of that Strength, which they ſuppoſed to have been impregnable, and in a County where the King had before no footing, awaken'd all their Jealouſies and Apprehenſions of the Affections of *Kent*, and all other places; and look'd like a Land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; ſo that there needed no importunate ſollicitation to provide a remedy againſt this growing Evil. The ordinary method they had uſed for recruiting their Armies by Levies of Voluntiers, and perſwading the Apprentices of the City to become Soldiers, upon the Privilege they gave them for their Freedom, for the time they Fought for them, as if they had remained in their Maſters Service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to reſiſt this Torrent; they therefore reſort to their inexhauſtible Magazine of Men, their devoted City, to whoſe Affections the Perſon of Sir *William Waller* was moſt acceptable; and perſwaded them immediately to cauſe two of their ſtrongeſt Regiments of Auxiliaries, to march out of the Line to *Farnham* which they conſented to. Then they appointed the Earl of *Eſſex* to give his Orders to Sir *William Balfour*, with one thouſand of the Horſe of his Army, likewiſe to obſerve *Waller*'s Commands; who, with this great addition of Forces, made haſt to his other Troops at *Farnham*; where he ſcarce reſted, but after he had informed himſelf how the Lord *Hopton*'s Troops lay Quarter'd, at too great a diſtance from each other, he march'd, according to his Cuſtom in thoſe occaſions (as beating up of Quarters was his Maſter-piece) all the Night; and, by the break of Day, encompaſs'd a great Village called *Alton*, where a Troop or two of Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot of the King's lay in too much ſecurity. However, the Horſe took the Alarm quickly, and for the moſt Part, made their eſcape to *Wincheſter*, the head Quarter; whither the Lord *Hopton* was return'd but the Night before from *Arundel*. Colonel *Boles*, who commanded his own Regiment of Foot there, conſiſting of about five hundred Men, which had been drawn out of the Garriſon of *Wallingford*, when he found himſelf encompaſs'd by the Enemies Army of Horſe and Foot, ſaw he could not defend himſelf, or make other reſiſtance than by retiring with his Men, into the Church, which he hoped to maintain for ſo many Hours, that Relief might be ſent to him; but he had not time to Barricadoe the Doors; ſo that the Enemy enter'd almoſt aſſoon; and after a ſhort reſiſtance, in which many were kill'd, the Soldiers, overpower'd, threw down their Arms, and ask'd Quarter; which was likewiſe offer'd to the Colonel; who refus'd it, and valiantly defended himſelf, till with the Death of two or three of the Aſſailants, he was kill'd in the Place; his Enemies giving him a teſtimony of great Courage and Reſolution.

Waller knew well the impreſſion the loſs of this very good Regiment would make upon the Lord *Hopton*'s Forces, and that the report which the Troops of Horſe which had eſcaped, would make, would add nothing of Courage to their Fellows; ſo that there was no probability that they would make haſt to advance; and therefore, with great celerity, the hard Froſt continuing, he march'd with all his Army to *Arundel* Caſtle, where he found that Garriſon as unprovided as he could wiſh. For inſtead of encreaſing the Magazine of Victual by Supplies from the Country, they had ſpent much of that Store which the Lord *Hopton* had provided. The Governour was a Man of Honeſty and Courage, but unacquainted with that Affair, having no other experience in War, than what he had learn'd ſince theſe Troubles. The Officers were many without Command, amongſt whom one Colonel *Bamford*, an *Iriſh*-man, though he called himſelf *Bamfield*, was one; who, being a Man of Wit and Parts, applied all his faculties to improve the Faction, to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himſelf Governour. In this diſtraction *Waller* found them, and by ſome of the Soldiers running out to him; he found means again to ſend in to them; by which he ſo encreaſed their Faction, and Animoſity againſt one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual Alarms, three or four Days, near half the Men being ſick, and unable to do Duty, rather than they would truſt each other longer, they gave the Place and Themſelves up, as Priſoners of War upon Quarter; the Place being able to have defended it ſelf againſt all that Power for a much longer time. Here the Learned and Eminent Mr

It is re-taken by Sir Will. Waller.

Chillingworth

Chillingworth was taken Priſoner; who, out of Kindneſs and reſpect to the Lord *Hopton*, had accompanied him in that March; and, being indiſpoſed by the terrible coldneſs of the Seaſon, choſe to repoſe himſelf in that Garriſon, till the Weather ſhould mend. Aſſoon as his Perſon was known, which would have drawn Reverence from any noble Enemy, the Clergy that attended that Army, proſecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; ſo that, by their Barbarous uſage, he died within few days; to the Grief of all that knew him, and of many who knew him not but by his Book, and the Reputation he had with Learned Men.

The Lord *Hopton* ſuſtain'd the loſs of that Regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with deſire of a Battle with *Waller*, to make even all Accounts; and made what haſt he could, upon the firſt Advertiſement, to have redeem'd that Misfortune; and hoped to have come time enough to relieve *Arundel* Caſtle; which he never ſuſpected would ſo tamely have given themſelves up: But that hope quickly vaniſh'd, upon the undoubted Intelligence of that Surrender, and the News that *Waller* was return'd with a full Reſolution to proſecute his deſign upon the Weſt: to which, beſides the encouragement of his two late Succeſſes, with which he was marvellouſly elated, he was in ſome degree neceſſitated, out of apprehenſion that the Horſe which belonged to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, might be ſpeedily recalled; and the time would be quickly expired, that he had promiſed the Auxiliary Regiments of *London* to diſmiſs them.

Upon the News the King receiv'd of the great ſupply the Parliament had ſo ſuddainly ſent to *Waller*, both from the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army, and from the City, he thought it neceſſary to ſend ſuch an addition of Foot as he could draw out of *Oxford*, and the Neighbour Garriſons. And the Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, who had a faſt Friendſhip with the Lord *Hopton*, expreſſing a good Inclination to make him a Viſit, rather than to ſit ſtill in his Winter Quarters, his Majeſty was very willing he ſhould, and cheriſhed that diſpoſition, being deſirous that ſo great an Officer might be preſent in an Army, upon which ſo much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with Officers of great Experience. So the General, with ſuch Voluntiers as were ready to accompany him, went to *Wincheſter*; where he found the Lord *Hopton* in trouble for the loſs of the Regiment of Foot at *Alton*, and with the unexpected aſſurance of the giving up of *Arundel* Caſtle. He was exceedingly reviv'd with the preſence of the General, and deſired to receive his Orders, and that he would take upon him the abſolute Command of the Troops; which he as poſitively refuſed to do; only offer'd to keep him Company in all Expeditions; and to give him the beſt Aſſiſtance he was able; which the Lord *Hopton* was compell'd to be contented with; nor could there be a greater union and conſent between two Friends, The General being ready to give his Advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his Opinion, and giving Orders accordingly.

Aſſoon as they were inform'd that *Waller* had drawn all his Troops together about *Farnham*, and meant to march towards them, they chearfully embraced the occaſion, and went to meet him; and about *Alresford*, near the midway between *Wincheſter* and *Farnham*, they came to know how near they were to each other; and, being in View, choſe the Ground upon which they meant the Battle ſhould be Fought; of which *Waller*, being firſt there, got the advantage for the drawing up his Horſe. The King's Army conſiſted of about five thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe; and *Waller* with Sir *William Balfour*, exceeded in Horſe; but they were upon the matter equal in Foot; with this only advantage, that both his Horſe and Foot were, as they were always, much better Arm'd; no Man wanting any Weapon Offenſive, or Defenſive, that was proper for him; and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*'s Regiment of Cuiraſſiers, call'd the *Lobſters*, were ſo formidable, that the King's naked and unarm'd Troops, among which few were better arm'd than with Swords, could not bear their impreſſion.

The King's Horſe never behaved themſelves ſo ill, as that day. For the main Body of them, after they had ſuſtain'd one fierce Charge, wheeled about to an unreaſonable diſtance; and left their principal Officers to ſhift for themſelves.

The Battle at Alresford, *where Sir* W. Waller *had the advantage over the* L. Hopton.

ſelves. The Foot behaved themſelves very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other Foot, but bore two or three Charges from the Horſe with notable Courage, and without being broken; whilſt thoſe Horſe which ſtood upon the Field, and ſhould have aſſiſted them, could be perſwaded but to ſtand. When the Evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither Party was ſorry, the Lord *Hopton* thought it neceſſary to leave the Field; and drawing off his Men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his Cannon and Ammunition, whereof he loſt none, that Night to *Reading*: the Enemy being ſo ſcatter'd, that they had no mind to purſue; only *Waller* himſelf made haſt to *Wincheſter*, where he thought, upon this Succeſs, to have been immediately admitted into that Caſtle; which was his own Inheritance. But he found that too well defended; and ſo return'd with taking revenge upon the City, by plundering it with all the Inſolence and Rapine imaginable.

There could not then be any other eſtimate made of the loſs *Waller* ſuſtain'd, than by the not purſuing the viſible advantage he had, and by the utter refuſal of the Auxiliary Regiments of *London* and *Kent*, to march farther; who, within three or four days, left him; and return'd to their Habitations; with great Lamentation of their Friends who were miſſing. On the King's ſide, beſides Common Men, and many good Officers, there fell that day the Lord *John Steuart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and General of the Horſe of that Army; and Sir *John Smyth*, Brother to the Lord *Carrington*, and Commiſſary General of the Horſe. They were both brought off the Field by the few Horſe that ſtay'd with them, and did their duty; carried to *Reading*; and the next day to *Abingdon*, that they might be nearer to the Aſſiſtance of the beſt remedies by Phyſicians and Surgeons. But they liv'd only to the ſecond dreſſing of their wounds; which were very many upon both of them.

The former was a young Man of extraordinary hope, little more than one and twenty years of Age; who being of a more cholerick and rough Nature, than the other Branches of that Illuſtrious and Princely Family, was not delighted with the ſoftneſſes of the Court, but had dedicated himſelf to the profeſſion of Armes, when he did not think the Scene ſhould have been in his own Country. His Courage was ſo ſignal that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had out-liv'd it; and he was ſo generally belov'd, that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, Sir *John Smith*, had been train'd up from his Youth in the War of *Flanders*; being of an Ancient Roman Catholick Family; and had long the Reputation of one of the beſt Officers of Horſe. Aſſoon as the firſt Troubles appear'd in *Scotland*, he betook himſelf to the Service of his own Prince; and from the beginning of the War to his own end, perform'd many ſignal Actions of Courage. The death of theſe two eminent Officers, made the Names of many who periſh'd that day, the leſs inquired into and mention'd.

This Battle was Fought the 29*th* day of *March*: which was a very doleful entring into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the meaſures, and alter'd the whole Scheme of the King's Counſels: For whereas before, he hoped to have enter'd the Field early, and to have acted an Offenſive part; he now diſcern'd, he was wholely to be upon the Defenſive; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only depriv'd of the Men he had loſt at *Alresford*, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his Army by a conjunction with Prince *Rupert*; who, he believ'd, would have return'd in time, after his great Succeſs at *Newark*, with a ſtrong Body both of Horſe and Foot, from *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and North *Wales*: all which hopes were ſoon blaſted; for the Prince had ſcarce put the Garriſon of *Newark* in order, and provided it to endure another Attack, which they might have reaſonably expected upon his Highneſs's departure (though indeed the ſhame of the defeat he had given that Party, and the rage among the Officers, and Soldiers, when they ſaw by what a handful of Men they had been terrified, and ſubdued, broke and diſſolv'd that whole Body within few days) when he was earneſtly preſs'd from the Earl of *Derby*, to come into *Lancaſhire* to relieve him, who was already Beſieged in his own ſtrong Houſe at *Latham*, by a great Body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to diſpoſe the Prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the Earl made ample promiſes, "that "within ſo many days after the Siege ſhould be raiſed, with any defeat to the Enemy,

" Enemy, he would advance his Highneſs's Levies with two thouſand Men, " and ſupply him with a conſiderable Sum of Money. " And the Earl had likewiſe, by an Expreſs, made the ſame inſtance to the King at *Oxford*; from whence his Majeſty ſent his Permiſſion, and Approbation to the Prince, before his departure from *Newark*; hoping ſtill that his Highneſs would be able to diſpatch that Service in *Lancaſhire*, and with the more notable recruits of Men in thoſe parts, be able to return to *Oxford* by the time that it would be neceſſary for his Majeſty to take the Field. But within a ſhort time, he was diſappointed of that expectation; for before the Prince could finiſh his Expedition into *Lancaſhire* (which he did with wonderful Gallantry; raiſed the Siege at *Latham* with a great execution upon the Enemy; and took two or three of their Garriſons obſtinately defended; and therefore with the greater Slaughter) the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* was compell'd to retire, with his whole Army, within the Walls of *York*. He had been well able to have defended himſelf againſt the numerous Army of the *Scots*, and would have been glad to have been engaged with them, but he found he had a worſe Enemy to deal with, as will appear.

The Aſſociation of ſeveral Counties formed under the Earl of Manchester.

From the time that the Ruling Party of the Parliament diſcern'd that their General, the Earl of *Eſſex*, would never ſerve their turn, or comply with all their deſires, they reſolv'd to have another Army apart, that ſhould be more at their devotion; in the forming whereof, they would be ſure to chooſe ſuch Officers, as would probably not only obſerve their Orders, but have the ſame inclinations with them. Their pretence was, " that there were ſo many diſ- " affected Perſons of the Nobility, and Principal Gentry, in the Counties of *Nor- " folk* and *Suffolk*, that, if great care was not taken to prevent it, there might " a Body ſtart up there for the King; which, upon the ſucceſs of the Marquis " of *New-Caſtle*, whoſe Armes then reach'd into *Lincoln-ſhire*, might grow very " formidable. " For prevention whereof, they had formed an Aſſociation between *Eſſex* (a County, upon the influence of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the power of his Clergy, they moſt confided in) *Cambridge-ſhire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Bedford*, and *Huntington*; in all which they had many Perſons of whoſe entire Affections they were well aſſured; and, in moſt of them, there were few conſiderable Perſons who wiſh'd them ill. Of this Aſſociation they had made the Earl of *Mancheſter* General, to be ſubject only to their own Commands, and independent upon the Earl of *Eſſex*. Under Him, they choſe *Oliver Cromwel* to Command their Horſe; and many other Officers, who never intended to be ſubject again to the King, and avow'd other Principles in Conſcience and Religion, than had been before publickly declared.

To this General they gave Order, " to reſide within that Aſſociation; and " to make Levies of Men, ſufficient to keep thoſe Counties in Obedience: for " at firſt they pretended no more. " But, in the ſecret Treaty made by Sr. *Harry Vane* with the *Scots*, they were bound, aſſoon as the *Scots* ſhould enter into *York-ſhire* with their Army, that a Body of *Engliſh* Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, ſhould be ready to aſſiſt them, Commanded by their own Officers, as a Body apart: The *Scots* not then truſting their own great Numbers, as equal to Fight with the *Engliſh*. And from that time they were much more careful to raiſe, and liberally ſupply, and provide for that Army under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, than for the other under the Earl of *Eſſex*. And now, according to their agreement, upon the *Scots* firſt entrance into *York-ſhire*, the Earl of *Mancheſter* had likewiſe Order to march with his whole Body thither; having, for the moſt part, a Committee of the Parliament, whereof Sr. *Harry Vane* was one, with him; as there was another Committee of the *Scotiſh* Parliament always in that Army; there being alſo now a Committee of both Kingdoms reſiding at *London*, for the carrying on the War.

The Earl of Mancheſter *is order'd with his Army to march into the North to joyn the* Scots.

The Marquis of *New-Caſtle* being thus preſſed on both ſides, was neceſſitated to draw all his Army of Foot and Cannon into *York*, with ſome Troops of Horſe; and ſent the Body of his Horſe, under the Command of General *Goring*, to remain in thoſe places he ſhould find moſt convenient, and from whence he might beſt infeſt the Enemy. Then he ſent an Expreſs to the King, to inform him of the Condition he was in; and to let him know, " that he doubted not to defend himſelf in that " Poſt, for the term of ſix Weeks, or two Months; in which time, he hoped, his " Majeſty would find ſome way to Relieve him. " Upon receipt of this Letter, the King ſent Orders to Prince *Rupert*, that " aſſoon as he had Reliev'd the

" Lord *Derby*, and recruited, and refreſh'd his Men, he ſhould march, with " what Expedition he could, to Relieve *York*; where being joyn'd with the " Marquis of *New-Caſtle*'s Army, there was hope they might Fight the Enemy: " and his Majeſty would put himſelf into as good a poſture as he could to take " the Field, without expecting the Prince.

The Queen retires from Oxford to Exeter.

1644

All theſe ill Accidents falling out ſucceſſively in the Winter, the King's Condition appear'd very ſad; and the Queen being now with Child, it wrought upon her Majeſty's mind very much; and diſpoſed her to ſo many Fears and Apprehenſions of her Safety, that ſhe was very uneaſy to her ſelf. She heard every day " of the great Forces raiſed, and in a readineſs, by the Parliament, " much greater than they yet ever had been; which was very true; and " that they reſolv'd, aſſoon as the Seaſon was ripe, to march all to *Oxford*." She could not endure to think of being Beſieged; and, in concluſion, reſolv'd not to ſtay there, but to go into the Weſt; from whence, in any diſtreſs, ſhe might be able to Embark for *France*. Though there ſeem'd reaſons enough to diſſwade her from that inclination, and his Majeſty heartily wiſh'd that ſhe could be diverted, yet the perplexity of her mind was ſo great, and her fears ſo vehement, both improv'd by her indiſpoſition of Health, that all Civility and Reaſon obliged every Body to ſubmit. So, about the beginning of *April*, ſhe begun her Journey from *Oxford* to the Weſt; and, by moderate Journies, came well to *Exeter*; where ſhe intended to ſtay, till ſhe was deliver'd; for ſhe was within little more than one Month of her time; and, being in a place out of the reach of any Alarm, ſhe recover'd her Spirits to a reaſonable convaleſcence.

It was now about the middle of *April*, when it concern'd the King with all poſſible ſagacity, to foreſee what probably the Parliament meant to attempt with thoſe vaſt Numbers of Men which they every day levied; and thereupon to conclude, what it would be poſſible for his Majeſty to do, in thoſe Exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The Intelligence, that *Waller* was ſtill deſign'd for the Weſtern Expedition, made the King appoint his whole Army to be drawn together to a Rendezvous at *Marlborough*; where himſelf was preſent, and, to his great ſatisfaction, found the Body to conſiſt, after all the loſſes and miſadventures, of no leſs than ſix thouſand Foot, and above four thouſand Horſe. There that Body remain'd for ſome Weeks, to watch and intend *Waller*'s Motion, and to Fight with him as ſoon as was poſſible. Many things were there conſulted for the future; and the quitting *Reading*, and ſome other Garriſons, propoſed, for the encreaſing the Field Forces: yet nothing was poſitively reſolv'd, but to expect clearer evidence what the Parliament Armies would diſpoſe themſelves to do.

The Parliament at Oxford Prorogued to October.

So the King return'd to *Oxford*, where, upon the deſire of the Members of Parliament who had been called thither, and done all the Service they could for the King, they were for the preſent diſmiſſed, that they might, in their ſeveral Counties, ſatisfy the People of the King's importunate deſire of Peace, but how inſolently it had been rejected by the Parliament; and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his Majeſty's Aſſiſtance. They were to meet there again in the Month of *October* following.

THEN, that his Majeſty might draw moſt of the Soldiers of that Garriſon with him out of *Oxford*, when he ſhould take the Field, that City was perſwaded to compleat the Regiment they had begun to form, under the Command of a Colonel whom the King had recommended to them; which they did raiſe to the Number of a thouſand Men. There were likewiſe two other Regiments raiſed of Gentlemen and their Servants, and of the Scholars of the ſeveral Colleges and Halls of the Univerſity; all which Regiments did Duty there punctually, from the time that the King went into the Field, till he return'd again to *Oxford*; and all the Lords declared, " that upon any emergent occaſion, they " would mount their Servants upon their Horſes, to make a good Troop for a " ſuddain Service; which they made good; and thereby, that Summer, perform'd two or three very conſiderable and important Actions.

By this time there was reaſon to believe, by all the Intelligence that could be procured, and by the change of his Quarters, that *Waller* had laid aſide his Weſtern March; at leaſt that it was ſuſpended; and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were uſed to recruit both His, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, with all poſſible expedition; and that neither of them ſhould move upon any Action till

till they ſhould be both compleat in greater Numbers, than either of them had yet marched with. Hereupon, the King's Army remov'd from *Marlborough* to *Newbury*; where they remain'd near a Month, that they might be in a readineſs to attend the motion of the Enemy, and to aſſiſt the Gariſons of *Reading*, or *Wallingford*; or to draw out either, as there ſhould be occaſion.

There had been ſeveral deliberations in the Council of War, and always very different opinions, what ſhould be done with the Garriſons when the King ſhould take the Field; and the King himſelf was irreſolute upon thoſe Debates, what to do. He communicated the ſeveral reaſons to Prince *Rupert* by Letters, requiring His advice; who, after he had return'd Anſwers, and receiv'd Replies, made a haſty journey to *Oxford* from *Cheſter*, to wait upon his Majeſty. And it was then poſitively reſolv'd, "that the Garriſons of *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, "*Abingdon*, *Reading*, and *Banbury*, ſhould be reinforced, and ſtrengthen'd with "all the Foot; that a good Body of Horſe ſhould remain about *Oxford*, and "the reſt ſhould be ſent into the Weſt to Prince *Maurice*. If this Counſel had been purſued ſteadily and reſolutely, it might probably have been attended with good Succeſs: Both Armies of the Enemy would have been puzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a Siege againſt any place ſo well provided, and reſolv'd; and it would have been equally uncounſellable to have march'd to any diſtance, and have left ſuch an Enemy at their backs, that could ſo eaſily and quickly have united, and incommoded any March they could have made.

But as it was even impoſſible to have adminiſter'd ſuch advice to the King, in the ſtreight he was in, which being purſued might not have prov'd inconvenient, ſo it was the unhappy temper of thoſe who were called to thoſe Councils, that reſolutions, taken upon full Debate, were ſeldom proſecuted with equal reſolution and ſteadineſs; but changed upon new, ſhorter Debates, and upon objections which had been anſwer'd before: Some Men being in their Natures irreſolute, and inconſtant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own propoſals; others being poſitive, and not to be alter'd from what they had once declared, how unreaſonably ſoever, or what alterations ſoever there were in the Affairs. And the King himſelf frequently conſider'd more the Perſon who ſpoke, as he was in his grace, or his prejudice, than the Counſel it ſelf that was given; and always ſuſpected, at leaſt truſted leſs to his own judgement than he ought to have done; which rarely deceiv'd him ſo much as that of other Men.

The Perſons with whom the King conſulted in his Military Affairs at this time.

The Perſons with whom he only conſulted in his Martial Affairs, and how to carry on the War, were (beſides Prince *Rupert*, who was at this time abſent) the General, who was made Earl of *Brentford*; the Lord *Wilmot*, who was General of the Horſe; the Lord *Hopton*, who uſually Commanded an Army apart, and was not often with the King's Army, but now preſent; Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, who was Major General of the Army; the Lord *Digby*, who was Secretary of State; and Sir *John Colepepper* Maſter of the Rolls; for none of the Privy Council, thoſe two only excepted, were called to thoſe Conſultations; tho ſome of them were ſtill adviſed with, for the better Execution, or Proſecution, of what was then and there reſolv'd.

The General, though he had been, without doubt, a very good Officer, and had great Experience, and was ſtill a Man of unqueſtionable Courage and Integrity; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued cuſtom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his Underſtanding, which had been never quick and vigorous, he having been always illiterate to the greateſt degree that can be imagined. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to diſclaim. He was a Man of few Words, and of great Compliance, and uſually deliver'd that as His opinion, which he foreſaw would be grateful to the King.

Wilmot was a Man of a haughty and ambitious Nature, of a pleaſant Wit, and an ill Underſtanding, as never conſidering above one thing at once; but he conſider'd that one thing ſo impatiently, that he would not admit any thing elſe to be worth any Conſideration. He had, from the beginning of the War, been very averſe to any advice of the Privy Council, and thought fit that the King's Affairs (which depended upon the Succeſs of the War) ſhould entirely be govern'd and conducted by the Soldiers, and Men of War; and that no other

Counſellors ſhould have any Credit with his Majeſty. Whilſt Prince *Rupert* was preſent, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather Perſonal Animoſity againſt him, made any thing that *Wilmot* ſaid or propoſed, enough ſlighted and contradicted: and the King himſelf, upon ſome former account and obſervation, was far from any indulgence to his Perſon, or eſteem of his Parts. But now, by the Prince's abſence, and his being the ſecond Man in the Army, and the Contempt he had of the old General, who was there the only Officer above him, he grew marvellouſly elated, and look'd upon himſelf as one whoſe advice ought to be followed, and ſubmitted to in all things. He had, by his exceſſive good Fellowſhip (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the Company) made himſelf ſo popular with all the officers of the Army, eſpecially of the Horſe, that he had, in truth, a very great Intereſt; which he deſired might appear to the King, that he might have the more Intereſt in Him. He was poſitive in all his Advices in Council, and bore Contradiction very impatiently; and becauſe he was moſt Contradicted by the two Privy Counſellors, the Secretary, and the Maſter of the Rolls, who, he ſaw, had the greateſt Influence upon the King, he uſed all the Artifices he could to render them unacceptable and ſuſpected to the Officers of the Army, by telling them, what they had ſaid in Council; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and in the Times of Jollity, perſwaded the old General to believe that they invaded his Prerogative, and meddled more in the Buſineſs of the War, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the leſs diſpoſed to concur with them in Advice, how rational and ſeaſonable ſoever it was; which often put the King to the trouble of converting him.

The Lord *Hopton* was a Man Superior to any Temptation, and abhorr'd enough the licence, and the levities, with which he ſaw too many corrupted. He had a good Underſtanding, a clear Courage, an Induſtry not to be tired, and a Generoſity that was not to be exhauſted; a Virtue that none of the reſt had: but in the Debates concerning the War, was longer reſolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had reſolv'd than is agreeable to the Office of a Commander in Chief; which render'd him rather fit for the Second, than for the Supreme Command in an Army.

Sir *Jacob Aſtley* was an honeſt, brave, plain Man, and as fit for the Office he exerciſed, of Major General of the Foot, as Chriſtendom yielded; and wasſo generally eſteem'd; very diſcerning and prompt in giving Orders, as the occaſions required, and moſt chearful, and preſent in any Action. In Council he uſed few, but very pertinent words; and was not at all pleaſed with the long Speeches uſually made there; and which rather confounded, than inform'd his Underſtanding: ſo that he rather collected the ends of the Debates, and what he was himſelf to Do, than enlarged them by his own Diſcourſes; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

The two Privy Counſellors, though they were of the moſt different Natures and Conſtitutions that can be imagined, always agreed in their Opinions; and being, in their parts, much Superior to the other, uſually prevail'd upon the King's Judgement to like what they approv'd: yet one of them, who had in thoſe Caſes the Aſcendent over the other, had that Exceſs of Fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and revolving the grounds of the Reſolutions which had been taken, or upon the Suggeſtions of other Men, changed his own mind; and thereupon cauſed Orders to be alter'd, which produced, or were thought to produce, many Inconveniences.

This unſteadineſs in Counſels, and in matters reſolv'd upon, made the former Determination concerning the Garriſons, to be little conſider'd. The King's Army had lain above three Weeks at, and about *Newbury*; in which time their Numbers were nothing improved, beyond what they had been upon their Muſter near *Marlborough*, when the King was preſent. When it was known that both the Parliament Armies were march'd out of *London*; That under *Eſſex* to *Windſor*; and That of *Waller*, to the parts between *Hertford*-Bridge, and *Baſing*, without any purpoſe of going farther Weſt; the King's Army march'd to *Reading*; and in three days, his Majeſty being preſent, they ſlighted and demoliſh'd all the Works of that Garriſon: And then, which was about the middle of *May*, with the Addition of thoſe Soldiers, which encreaſed the Army five and twenty hundred old Soldiers more, very well Officer'd, the Army retired to the

Reading quitted by the King's Forces.

Quarters

Quarters about *Oxford*, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to Fight with one of the Enemy's Armies; which they longed exceedingly to do.

The King return'd to *Oxford*, and reſolv'd to ſtay there till he could have better Information what the Enemy intended; which was not now ſo eaſy as it had formerly been. For, ſince the Conjunction with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners in one Council, for the carrying on the War, little buſineſs was brought to be Conſulted in either of the Houſes; and there was much greater Secrecy than before; few or none being admitted into any kind of Truſt, but they whoſe Affections were known to concur to the moſt deſperate Counſels. So that the Deſigns were ſtill entirely form'd, before any part of them were communicated to the Earl of *Eſſex*; nor was more communicated at a Time than was neceſſary for the preſent Execution; of which he was ſenſible enough, but could not help it. The Intention was, "that the two Armies, which march'd out together, "ſhould afterward be diſtinct; and ſhould only keep together, till it appear'd "what Courſe the King meant to take; and if he ſtayed in *Oxford*, it would be "fit for both to be in the Siege; the Circumvallation being very great, and to "be divided in many places by the River; which would keep both Armies ſtill "aſunder under their ſeveral Officers. But, if the King march'd out, which they might reaſonably preſume he would, then the purpoſe was, "that the Earl "of *Eſſex* ſhould follow the King, wherever he went; which, they imagin'd "would be Northward; "and that *Waller* ſhould march into the Weſt, and "ſubdue That. So that, having ſo ſubſtantially provided for the North, by the *Scots*, and the Earl of *Mancheſter*; and having an Army under the Earl of *Eſſex*, much Superior in Number to any the King could be attended with; and the third, under *Waller*, at Liberty for the Weſt; they promiſed themſelves, and too reaſonably, that they ſhould make an End of the War that Summer.

It was about the tenth of *May*, that the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *William Waller* march'd out of *London*, with both their Armies; and the very next day after the King's Army had quitted *Reading*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, from *Windſor*, ſent Forces to poſſeſs it; and recommended it to the City of *London*, to provide both Men, and all other things neceſſary for the keeping it; which the Memory of what they had ſuffer'd for the two paſt years, by being without it, eaſily diſpoſed them to do. By this means, the Earl had the Opportunity to joyn with *Waller*'s Army when he ſhould think fit; which before they could not do with Convenience, or Security. Nor did they ever after joyn in one Body, but keep at a fit Diſtance, to be able, if there were Occaſion, to help each other. 1644

The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army conſiſted of all his old Troops, which had Wintered about St. *Albans*, and in *Bedford-ſhire*; and being now encreaſed with four Regiments of the Traind-bands, and Auxiliaries within the City of *London*, did not amount to leſs then ten thouſand Horſe and Foot. *Waller* had likewiſe receiv'd a large Recruit from *London*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*; and was little inferior in Numbers to *Eſſex*, and in Reputation above him. When the King's Army retired from *Reading*, the Horſe Quarter'd about *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, and all the Foot were put into *Abingdon*, with a Reſolution to quit, or defend that Town, according to the manner of the Enemies Advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the Eaſt ſide, where, beſides ſome indifferent Fortifications, they had the advantage of the River, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the Weſt ſide from *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, they would draw out and Fight, if the Enemy were not by much ſuperior in Number; and in that Caſe, they would retire with the whole Army to *Oxford*.

Being ſatisfied with this Reſolution, they lay in that quiet, Poſture, without making the leaſt Impreſſion upon the Enemy, by beating up his Quarters; which might eaſily have been done; or reſtraining them from making Incurſions where they had a mind; all which was imputed to the ill Humour, and Negligence of *Wilmot*. The Earl of *Eſſex* advanc'd with his Army towards *Abingdon*; and upon the Eaſt part of the Town; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their defending it. But they were no ſooner advertiſed of it, but the General, early the next Morning, march'd with all the Foot out of *Abingdon*, the Horſe being come thither in the Night to make good the Retreat: and all this was done before his Majeſty had the leaſt notice, or ſuſpicion of it. As ſoon as his Majeſty was inform'd of it by Sr. *Charles Blunt*, the Scout Maſter General, whom the General had ſent to acquaint the King with the reſolution,

Abingdon *quitted by the King's Forces.*

he ſent Sr. *Charles Blunt*, back to the General, to let him know the great diſlike he had of their purpoſe to quit the Town, and to command him to ſtay, and not to advance till his Majeſty came to him; which he made all poſſible haſt to do. But before the Meſſenger could return, the Army was within ſight of *Oxford*; and ſo the Foot was drawn through the City, and the Horſe Quarter'd in the Villages about the Town.

Poſſeſs'd by the Earl of Eſſex.

Abingdon was in this manner, and to the King's infinite Trouble, quitted; whither a Party of *Eſſex*'s Army came the ſame Night; and the next Day, himſelf with all his Foot enter'd the Town; his Horſe being Quarter'd about it. He then called *Waller* to bring up his Army near him, that they might reſolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head Quarter at *Wantage*: and ſo, without the ſtriking one Blow, they got the Poſſeſſion of *Reading*, *Abingdon*; and were Maſters of all *Berk-ſhire*; and forced the King to draw his whole Army of Horſe and Foot on the North ſide of *Oxford*; where they were to feed on his own Quarters, and to conſider, how to keep *Oxford* it ſelf from being Beſieged, and the King from being incloſed in it.

This was the deplorable Condition to which the King was reduced before the end of the Month of *May*; inſomuch that it was generally reported at *London*, "that *Oxford* was taken, and the King a Priſoner; and others more Confidently gave it out, "that his Majeſty reſolv'd to come to *London*: of which the Parliament was not without ſome Apprehenſion, though not ſo much, as of the King's putting himſelf into the hands of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and into his Protection; which They could not endure to think of; and this troubled them ſo much, that the Committe of both Kingdoms, who Conducted the War, writ this Letter to their General.

My Lord,

"We are credibly inform'd, that his Majeſty intends to come for *London*.
"We deſire you, that you will do your Endeavour to inform your ſelf of the
"ſame; and if you think that his Majeſty intends at all to come to the Armies,
"that you acquaint us with the ſame; and do nothing therein, untill the Hou-
"ſes ſhall give Direction.

So much Jealouſy they had of the Earl, and the more, becauſe they ſaw not elſe what the King could do; who could not entertain any reaſonable Expectation of Encreaſe, or Addition of Force from the North, or from the Weſt; Prince *Rupert* being then in his march into *Lancaſhire* for the Relief of the Earl of *Derby* (beſieged in his Caſtle of *Latham*) and Prince *Maurice* being ſtill engaged in the unfortunate Siege of *Lyme* in *Dorſet-ſhire*, a little Fiſher Town; which, after he had lain before it a Month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the firſt day he came before it. In this Perplexity, the King ſent the Lord *Hopton* to *Briſtol*, to provide better for the Security of that Important City; where he knew *Waller* had many Friends; and himſelf reſolv'd yet to ſtay at *Oxford*, till he ſaw how the two Armies would diſpoſe themſelves; that, when they were ſo divided that they could not preſently joyn, he might Fight with one of them; which was the greateſt hope he had now left.

It was very happy that the two Armies lay ſo long quiet near each other, without preſſing the Advantages they had, or improving the Confuſion, and Diſtraction, which the King's Forces were, at that time, too much inclined to. Orders were given ſo to Quarter the King's Army, that it might keep the Rebels from paſſing over either of the Rivers, *Cherwel*, or *Iſis*, which run on the Eaſt and Weſt ſides of the City; the Foot being, for the moſt part, Quarter'd towards the *Cherwel*, and the Horſe, with ſome Dragoons, near the *Iſis*.

In this poſture all the Armies lay quiet, and without Action, for the ſpace of a day; which ſomewhat compoſed the minds of thoſe within *Oxford*, and of the Troops without; which had not yet recover'd their diſlike of their having quitted *Abingdon*, and thereby of being ſo ſtreighten'd in their Quarters. Some of *Waller*'s Forces attempted to paſs the *Iſis* at *Newbridge*, but were repulſed by the King's Dragoons. But the next day *Eſſex*, with his whole Army, got over the *Thames* at *Sanford*-Ferry, and march'd to *Iſlip*, where he made his Quarters; and, in his way, made a halt upon *Bullington*-Green, that the City might take a full View of his Army, and he of it. In order to which, himſelf, with a ſmall

Party

Party of Horſe, came within Cannon-ſhot; and little Parties of Horſe came very near the Ports, and had light Skirmiſhes with ſome of the King's Horſe, without any great Hurt on either Side

The next Morning, a ſtrong Party of the Earl's Army endeavour'd to paſs over the *Cherwel*, at *Goſworth* Bridge; but were repulſed by the Muſqueteers with very conſiderable Loſs; and ſo retir'd to their Body. And now the Earl, being engaged, with his whole Army, on the Eaſt Side of the River *Cherwel*, whereby he was diſabled to give, or receive any ſpeedy Aſſiſtance to, or from *Waller*, the King reſolv'd to attempt the repoſſeſſing himſelf of *Abingdon*, and to take the Opportunity to fight with *Waller* ſingly, before he could be reliev'd from the other Army. In order to this, all the Foot were in the Evening drawn off from the Guard of the Paſſes, and march'd thro' *Oxford* in the Night towards *Abingdon*; and the Earl of *Cleveland*, a Man of ſignal Courage, and an excellent Officer upon any bold Enterprize, advanced, with a Party of one Hundred and Fifty Horſe, to the Town it ſelf, (where there were a Thouſand Foot, and four Hundred Horſe of *Waller*'s Army) and enter'd the ſame, and kill'd many, and took ſome Priſoners; but upon the Alarm, he was ſo overpower'd, that his Priſoners eſcap'd, tho' he kill'd the chief Commander, and made his Retreat good, with the Loſs only of two Officers, and as many common Soldiers; and ſo, both the Attempt upon *Abingdon* was given over, and the Deſign of Fighting *Waller* laid aſide, and the Army returned again to their old Poſt, on the North Side of *Oxford*.

Sir *Jacob Aſtley* undertook the Command himſelf at *Goſworth* Bridge, where he perceiv'd the Earl intended to force his Paſſage, and preſently caſt up Breaſt-works, and made a Redoubt for the Defence of his Men, and repulſed the Enemy the ſecond time, very much to their Damage and Loſs; who renew'd their Aſſault two or three Days together, and planted Cannon to facilitate their Paſſage, which did little Hurt; but they ſtill loſt many Men in the Attempt. On the other Side, *Waller*'s Forces from *Abingdon* did not find the new Bridge ſo well defended; but overpowering thoſe Guards, and having got Boats, in which they put over their Men, both above and below, they got that Paſſage over the River *Iſis*, by which they might have brought over all their Army, and fallen upon the King's Rear, whilſt he was defending the other Side.

It was now high time for the King, to provide for his own Security, and to eſcape the Danger he was in of being ſhut up in *Oxford*. *Waller* loſt no time, but the next Day paſſed over five thouſand Horſe and Foot by *Newbridge*, the Van whereof Quarter'd at *Enſam*; and, the King's Foot being drawn off from *Goſworth* Bridge, *Eſſex* immediately brought his Men over the *Cherwel*, and Quarter'd that Night at *Blechingdon*; many of his Horſe advancing to *Woodſtock*; ſo that the King ſeem'd to them to be perfectly ſhut in between them; and to his own People his Condition ſeem'd ſo deſperate, that one of thoſe with whom he uſed to adviſe in his moſt ſecret Affairs, and whoſe Fidelity was never ſuſpected, propoſed to him to render himſelf, upon Conditions, to the Earl of *Eſſex*; which His Majeſty rejected with great Indignation; yet had the Goodneſs to conceal the Name of the Propoſer; and ſaid, "That poſſibly he might be found "in the Hands of the Earl of *Eſſex*, but he would be dead firſt. Word was given, "for all the Horſe to be together at ſuch an Hour, to expect Orders; and a good Body of Foot, with Cannon, march'd thro' the Town towards *Abingdon*; by which it was concluded, that both Armies would be amuſed, and *Waller* induced to draw back over *Newbridge*; and aſſoon as it was Evening, the Foot, and Cannon, returned to their old Poſt on the North Side.

The King reſolv'd, for the Encouragement of the Lords of the Council, and the Perſons of Quality who were in *Oxford*, to leave his Son the Duke of *York* there; and promiſed, if they ſhould be beſieg'd "to do all he could to relieve them, "before they ſhould be reduced to Extremity. He appointed them "that "two thouſand and five hundred choice Muſqueteers ſhould be drawn out of "the whole Foot, under the Command of Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, and four experienced "Colonels; all which ſhould, without Colours, repair to the Place where the "Horſe attended to receive Orders, and that the reſt of the Foot ſhould re-"main together on the North Side, and ſo be apply'd to the Defence of *Oxford*, "if it ſhould be beſieged.

All things being in this order, on *Monday* the third of *June*, about nine of the Clock at Night, the King, with the Prince, and thoſe Lords, and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of Quality who were not appointed, and only thought themſelves leſs ſecure if they ſhould ſtay behind, march'd out of the North Port, attended by his own Troop, to the place where the Horſe, and Commanded Foot, waited to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, march'd between the two Armies, and by Day-break were at *Hanborough*, ſome Miles beyond all their Quarters. But the King reſted not till the Afternoon, when he found himſelf at *Burford*; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any Army that was to follow with Baggage, and a Train of Artillery: ſo that he was content to refreſh his Men there; and ſupp'd himſelf; yet was not without Apprehenſion that he might be follow'd by a Body of the Enemies Horſe; and therefore, about nine of the Clock, he continued his March from *Burford* over the *Cotſwold*; and by Mid-night reach'd *Burton* upon the Water; where he gave himſelf, and his wearied Troops, more reſt and refreſhment.

The Morning after the King left *Oxford*, the Foot march'd again through *Oxford*, as if they meant to go to *Abingdon*, to continue that Amuſement which the day before had prevailed with *Waller*, to ſend many of his Men back, and to delay his own Advance; and likewiſe, that Quarters might be provided for them againſt their return; which they did by Noon. The Earl of *Eſſex* had that Morning, from *Blechingdon*, ſent ſome Horſe to take a view of *Oxford*; and to learn what was doing there. And they ſeeing the Colours ſtanding, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the King was ſtill there, and as much in his power as ever. *Waller* had earlier Intelligence of his Majeſty's Motion, and ſent a good Body of Horſe to follow him, and to retard his March, till he could come up: and his Horſe made ſuch haſt, that they found in *Burford* ſome of the ſtraggling Soldiers, who out of wearineſs, or for love of Drink, had ſtay'd behind their Fellows. The Earl of *Eſſex* follow'd likewiſe with his Army, and Quarter'd at *Chippen-Norton*; and *Waller*'s Horſe were as far as *Broad-way*, when the King had reach'd *Eveſham*; where he intended to reſt, as in a ſecure place; though his Garriſon at *Tewkesbury* had been, the Night before, ſurpriſed by a ſtrong Party from *Gloceſter*; the Chief Officers being killed, and the reſt taken Priſoners; moſt of the Common Soldiers making their eſcape and coming to *Eveſham*. But, upon Intelligence that both Armies follow'd by ſtrong marches, and it being poſſible that they might get over the River *Avon* about *Stratford*, or ſome other place, and ſo get between the King and *Worceſter*, his Majeſty changed his purpoſe of ſtaying at *Eveſham*, and preſently march'd to *Worceſter*; having given order for the breaking of the Bridge at *Parſhore*; which was, unwarily, ſo near done before all the Troops were paſs'd, that, by the ſuddain falling of an Arch, Major *Bridges*, of the Prince's Regiment, a Man of good Courage and Conduct, with two or three other Officers of Horſe, and about twenty Common Men, fell unfortunately into the *Avon*, and were drown'd.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches towards the* Weſt.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, when he ſaw the King was got full two days March before him, and that it was impoſſible ſo to overtake him, as to bring him into their Power, reſolv'd to purſue him no farther, but to Conſult what was elſe to be done; and, to that purpoſe called a Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies, to attend him at *Burford*, where it was reſolv'd, "that *Waller*, "who had the lighter Ordnance, and the leſs Carriages, ſhould have ſuch an addi- "tion of Forces, as *Maſſey* the Governour of *Gloceſter*, ſhould be able to furniſh "him with; and ſo ſhould purſue and follow the King, whereſoever he ſhould "go, and that the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had the greater Ordnance, and the heavi- "er Carriages, ſhould proſecute the other Deſign of relieving *Lyme*, and reduc- "ing the Weſt to the Obedience of the Parliament.

Waller oppoſed this reſolution all he could; and urged ſome Order, and Determination of the Committee of both Kingdoms in the point; and, "that the Weſt "was aſſign'd to him, as his Province, when the two Armies ſhould think fit "to ſever from each other. However, *Eſſex* gave him poſitive Orders, as his General, "to march according to the Advice of the Council of War; which he durſt not diſobey, but ſent grievous Complaints to the Parliament, of the uſage he was forc'd to ſubmit to. And they at *Weſtminſter*, were ſo incenſed againſt

againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, that they writ a very angry, and imperious Letter to him, in which they reproach'd him, "for not ſubmitting to the Directions which "they had given; and requir'd him "to follow their former Directions, and to "ſuffer *Waller*, to attend the Service of the Weſt. Which Letter was brought to him before he had march'd above two days Weſtward. But the Earl choſe rather to Anſwer their Letter, than to obey their Order; and writ to them, "that "their Directions had been contrary to the Diſcipline of War; and to Reaſon; "and that if he ſhould now return, it would be a great encouragement to the "Enemy in all places; and Subſcribed his Letter, Your Innocent, though ſu-"ſpected Servant, *Eſſex*; and then proſecuted his Reſolution, and continued his march for the Weſt.

When *Waller* found there was no remedy, he Obey'd his Orders with much Diligence and Vigour; and proſecuted his march towards *Worceſter*, where his Majeſty then was; and, in his way, perſwaded, rather than forced, the Garriſon of *Sudely* Caſtle, the ſtrong Houſe of the Lord *Chandois*, to deliver up that place to him. The Lord of that Caſtle was a young Man of Spirit and Courage; and had, for two years ſerv'd the King very bravely in the Head of a Regiment of Horſe, which himſelf had raiſed at his own Charge; but had lately, out of pure wearineſs of the Fatigue, and having ſpent moſt of his Money, and without any Diminution of his Affection, left the King, under pretence of Travel; but making *London* his way, he gave himſelf up to the pleaſures of that place; which he enjoy'd, without conſidering the Iſſue of the War, or ſhewing any Inclination to the Parliament; nor did he, in any degree contribute to the delivery of his Houſe; which was at firſt imagined, becauſe it was ſo ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the Government of Sir *William Morton*, a Gentleman of the long Robe; who, in the beginning of the War, caſt off his Gown, as many other Gallant Men of that Profeſſion of the Law did, and ſerv'd as Lieutenant Colonel in the Regiment of Horſe under the Lord *Chandois*; and had given ſo frequent Teſtimony of ſignal Courage in ſeveral Actions, in which he had receiv'd many wounds, both by the Piſtol and the Sword, that his Mettle was never ſuſpected; and his Fidelity as little queſtion'd: And after many years of Impriſonment, ſuſtained with great Firmneſs and Conſtancy, he liv'd to receive the Reward of his Merit, after the Return of the King; who made him firſt a Serjeant at Law, and afterwards a Judge of the King's Bench; where he ſate many years, and diſcharged the Office with much Gravity and Learning; and was very terrible to thoſe who choſe to live by Robbing on the High-way. He was unfortunate though without Fault, in the giving up that Caſtle in ſo unſeaſonable a Conjuncture; which was done by the Faction and Artifice of an Officer within, who had found means to go out to *Waller*, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the Garriſon; which indeed had not plenty of any thing: and ſo, by the Mutiny of the Soldiers, it was given up; and the Governour made Priſoner, and ſent to the Tower; where he remained ſome years after the end of the War. From hence *Waller*, with great Expedition march'd to *Eveſham*; where the evil Inhabitants receiv'd him willingly; and had, as ſoon as the King left them, repair'd their Bridge over the *Avon*, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not elſe ſo ſoon have done.

Waller *towards* Worceſter, *after the King.*

The King reſted ſome days at *Worceſter*, whereby he very much refreſhed his Troops, which were there ſpared from doing duty; and likewiſe, by the Loyalty of that good Town, and the Affection of the Gentry of that County, who retired thither for their Security, he procured both Shoes and Stockings, and Money for his Soldiers: and then, upon good Information, that *Waller* was march'd out of *Eveſham* with his whole Army towards *Worceſter*, which he would probably Beſiege, the King reſolv'd not to be found there; and therefore, having left that City well provided, and in good heart, his Majeſty remov'd with his little Army to *Bewdley*, that he might keep the River *Severn*, between Him and the Enemy; the Foot being Quarter'd together at *Bewdley*, and the Horſe by the ſide of the River towards *Bridgenorth*. The poſture in which the King was, made *Waller* conclude that his Majeſty intended his Courſe to *Shrewsbury*, and to the more Northern Parts. And it is true, that, without any ſuch Reſolution, Orders were ſent to *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgenorth*, *Ludlow*, and other Garriſons, "that they ſhould make all poſſible Proviſions of Corn, and other "Victual; which they ſhould cauſe, in great quantities, to be brought

thither; which confirm'd *Waller* in his former Conjecture, and made him advance with his Army beyond the King, that he might be nearer *Shrewsbury* than He. But, God knows, the King was without any other Design, than to avoid the Enemy; with whom he could not, with such a handful of Foot, and without Cannon, propose reasonably to Fight a Battle: and he had too many good Reasons against going to either of those places, or to those parts, which *Waller* conceiv'd him inclin'd to; and his Majesty might well assume the Complaint, and Expression of King *David*, " that he *was hunted as a Patridge upon the Moun-*" *tains*; and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair for rest.

In this Perplexity, it look'd like the Bounty of Providence, that *Waller* was advanced so far: upon which, the King took a suddain Resolution, to return with all Expedition to *Worcester*, and to make hast to *Evesham*; where, having broke the Bridge, and so left the River of *Avon* at his back, he might be able, by quick Marches, to joyn with that part of his Army, which he had left at *Oxford*; and might thereby be in a Condition to Fight with *Waller*, and to prosecute any other Design. Upon this good Resolution, care was taken for all the Boats to come both from *Bridegnorth*, and *Worcester*, that the Foot might with the more speed and ease, be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. Insomuch, that the next day, being Embark'd early in the Morning, the Foot arriv'd so soon at *Worcester*, that they might very well have march'd that Night to *Evesham*, but that many of the Horse, which were Quarter'd beyond *Bewdley* towards *Bridgenorth*, could not possibly march at that rate, nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that both Horse and Foot should remain that Night together at *Worcester*; which they did accordingly.

The next Morning, the King found no cause to alter any thing in his former Resolution; and receiv'd good Intelligence, that *Waller*, without knowing any thing of his motion, remain'd still in his old Quarters; whereupon he march'd very fast to *Evesham*; nor would he stay there; but gave Order for the Horse and Foot, without delay, to march through it; after he had provided for the breaking down the Bridge, and made the Inhabitants of the Town pay two hundred pounds, for their alacrity in the reception of *Waller*; and likewise compelled them to deliver a thousand pair of Shoes for the use of the Soldiers; which, without any long pause, was submitted to, and perform'd. Then the Army march'd that Night to *Broadway*, where they Quarter'd; and very early the next Morning, they mounted the Hills near *Camden*; and there they had time to breath, and to look with pleasure on the places they had passed through; having now left *Waller*, and the ill ways he must pass, far enough behind; for even in that Season of the year, the ways in that Vale were very deep.

Now the King sent Colonel *Fielding*, and lest he might miscarry (for both from *Glocester*, *Tewkesbury*, and *Sudely* Castle, the Enemy had many Scouts abroad) two or three other Messengers, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, to let them know " of his happy Return; and that he meant to Quarter that Night at *Burford*; and the next at *Whitney*; where he did expect, that all his Foot, with their Colours and Cannon, would meet him; which, with unspeakable joy, they did. So that, on *Thursday* the twentieth of *June*, which was within seventeen days after he had left *Oxford* in that disconsolate Condition, the King found himself in the head of his Army, from which he had been so sever'd, after so many Accidents and melancholick Perplexities, to which Majesty has been seldom exposed. Nor can all the circumstances of that Peregrination be too particularly, and punctually set down. For as they administer'd much delight after they were passed, and gave them great Argument of acknowledging God's good Providence in the preservation of the King, and, in a manner, snatching him as a Brand out of the Fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the Rebels; so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure to Posterity, to see the most exact Relation of an Action so full of danger in all respects, and of an escape so remarkable. And now the King thought himself in a posture not only to abide *Waller*, if he approach'd towards him, but to follow and find him out if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline Fighting with his Majesty.

In the short time the King had been absent, the Garrison at *Oxford* was not idle. When the King in the Spring had prepared for the Field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the Garrison at *Reading*, it was thought to no pur-

pose

poſe to keep leſſer Garriſons at a leſs diſtance from *Oxford*; and thereupon the Garriſon at *Boſtal* Houſe, reputed a ſtrong place, upon the Edge of *Oxford-ſhire* and *Buckingham-ſhire*, was appointed to demoliſh the Works and Fortifications, and to retire, and joyn with the Army, which was no ſooner done, but the Garriſon at *Aylesbury*, that had felt the Effects of the others ill Neighbourhood, poſſeſſed the place, and put a Garriſon into it; which after the King had left *Oxford*, and both the Armies of *Eſſex* and *Waller*, were gone from before it, gave little leſs trouble to that City, and obſtructed the Proviſions which ſhould come thither, almoſt as much as one of the Armies had done. This brought great Complaints and Clamour from the Country, and from the Town, to the Lords of the Council; and was ever made an Excuſe for their not complying with the Commands they ſent out, for Labourers to work upon the Fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other ſervice of the Town. When both Armies were drawn off to ſuch a diſtance in following the King, that there ſeem'd for the preſent no reaſonable apprehenſion of being Beſieged, the Lords conſider'd of a Remedy to apply to this Evil from *Boſtal* Houſe; and receiving encouragement from Colonel *Gage* (of whom they had a great eſteem, and of whom we ſhall ſpeak ſhortly more at large) who offer'd to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a Party of Commanded Men of the Foot, which the King had left there, with three pieces of Cannon, and a Troop of Horſe of the Town, to obey his Orders, who, by the break of day, appear'd before the place; and in a ſhort time, with little reſiſtance, got poſſeſſion of the Church, and the Out-Houſes, and then batter'd the Houſe it ſelf with his Cannon; which they within, would not long endure; but deſir'd a Parley. Upon which the Houſe was render'd, with the Ammunition, one piece of Ordnance, which was all they had; and much good proviſion of Victual, whereof they had plenty for Horſe and Man; and had liberty given them to go away with their Arms, and Horſes, very eaſy Conditions for ſo ſtrong a Poſt; which was obtain'd with the loſs of one inferior Officer, and two or three Common Men. Here the Colonel left a Garriſon, that did not only defend *Oxford* from thoſe miſchievous Incurſions, but did very near ſupport it ſelf, by the Contribution it drew from *Buckingham-ſhire*, beſides the Prey it frequently took from the very Neighbourhood of *Aylesbury*.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, by ſlow and eaſy Marches, and without any Oppoſition or Trouble, enter'd into *Dorſet-ſhire*; and by his great Civility, and Affability towards all Men, and the very good Diſcipline in his Army, wrought very much upon the People. Inſomuch that his Forces rather encreaſed, than diminiſh'd; which had, during his being before *Oxford*, been much leſſen'd, not only by the Numbers which were kill'd and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilſt the ſharp Encounters continued at *Goſworth* Bridge. It can hardly be imagin'd, how great a Difference there was in the humour, diſpoſition, and manner of the Army under *Eſſex*, and the other under *Waller*, in their behaviour and humanity towards the People; and, conſequently, in the Reception they found among them; the demeanour, and carriage of thoſe under *Waller* being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: beſides that the People, in all places, were not without ſome Affection, and even reverence towards the Earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his Father, had been always univerſally popular.

When he came to *Blandford*, he had a great mind to make himſelf Maſter of *Weymouth*, if he could compaſs it without engaging his Army before it; which he reſolv'd Not to do; however it was little out of his way to paſs near it. Colonel *Aſhburnham*, then Governour of *Weymouth*, was made choice of for that Command, upon the Opinion of his Courage and Dexterity; and, to make way for him, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* had been the Year before, removed from that Charge; and was thereby ſo much diſobliged, that he quitted the King's Party, and gave himſelf up, Body and Soul, to the Service of the Parliament, with an implacable Animoſity againſt the Royal Intereſt. The Colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough ſollicitous to finiſh the Fortifications, which were not ſtrong enough to defy an Army, yet too ſtrong to be deliver'd upon the Approach of one. I ſhall ſay the leſs of this matter, becauſe the Governour afterwards preſſed to have the whole examin'd before a Council of War, where he produced a Warrant, under the hand of Prince *Maurice*, "that, the Town being untenable, he ſhould, upon "the advance of the Earl of *Eſſex*, put a ſufficient ſtrength into *Portland*-Caſtle, and retire thither; which he had done; and was by the Council of War, abſolv'd from any Crime. Yet, the truth is, however abſolv'd, he loſt Reputation by it;

and was thought to have left the Town too ſoon, tho he meant to have return'd again, after he had viſited *Portland*. But in the mean time the Townſmen mutiny'd, and ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex* when he was near the Town; whereupon he came thither; which he would not otherwiſe have done; and gave the Garriſon leave to march with their Arms to Prince *Maurice*; and ſo became Maſter of *Weymouth*; and leaving Men enough out of the Country to defend it, without any delay, he proſecuted his March to *Lyme*; from whence Prince *Maurice*, upon the news of the loſs of *Weymouth*, had retired with haſt enough towards *Exeter*, with a Body of full five and twenty hundred Foot, and eighteen hundred Horſe; after he had put a Garriſon of five hundred Men into *Wareham*, and with ſome loſs of Reputation, for having lain ſo long with ſuch a ſtrength before ſo vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

Weymouth *deliver'd to the Earl of* Eſſex.

Lyme *reliev'd by him.*

Aſſoon as the King had joyn'd his Army at *Whitney*, which now conſiſted of full five thouſand five hundred Foot, and very near four thouſand Horſe, with a convenient Train of Artillery, he reſolv'd no longer to live upon his own Quarters, which had been too much waſted by Friends and Enemies; but to viſit the Enemy's Country; and ſo the next day, he march'd towards *Buckingham*, where he would ſtay and expect *Waller* (of whoſe motion he yet heard nothing) and from whence, if he appear'd not, his Majeſty might enter into the Aſſociated Counties, and ſo proceed Northward, if upon Intelligence from thence, he found it reaſonable. Whilſt the King ſtaid at *Buckingham*, and thought himſelf now in a good Condition to fight with the Enemy (his Troops, every day bringing in ſtore of Proviſions, and, being now in a Country where they were not expected, met with many Cart-loads of Wine, Grocery, and Tobacco, which were paſſing, as in ſecure roads from *London* to *Coventry*, and *Warwick*; all which were very wellcome to *Buckingham*) a new and an unexpected Trouble fell upon him by the ill humour, and Faction in his own Army. *Wilmot* continued ſtill ſullen and perverſe, and every day grew more inſolent; and had contracted ſuch an Animoſity againſt the Lord *Digby*, and the Maſter of the Rolls, that he perſwaded many Officers of the Army, eſpecially of the Horſe, where he was moſt entirely obey'd, to joyn in a Petition to the King, "that thoſe two Counſellours might be excluded, and be no more preſent in Councils of War; which they promiſed to do.

Waller remain'd ſtill in *Worceſter-ſhire*; upon which it was again Conſulted, what the King was to do. Some propoſed "the marching preſently into the Aſſociated Counties; others, "to loſe no time in endeavouring to joyn with Prince *Rupert*. "*Wilmot*, without ever communicating it with the King, poſitively adviſed, "that "they might preſently march towards *London*, and now both their Generals, and "Armies were far from them, make tryal what the true affection of the City "was; and that, when the Army was marched as far as St. *Albans*, the King "ſhould ſend ſuch a gracious Meſſage both to the Parliament, and City, as was "moſt like to prevail upon them; and concluded, as if he knew "that this way "of proceeding would be very much approv'd of by the Army. This extravagant motion, with all the Circumſtances of it, troubled the King very much; yet he thought not fit abſolutely to reject it, leſt it might promote that Petition, which he knew was framing among the Officers; but wiſhed them; "that ſuch a Meſſage "ſhould be prepared, and then that he would Communicate both that, and what "concern'd his march towards *London*, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, that "in ſo weighty an Affair he might receive Their Counſel. To that purpoſe the Lord *Digby*, and the Maſter of the Rolls, were ſent to *Oxford*; who after two days, return'd without any Approbation of the march, or the Meſſage by the Lords. But all that Intrigue fell of it ſelf, upon the ſure Intelligence, "that "*Waller* had left *Worceſter-ſhire*, and marched, with what ſpeed he could, to "find his Majeſty; which gave new Argument of Debate.

When the King had ſo dextrouſly deceiv'd, and eluded him by his quick march to and from *Worceſter*, *Waller*, who had not timely Information of it, and leſs ſuſpected it, thought it not to the purpoſe to tire his Army with long marches in hope to overtake him; but firſt ſhew'd it at all the Walls of *Worceſter*, to terrify that City, which had contemn'd his power a year before, when it was not ſo well able to reſiſt it. But he quickly diſcern'd he could do no good there: then he marched towards *Gloceſter*, having ſent to Colonel *Maſſey* to ſend him ſome Men out of *Gloceſter*; which he, being a Creature of *Eſſex*'s, refuſed to do. Upon this Denial, he marched into *Warwick-ſhire*; and appointed his Rendezvous in *Keinton* Field

Field, the place where the firſt Battle was fought. There he receiv'd an addition of ſeven Troops of Horſe; and about ſix hundred Foot, from *Warwick* and from *Coventry*, with eleven pieces of Ordnance. With this Recruit he marched confidently towards the King; of which his Majeſty being inform'd, that he might the ſooner meet him, he marched with his Army to *Brackley*, when *Waller* was near *Banbury*; and the Armies coming ſhortly in view of each other, upon a fair Sunſhine in the Afternoon, after a very wet Morning, both endeavour'd to poſſeſs a piece of Ground they well knew to be of Advantage; which being nearer to *Waller*, and the King paſſing his whole Army through the Town of *Banbury*, before he could come to it, *Waller* had firſt his Men upon it in good Order of Battle, before the King could reach thither: ſo that the King lay that Night in the Field, half a mile Eaſt of *Banbury*, the River of *Cherwel* being between the two Armies.

The fight at Cropredy-*Bridge.*

The King reſolv'd to make *Waller* draw off from that Advantage ground, where he had ſtood two days; and in order thereunto, march'd away, as if he would enter farther into *Northampton-ſhire*: and he no ſooner moved, but *Waller* likewiſe drew off from his ground, and coaſted on the other ſide of the River, but at ſuch a diſtance, that it was thought he had no mind to be engaged. The Van of the King's Army was led by the General, and *Wilmot*: in the Body was the King, and the Prince, and the Rear conſiſted of one thouſand commanded Foot, under Colonel *Thelwel*, with the Earl of *Northampton*'s and the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigades of Horſe. And, that the Enemy might not be able to take any advantage, a Party of Dragoons was ſent to keep *Cropredy*-Bridge, until the Army was paſſed beyond it. The Army marching, in this order, Intelligence was brought to the King, " that there was a Body of three hundred Horſe, within leſs than two miles of the " Van of the Army, that marched to joyn with *Waller*; and that they might be " eaſily cut off if the Army mended their pace. Whereupon, Orders were ſent to the foremoſt Horſe, " that they ſhould move faſter, the Van and the Middle having the ſame Directions, without any notice given to the Rear. *Waller* quickly diſcern'd the great diſtance that was ſuddainly grown between the King's Body and his Rear, and preſently advanced with fifteen hundred Horſe, one thouſand Foot, and eleven pieces of Cannon to *Cropredy*-Bridge, which were quickly too ſtrong for the Dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint Reſiſtance: ſo that this Party advanced above half a mile, purſuing their Deſign of cutting off the King's Rear, before they ſhould be able to get up to the Body of the Army. To facilitate this Execution, he had ſent one thouſand Horſe more, to paſs over at a Ford a mile below *Cropredy*-Bridge, and to fall upon the Rear of all. Timely notice being given of this to the Earl of *Cleveland*, who was in the Van of that Diviſion, and " of the Enemy's having paſſed at *Cropredy* (which was confirm'd by the running of the Horſe, and Scatter'd Foot) " and that there ſtood two Bodies of " Horſe without moving, and faced the Army: Thereupon the Earl preſently drew up his Brigade to a riſing ground that faced that paſs, where he diſcern'd a great Body of the Rebels Horſe drawn up and ready to have fallen upon his Rear. It was no time to expect Orders; but the Earl, led by his own great Spirit, Charged preſently that Body with great fury, which ſuſtain'd it not with equal Courage; loſing a Cornet, and many Priſoners.

This Alarm had quickly reach'd the King, who ſent to the Van to return, and himſelf drew up thoſe about him, to a little Hill beyond the Bridge; where he ſaw the Enemy preparing for a ſecond Charge upon the Earl of *Cleveland*. The King Commanded the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, a Valliant young Gentleman, who Commanded his own Guards, " to make haſt to the Aſſiſtance of the Rear; and, in his way, " to Charge thoſe two Bodies of Horſe which faced his Majeſty. He with above a hundred of Gallant and Stout Gentlemen, return'd inſtantly over the Bridge, and made haſt towards thoſe two Bodies of Horſe; who ſeeing their fellows Routed by the Earl of *Cleveland*, were then advancing to Charge him in the Flank, as he was following the Execution. But the preſence of this Troop made them change their mind; and after a very little ſtay, accompany their fellows in their Flight; which very much facillitated the Defeat, that quickly enſued.

The Earl of *Cleveland*, after his ſhort Encounter, made a ſtand under a great Aſh (where the King had but half an hour before ſtay'd and din'd) not underſtanding what the Enemy could mean by advancing ſo faſt, and then flying ſo ſoon; when he perceiv'd a Body of their Horſe of ſixteen Cornets, and as many Colours of Foot, placed within the Hedges, and all within Muſquet-ſhot of him, and advan-

cing upon him; which He likewiſe did upon Them with notable Vigour; and having ſtood their Muſquet and Carabine-ſhot, he Charged them ſo furiouſly, being reſolutely ſeconded by all the Officers of his Brigade, that he Routed both Horſe and Foot, and Chaſed them with good execution beyond their Cannon: all which being eleven pieces, were taken; with two Barricadoes of Wood, which were drawn upon Wheels, and in each ſeven ſmall Braſs and Leather Guns, charged with Caſe-ſhot; moſt of their Canoneers were kill'd, and the General of their Ordnance taken Priſoner. This Man, one *Weemes*, a *Scots*-man, had been as much obliged by the King, as a Man of his Condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made Maſter Gunner of *England*, with a Penſion of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his Life (which was looked upon as ſome diſreſpect to the *Engliſh* Nation) and having never done the King the leaſt Service, he took the firſt opportunity to Diſſerve him; and having been engaged againſt him, from the beginning of the Rebellion, he was now preferr'd by them, for his eminent Diſloyalty, to be General of the Ordnance in the Army of Sir *William Waller*; who was very much adviſed by him in all matters of Importance. Beſides *Weemes*, there was taken Priſoner *Baker*, Lieutenant Colonel to Sir *William Waller*'s own Regiment, and five or ſix Lieutenant Colonels, and Captains, of as good Names as were amongſt them; with many Lieutenants, Enſigns, Cornets, and Quarter-maſters; and above one hundred Common Soldiers; many more being ſlain in the Charge. The Earl purſued them as far as the Bridge; over which he forced them to retire, in ſpite of their Dragoons, which were placed there to make good their Retreat: all which fled with them, or before. And ſo the Earl having clear'd that ſide of the River, and not knowing how far he was from the Army, retired, as he had good reaſon to do; having loſt, in this notable Action, two Colonels, Sir *William Boteler*, and Sir *William Clarke*, both Gentlemen of *Kent*, of fair Fortunes, who had raiſed, and arm'd their Regiments at their own Charge who were both kill'd dead upon the Place, with one Captain more of another Regiment, and not above fourteen Common Soldiers.

At the ſame time, the Earl of *Northampton* diſcover'd that Party of the Enemies Horſe, which had found a paſſage over the River a Mile below, to follow him in the Rear; and preſently faced about with thoſe Regiments of his Brigade. Upon which, without enduring the Charge, the whole Body betook themſelves to Flight, and got over the Paſs they had ſo newly been acquainted with, with little loſs, becauſe they prevented the Danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their Flight ſo far, as if they were ſtill purſued, that they never return'd again to their Army. The Lord *Bernard*, with the King's Troop, ſeeing there was no Enemy left on that ſide, drew up in a large Field oppoſite to the Bridge; where he ſtood, whilſt the Cannon, on the other ſide, play'd upon him, until his Majeſty and the reſt of the Army paſſed by them, and drew into a Body upon the Fields near *Wilſcot*. *Waller* inſtantly quitted *Cropredy*, and drew up his whole Army upon the high grounds, which are between *Cropredy* and *Hanwell*, oppoſite to the King's Quarters about a Mile; the River of *Cherwell*, and ſome low grounds, being between both Armies; which had a full view of each other.

It was now about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Weather very fair, and very warm (it being the 29th day of *June*) and the King's Army being now together, his Majeſty reſolv'd to proſecute his good Fortune, and to go to the Enemy, ſince They would not come to Him: and to that purpoſe, ſent two good Parties, to make way for him to paſs both at *Cropredy*-Bridge, and the other paſs a Mile below; over which the Enemy had ſo newly paſſed: both which places were ſtrongly guarded by them. To *Cropredy* they ſent ſuch ſtrong Bodies of Foot, to relieve each other as they ſhould be preſſed, that thoſe ſent by the King thither could make no Impreſſion upon them; but were repulſed, till the Night came, and ſevered them; all Parties being tired with the duty of the Day. But they who were ſent to the other paſs, a Mile below, after a ſhort Reſiſtance, gained it, and a Mill adjoyning; where, after they had kill'd ſome, they took the reſt Priſoners; and from thence, did not only defend themſelves, that, and the next Day, but did the Enemy much hurt; expecting ſtill that their Fellows ſhould maſter the other paſs, that ſo they might advance together.

Here

Here the King was prevail'd with to make trial of another Expedient. Some Men, from the Conference they had with the Priſoners, others from other Intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a Meſſage were now ſent of Grace and Pardon to all the Officers and Soldiers of that Army, they would forthwith lay down their Arms: and it was very notorious, that Multitudes ran every Day from thence. How this Meſſage ſhould be ſent, ſo that it might be effectually deliver'd, was the only Queſtion that remain'd: and it was agreed, "that Sir *Edward Walker* (who was both Garter King at Arms, and Secretary to the Council of War) "ſhould "be ſent to publiſh that his Majeſty's Grace. But he wiſely deſir'd, "that a Trum-"pet might be firſt ſent for a Paſs; the barbarity of that People being notorious, that they regarded not the Laws of Arms, or of Nations. Whereupon a Trumpet was ſent to Sir *William Waller*, to deſire "a Safe Conduct for a Gentleman, who "ſhould deliver a gracious Meſſage from his Majeſty. After two Hours Conſideration, he return'd Anſwer, "that he had no power to receive any Meſſage of "Grace or Favour from his Majeſty, without the Conſent of the two Houſes of "Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to whom his Majeſty, if he pleaſed, might make his "Addreſſes. And as ſoon as the Trumpet was gone, as an Evidence of his Reſolution, he cauſed above twenty ſhot of his greateſt Cannon to be made at the King's Army, and as near the place as they could, where his Majeſty uſed to be.

When both Armies had ſtood upon the ſame ground, and in the ſame Poſture, for the ſpace of two Days, they both drew off to a greater Diſtance from each other; and, from that time, never ſaw each other. It then quickly appear'd, by *Waller*'s ſtill keeping more aloof from the King, and his marching up and down from *Buckingham*, ſometimes towards *Northampton*, and ſometimes towards *Warwick*, that he was without other Deſign, than of recruitng his Army; and that the Defeat of that day at *Cropredy* was much greater, than it then appear'd to be; and that it even broke the heart of his Army. And it is very probable, that if the King, after he had reſted and refreſhed his Men three or four days, which was very neceſſary, in regard they were exceedingly tir'd with continual Duty, beſides that the Proviſions would not hold longer in the ſame Quarters, had follow'd *Waller*, when it was evident He would not follow the King, he might have deſtroy'd that Army without Fighting: for it appear'd afterwards, without it's being purſu'd, that within fourteen days after that Action at *Cropredy*, *Waller*'s Army, that before conſiſted of eight thouſand, was ſo much waſted, that there remain'd not with him half that Number.

But the truth is, from the time that the King diſcover'd that mutinous Spirit, in the Officers, govern'd by *Wilmot*, at *Buckingham*, he was unſatisfied with the Temper of his own Army, and did not deſire a thorough Engagement, till he had a little time to reform ſome, whom he reſolv'd never more heartily to truſt; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were miſled without any Malice, or evil Intention. But when he now found himſelf ſo much at Liberty from two great Armies, which had ſo ſtreightly encompaſſed him, within little more than a Month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a State, in which it could, for the preſent, do him little harm; his heart was at no eaſe, with apprehenſion of the terrible fright the Queen would be in (who was newly deliver'd of a Daughter, that was afterwards Married to the Duke of *Orleans*) when ſhe ſaw the Earl of *Eſſex* before the Walls of *Exeter*, and ſhould be at the ſame time inform'd, that *Waller* was with another Army in purſuit of himſelf. His Majeſty reſolv'd therefore, with all poſſible Expedition, to follow the Earl of *Eſſex*, in hopes that he ſhould be able to fight a Battle with him, before *Waller* ſhould be in a Condition to follow him: and his own ſtrength would be much improv'd by a Conjunction with Prince *Maurice*; who, though he retir'd before *Eſſex*, would be well able, by the North of *Devonſhire*, to meet the King, when he ſhould know that he march'd that Way.

His Majeſty had no ſooner taken this Reſolution, than he gave notice of it to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*; and ſent an Expreſs into the Weſt, to inform the Queen of it; who, by the Way, carried Orders to the Lord *Hopton*, "to draw what Men "he could out of *Monmouthſhire*, and South *Wales*, into *Briſtol*; that himſelf "might meet his Majeſty with as many as he could poſſibly draw out of that Garri-"ſon. So, without any delay, the whole Army, with what Expedition was poſſible, march'd towards the Weſt over the *Cotſwold* to *Cirenceſter*; and ſo to *Bath*; where he arriv'd on the 15*th* day of *July*, and ſtaid there one whole day, to refreſh his Army which ſtood enough in need of it.

The K. marches towards the Weſt.

The King had ſcarce march'd two days Weſtward, when he was ſurpriſed with ill news from the North; for, after he had, by an Expreſs from *Oxford*, receiv'd intelligence, " that Prince *Rupert* had not only reliev'd *York*, but totally defeated " the *Scots*, with many particulars to confirm it (all which was ſo much believ'd there, that they had made publick Fires of Joy for the Victory) he now receiv'd quite contrary information, and was too ſurely convinced, that his whole Army was defeated. It was very true, that, after many great and noble Actions perform'd by Prince *Rupert* in the Relief of *Latham*, and the Reduction of *Bolton*, and all other places in that large County (*Mancheſter* only excepted) in which the Rebels loſt very many, much Blood having been ſhed, in taking places by Aſſault, which were too obſtinately defended; the Prince had marched out of *Lancaſhire* with ſo good Reputation, and had given his Orders ſo effectually to *Goring*, who lay in *Lincoln-ſhire* with that Body of Horſe that belong'd to the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*'s Army, that they happily joyn'd him; and march'd together towards *York*, with ſuch Expedition, that the Enemy was ſo ſurpriſed, that they found it neceſſary to raiſe the Seige in Confuſion enough; and leaving one whole ſide of the Town free, drew to the other ſide, in great Diſorder and Conſternation; there being irreconcilable differences, and jealouſies,, between the Officers, and, indeed, between the Nations: the *Engliſh* reſolving to joyn no more with the *Scots*, and They, on the other ſide, as weary of their Company, and Diſcipline; ſo that the Prince had done his Work; and if he had ſat ſtill, the Enemies great Army would have moulder'd to nothing, and been expoſed to any advantage his Highneſs would take of them.

An Account of the Battle of Marſton-moor.

But the diſmal Fate of the Kingdom would not permit ſo much Sobriety of Counſel: One ſide of the Town was no ſooner free, by which there was an entire Communication with thoſe in the Town, and all Proviſion brought in abundantly out of the Country, but the Prince, without conſulting with the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, or any of the Officers within the Town, ſent for all the Soldiers to draw out, and put the whole Army in Battalia, on that ſide where the Enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preſerve them, but a preſent Battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which diſtracted them. And though that Party of the King's Horſe which Charged the *Scots*, ſo totally Routed and Defeated their whole Army, that they fled all ways for many Miles together, and were knock'd on the head, and taken Priſoners by the Country, and *Leſly* their General fled ten Miles, and was taken Priſoner by a Conſtable (from whence the News of the Victory was ſpeedily brought to *Newark*, and thence ſent by an Expreſs to *Oxford*; and ſo receiv'd and ſpread as aforeſaid) yet the *Engliſh* Horſe, Commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, Charged ſo well, and in ſuch excellent Order, being no ſooner broken than they rallied again, and Charged as briskly, that, though both *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* were hurt, and both above the Shoulders, and many good Officers kill'd, they prevailed over that Body of Horſe which oppoſed them, and totally routed, and beat them off the Field; and almoſt the whole Body of the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*'s Foot were cut off.

The Marquis himſelf, and his brave Brother, Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* (who was a Man of the nobleſt, and largeſt mind, though the leaſt, and moſt inconvenient Body that liv'd) Charged in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, who came out of the Town with him, with as much Gallantry and Courage, as Men could do. But it was ſo late in the Evening before the Battle begun, that the Night quickly fell upon them; and the Generals return'd into the Town, not enough knowing their own loſs, and perform'd very few Compliments to each other. They who moſt exactly deſcribe that unfortunate Battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole Country (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good Army together) by Prince *Rupert*'s haſty departure with all his Troops, and the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*'s as haſty departure to the Sea ſide, and taking Ship, and Tranſporting himſelf out of the Kingdom, and all the ill Conſequences thereupon give ſo ill an Account of any Conduct, or Diſcretion, in the Managery of that Affair, that, as I can take no pleaſure in writing of it, ſo Poſterity would receive little pleaſure, or benefit, in the moſt particular Relation of it.

This may be ſaid of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that two great Generals, whereof one had ſtill a good Army left, his Horſe, by their not having perform'd their Duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his Foot having retired into the Town, the

the great execution having faln upon the Northern Foot; and the other, having the abſolute Commiſſion over the Northern Counties, and very many Conſiderable places in them ſtill remaining under his Obedience, ſhould both agree in nothing elſe, but in leaving that good City, and the whole Country, as a prey to the Enemy; who had not yet the Courage to believe that they had the Victory; the *Scots* having been ſo totally routed (as hath been ſaid before) their General made Priſoner by a Conſtable, and detained in Cuſtody, till moſt part of the next day was paſt; and moſt of the Officers, and Army, having march'd, or run above ten Miles Northward, before they had News that they might ſecurely return: And tho the Horſe under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* had won the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the beſt Officers kill'd, or ſo maim'd that they could not, in any ſhort time, have done more hurt: ſo that if there had been any Agreement to have concealed their loſs, which might have been done to a good Degree (for the Enemy was not poſſeſſed of the Field, but was drawn off at a diſtance, not knowing what the Horſe, which had done ſo little, might do the next day) there might probably many Advantages have appear'd, which were not at the inſtant in view; however, they might both have done that as ſecurely afterwards, as they did then unſeaſonably.

But neither of them were Friends to ſuch Deliberation; but, aſſoon as they were refreſh'd with a little ſleep, they both ſent a Meſſenger to each other, almoſt at the ſame time; the one, "that he was reſolv'd, that Morning, to march "away with his Horſe, and as many Foot as he had left; and the other, "that "he would, in that Inſtant, repair to the Sea-ſide, and Tranſport himſelf beyond the Seas; both which they immediately perform'd; the Marquis making haſt to *Scarborough*, there Embarked in a poor Veſſel, and arriv'd at *Hambourgh*: the Prince, with his Army, begun his March the ſame Morning towards *Cheſter*. And ſo *York* was left to the diſcretion of Sir *Thomas Glemham*, the Governour thereof, to do with it as he thought fit; being in a Condition only to deliver it up with more Decency, not to defend it againſt an Enemy that would require it.

Whereas, if Prince *Rupert* had ſtay'd with the Army he march'd away with, at any reaſonable Diſtance, it would have been long before the Jealouſies, and Breaches, which were between the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Armies, would have been enough compoſed to have agreed upon the renewing the Siege; ſuch great quantities of Proviſion being already brought into the Town: and the *Scots* talked of nothing but returning into their own Country, where the Marquis of *Mountroſe* had kindled already a Fire, which the Parliament of *Edenborough* could not quench. But the certain Intelligence, "that the Prince was march'd away "without thought of returning, and that the Marquis had Embark'd himſelf, "reconciled them ſo far (and nothing elſe could) that, after two days, they return'd to the Poſts they had before had in the Siege; and ſo ſtreighten'd the Town, that the Governour, when he had no hope of Relief, within a Fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good Articles for the Town, and the Gentry that were in it, and for Himſelf, and the few Soldiers he had left, as he could propoſe: And ſo he march'd with all his Troops to *Carliſle*; which he afterwards defended with very remarkable Circumſtances of Courage, Induſtry, and Patience.

York *delivered to the Parliament Forces.*

The Times afterwards grew ſo bad, and the King's Affairs ſucceeded ſo ill, that there was no Opportunity to call either of thoſe two great Perſons to Account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular Relation of the grounds of their Proceeding, or the cauſes of their miſadventures, by way of Excuſe to the King, or for their own Vindication. Prince *Rupert*, only to his Friends, and after the Murther of the King, produced a Letter in the King's own hand, which he receiv'd when he was upon his March from *Lancaſhire* towards *York*; in which his Majeſty ſaid, "that his Affairs were in ſo very ill a State, "that it would not be enough, though his Highneſs raiſed the Siege from "*York*, if he had not likewiſe beaten the *Scotiſh* Army; which he underſtood to "amount to no leſs than a peremptory Order to Fight, upon what diſad-"vantage ſoever: and added, "that the diſadvantage was ſo great, the Enemy "being ſo much Superior in number, it was no wonder he loſt the day. But

as the King's Letter would not bear that ſence, ſo the greateſt Cauſe of the Misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the Battle, aſſoon as the Enemy drew off and without Conſulting at all with the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, and his Officers; who muſt needs know more of the Enemy, and conſequently how they were beſt to be dealt with, than his Highneſs could do. For he ſaw not the Marquis, till, upon his Summons, he came into the Field, in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, as a private Captain, when the Battle was ranged; and which, after a very ſhort ſalutation, immediately begun; thoſe of the Marquis's Army, who came out of the Town, being placed upon the ground left by the Prince, and aſſign'd to them; which much indiſpoſed both Officers and Soldiers to the work in hand, and towards thoſe with whom they were to joyn in it.

Then it was too late in the day to begin the Fight, if all the other ill circumſtances had been away; for it was paſt three in the Afternoon: whereas, if it had been deferr'd till next Morning, in which time a full Conſultation might have been had, and the Officers and Soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better ſucceſs might have been reaſonably expected; nor would the Confuſion and Conſternation the other Armies were then in, which was the only excuſe for the preſent Engagement, have been the leſs; but, on the contrary, very much improv'd by the delay; for the Bitterneſs and Animoſity between the Chief Commanders was ſuch, that a great part of the Army was march'd ſix Miles, when it apear'd, by the Prince's manner of drawing his Army together to that ground, that his reſolution was to Fight: the ſpeedy Intelligence whereof prevail'd, and nothing elſe could, with thoſe who were gone ſo far, to return; and with the reſt, to unite and concur in an Action, that, in human reaſon, could only preſerve them; and if that opportunity had not then been ſo unhappily offer'd, it was generally believ'd that the *Scots* would, the next Morning, have continued their March Northward; and the Earl of *Mancheſter* would have been neceſſitated to have made his retreat as well as he could, into his Aſſociated Counties; and it would have been in the Prince's power to have choſen which of them he would have deſtroy'd.

But then of all the reſt, his going away the next Morning with all his Troops, in that manner, was moſt unexcuſable; becauſe moſt prejudicial, and moſt ruinous to the King's Affairs in thoſe parts. Nor did thoſe Troops ever after bring any conſiderable advantage to the King's Service, but moulder'd away by degrees, and the Officers, whereof many were Gentlemen of Quality, and great Merit, were killed upon beating up of Quarters, and little Actions not worth their preſence. The truth is, the Prince had ſome ſecret Intimation of the Marquis's purpoſe of immediately leaving the Town, and Embarking himſelf for the parts beyond the Seas, before the Marquis himſelf ſent him word of it; upon which in great paſſion and rage, he ſent him notice of his reſolution preſently to be gone, that he who had the Command of all thoſe parts, and thereby an obligation not to deſert his Charge, might be without any imagination that the Prince would take ſuch a diſtracted Government upon him, and leave him any excuſe for his departure: and if in this joynt diſtemper, with which they were both tranſported, any Perſons of diſcretion and honour, had interpoſed, they might, in all probability, have prevailed with both, for a good underſtanding between them, or at leaſt for the ſuſpenſion of their preſent Reſolutions, and conſidering what might beſt be done. But they both reſolv'd ſo ſoon, and ſo ſoon executed what they reſolv'd, that very few had the leaſt ſuſpicion of their Intentions, till they were both out of diſtance to have their Converſion attempted.

All that can be ſaid for the Marquis is, that he was ſo utterly tired with a Condition and Employment ſo contrary to his Humour, Nature, and Education, that he did not at all conſider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder, that he ſuſtain'd the vexation and fatigue of it ſo long, than that he broke from it with ſo little circumſpection. He was a very fine Gentleman, active, and full of Courage, and moſt accompliſh'd in thoſe Qualities of Horſemanſhip, Dancing, and Fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Beſides that he was amorous in Poetry, and Muſick, to which he indulged the greateſt part of his time; and nothing could have

tempted

tempted him out of thoſe paths of pleaſure which he enjoy'd in a full and ample Fortune, but Honour and Ambition to ſerve the King when he ſaw him in diſtreſs, and abandon'd by moſt of thoſe who were in the higheſt degree obliged to him, and by him. He lov'd Monarchy, as it was the foundation and ſupport of his own greatneſs, and the Church, as it was well conſtituted for the ſplendour and ſecurity of the Crown; and Religion, as it cheriſh'd, and maintain'd that Order and Obedience that was neceſſary to Both; without any other paſſion for the particular Opinions which were grown up in it, and diſtinguiſhed it into Parties, than as he deteſted whatſoever was like to diſturb the Publick Peace.

He had a particular Reverence for the Perſon of the King, and the more extraordinary Devotion for that of the Prince, as he had had the Honour to be truſted with his Education as his Governour; for which Office, as he excelled in ſome, ſo he wanted other Qualifications. Though he had retired from his great Truſt, and from the Court, to decline the inſupportable Envy which the powerful Faction had contracted againſt him, yet the King was no ſooner neceſſitated to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome place of ſtrength, and to raiſe ſome Force for his Defence, but the Earl of *New-Caſtle* (he was made Marquis afterwards) obey'd his firſt call; and, with great expedition and dexterity, ſeiſed upon that Town; when till then there was not one Port Town in *England*, that avow'd their Obedience to the King: and he then preſently raiſed ſuch Regiments of Horſe and Foot, as were neceſſary for the preſent ſtate of Affairs; all which was done purely by his own Intereſt, and the Concurrence of his numerous Allies in thoſe Northern Parts; who with all alacrity obey'd his Commands, without any charge to the King; which he was not able to ſupply.

And after the Battle of *Edge-Hill*, when the Rebels grew ſo ſtrong in *Yorkſhire*, by the influence their Garriſon of *Hull* had upon both the Eaſt and Weſt Riding there, that it behoved the King preſently to make a General, who might unite all thoſe Northern Counties in his Service, he could not chooſe any Man ſo fit for it, as the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, who was not only poſſeſs'd of a preſent Force, and of that important Town, but had a greater Reputation and Intereſt in *York-ſhire* it ſelf, than, at that preſent, any other Man had: the Earl of *Cumberland* being at that time, though of entire Affection to the King, much decayed in the Vigour of his Body, and his Mind, and unfit for that Activity which the Seaſon requir'd. And it cannot be denied, that the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, by his quick march with his Troops, aſſoon as he had receiv'd his Commiſſion to be General, and in the depth of Winter, redeem'd, or reſcued the City of *York* from the Rebels, when they look'd upon it as their own, and had it even within their graſp: and aſſoon as he was Maſter of it, he raiſed Men apace, and drew an Army together, with which he Fought many Battles, in which he had always (this laſt only excepted) Succeſs and Victory.

He liked the Pomp, and abſolute Authority of a General well, and preſerv'd the Dignity of it to the full; and for the Diſcharge of the outward State, and Circumſtances of it, in acts of Courteſy, Affability, Bounty, and Generoſity, he abounded; which, in the infancy of a War, became him, and made him, for ſome time, very acceptable to Men of all Conditions. But the ſubſtantial part, and fatigue of a General he did not in any degree underſtand (being utterly unacquainted with War) nor could ſubmit to; but referr'd all matters of that Nature to the diſcretion of his Lieutenant General *King*; who, no doubt, was an Officer of great Experience and Ability, yet being a *Scots*-man, was in that conjuncture, upon more diſadvantage than he would have been, if the General himſelf had been more intent upon his Command. In all Actions of the Field he was ſtill preſent, and never abſent in any Battle; in all which he gave inſtances of an invincible Courage and Fearleſsneſs in Danger; in which the expoſing himſelf notoriouſly did ſometimes change the fortune of the Day, when his Troops begun to give ground. Such Articles of Action were no ſooner over, than he retired to his delightful Company, Muſick, or his ſofter pleaſures, to all which he was ſo indulgent, and to his eaſe, that he would not be interrupted upon what occaſion ſoever; inſomuch as he ſometimes denied admiſſion to the Chiefeſt Officers of the Army; even to General *King* himſelf, for two days together; from whence many inconveniencies fell out.

From the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the Privy Council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other Soldiers Mind, that all the buſineſs ought to be done by Councils of War, and was always angry when there were any Overtures of a Treaty; and therefore, eſpecially after the Queen had Landed in *York-ſhire*, and ſtaid ſo long there, he conſider'd any Orders he receiv'd from *Oxford*, though from the King himſelf, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himſelf ſure of *Hull*, and was ſure that he ſhould be then Maſter entirely of all the North, he had no mind to march nearer the King (as he had then Orders to march into the Aſſociated Counties, when, upon the taking of *Briſtol*, his Majeſty had a purpoſe to have march'd towards *London* on the other ſide) out of apprehenſion that he ſhould be eclipſed by the Court, and his Authority overſhadow'd by the Superiority of Prince *Rupert*; from whom he deſir'd to be at diſtance: Yet when he found himſelf in diſtreſs, and neceſſitated to draw his Army within the Walls of *York*, and ſaw no Way to be reliev'd but by Prince *Rupert*, who had then done great feats of Arms in the Relief of *Newark*, and afterwards in his Expedition into *Lancaſhire*, where he was at that time, he writ to the King to *Oxford*, either upon the knowledge that the abſoluteneſs, and illimitedneſs of his Commiſſion was generally much ſpoken of, or out of the Conſcience of ſome Diſcourſe of his own to that Purpoſe; which might have been reported; "that he hoped his Majeſty did "believe, that he would never make the leaſt ſcruple to obey the Grandchild "of King *James*: And aſſuredly, if the Prince had cultivated the good inclinations the Marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious Condeſcenſions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his Service and Intereſt.

But the ſtrange manner of the Prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himſelf, and all the King's hopes, into that ſuddain and unneceſſary Engagement, by which all the force the Marquis had raiſed, and with ſo many difficulties preſerv'd, was in a moment caſt away and deſtroy'd, ſo tranſported him with paſſion and deſpair, that he could not compoſe himſelf to think of beginning the work again, and involving himſelf in the ſame undelightful condition of Life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his paſt meritorious Actions, might outweigh his preſent abandoning the thought of future Action; and ſo, without farther conſideration, as hath been ſaid, he tranſported himſelf out of the Kingdom, and took with him General *King*; upon whom they who were content to ſpare the Marquis, poured out all the Reproaches of "Infidelity, Trea-"ſon, and Conjunction with his Country-men; which, without doubt, was the effect of the univerſal Diſcontent, and the miſerable Condition to which the People of thoſe Northern Parts were on the ſuddain reduced, without the leaſt foundation, or ground for any ſuch reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole Courſe of his Life, been generally reputed a Man of Honour, and had exerciſed the higheſt Commands under the King of *Sweden* with extraordinary ability, and ſucceſs, ſo he had been proſecuted by ſome of his Country-men with the higheſt malice, from his very coming into the King's Service; and the ſame malice Purſued him after he had left the Kingdom, even to his death.

The loſs of *England* came ſo ſoon to be lamented, that the loſs of *York*, or the too ſoon deſerting the Northern Parts, were comparatively no more ſpoken of; and the conſtant and noble behaviour of the Marquis in the change of his Fortune, and his chearful ſubmiſſion to all the ſtreights, neceſſities, and diſcomforts, which are inſeparable from Baniſhment, without the leaſt application to the Uſurpers, who were poſſeſſed of his whole Eſtate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable Waſt, in deſtroying all his Woods of very great Value; and who were ſtill equally abhorr'd, and deſpiſed by him with; his readineſs and alacrity again to have embark'd himſelf in the King's Quarrel, upon the firſt reaſonable occaſion, ſo perfectly reconcil'd all good Men to him, that they rather obſerv'd, what he had Done, and Suffer'd for the King and for his Country, without farther inquiring what he had Omitted to do, or been overſeen in doing.

This fatal blow, which ſo much chang'd the King's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not ſuch an impreſſion upon his Majeſty, but that it made him purſue his former Reſolution, to follow the Earl of *Eſſex*, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing elſe to do. But being inform'd that the Earl had not made any long marches, and that the Queen, upon the firſt News

of

of the Earl's drawing near, though ſhe had been little more than a fortnight deliver'd, had left *Exeter*, and was removed into *Cornwal*; from whence, in a ſhort time, ſhe embark'd for *France* (the Prince of *Orange* having ſent ſome *Dutch* Ships of War, to attend her Commands in the Harbour of *Falmouth*; and from thence her Majeſty tranſported her ſelf) his Majeſty march'd more ſlowly, that he might encreaſe his Army from *Briſtol*, and other places; making no doubt, but that he ſhould engage the Army of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was already near *Exeter*, before he ſhould be able to return to *London*.

The Queen retires into France.

The Earl of *Eſſex*'s good Fortune now begun to decline: He had not proceeded with his accuſtom'd warineſs, and skill, but run into Labyrinths, from whence he could not diſintangle himſelf. When he had march'd to the length of *Exeter*, which he had ſome thought of Beſieging, without any imagination that he could find an Enemy to contend with him, having left the King in ſo ill a condition, and Sir *William Waller* with ſo good an Army waiting upon him, he had the News of the "diſ-"appointment Sir *William Waller* had receiv'd; and that the King was come with his "whole Army into the Weſt in purſuit of him, without being follow'd by *Waller*, or "any Troops to diſquiet or retard his March; which exceedingly ſurpriſed him, and made him ſuſpect that the Parliament it ſelf had betrayed him, and conſpir'd his ruin.

The Jealouſies were now indeed grown very great between them; the Parliament looking upon his march into the Weſt, and leaving *Waller*, to whom they intended the other Province, to follow the King, but as a Declaration that he would no more fight againſt the Perſon of the King; and the Earl, on the other ſide, had well obſerv'd the difference betwixt the care and affection the Parliament expreſſed for, and towards His Army, and the other under the Command of the Earl of *Mancheſter*; which they ſet ſo great a price upon, that he thought they would not ſo much care what became of His. Otherwiſe, it could not be poſſible, that upon ſo little a bruſh as *Waller* had ſuſtain'd, he could not be able to follow, and diſturb the King, in a Country, ſo encloſed, as he muſt paſs through. In this unexpected ſtreight, upon the firſt reception of the News, he reſolv'd to turn back, and meet and fight with the King, either before he enter'd *Devon-ſhire*, or elſe in *Somerſet-ſhire*; in either of which places he could not be ſtreighten'd in room, or proviſions, or be compell'd to fight in a place diſadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had purſued this Reſolution, he had done prudently. But the Lord *Roberts*, who was a General Officer in his Army, of an inſociable Nature, and impetuous Diſpoſition, full of contradiction in his Temper, and of Parts ſo much ſuperior to any in the Company, that he could too well maintain and juſtify all thoſe contradictions, poſitively oppoſed the return of the Army; but preſſed, with His confidence, "that the Army ſhould continue it's March to *Cornwal*; where he undertook to have ſo great Intereſt, that he made no queſtion, "but the "preſence of the Earl of *Eſſex*, with his Army, would ſo unite that County to "the Parliament's Service, that it would be eaſy to defend the paſſes into the whole "County (which are not many) in ſuch a manner, that the King's Army ſhould "never be able to enter into *Cornwal*, nor to retire out of *Devon-ſhire* without great "loſs, nor before the Parliament would ſend more Forces upon their backs.

The Lord *Roberts*, though inferior in the Army, had much greater credit in the Parliament than the Earl of *Eſſex*; and the Earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with Sir *Harry Vane*, whom of all Men the Earl hated, and look'd upon as an Enemy. He had never been in *Cornwal*; ſo he knew not the Situation of the Country: ſome of the Officers, and ſome others of that Country (as there were with him four or five Gentlemen of that Country of Intereſt) concurr'd fully with the Lord *Roberts*, and promiſed great matters, if the Army marched thither: whereupon the Earl departed from his own underſtanding, and comply'd with their advice; and ſo marched the direct way with all his Army, Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, into that narrow Country; and purſued Prince *Maurice* and thoſe Forces, which eaſily retir'd, Weſtward; until he found himſelf in ſtreights; where we ſhall leave him for the preſent.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches into* Cornwal.

After the King had made a ſmall ſtay at *Exeter*, where he found his young Daughter, of whom the Queen had been ſo lately deliver'd, under the Care and Government of the Lady *Dalkeith* (ſhortly after Counteſs of *Morton* by the death of her Husband's Father) who had been long before deſign'd by both their Majeſty's to that Charge; and having a little refreſh'd, and accommodated his Troops, he marched directly to *Cornwal*; where he found the Earl of *Eſſex* in ſuch a part of the

The King follows him thither.

Country on the Sea ſide, that he quickly, by the general Conflux and Concourſe of the whole People, upon which the Earl had been perſwaded ſo much to depend, found means, with very little Fighting, ſo to ſtreighten his Quarters, that there ſeem'd little appearance that he could poſſibly march away with his Army, or compel the King to Fight. He was, upon the matter, incloſed in, and about *Foy*; whilſt the King lay encamped about *Liskard*; and no day paſſed without ſome Skirmiſhes; in which the Earl was more diſtreſſed, and many of his principal Officers taken Priſoners. Here there happen'd an Accident that might very well have turn'd the King's Fortune, and depriv'd him of all the Advantages which were then in view. The King being always in the Army himſelf, all matters were ſtill debated before him, in the preſence of thoſe Counſellors who were about him; who, being Men of better underſtandings and better expreſſions than the Officers, commonly diſpoſed his Majeſty to Their opinions, at leaſt kept him from concurring in every thing which was propoſed by the Officers. The Counſellors, as hath been ſaid before, were the Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State, and Sir *John Colepepper*, Maſter of the Rolls, of whoſe judgement the King had more eſteem, even with reference to the War, than of moſt of the Officers of the Army; which raiſed an implacable animoſity in the whole Army againſt them.

General *Ruthen*, who by this time was created Earl of *Brentford*; was General of the Army; but, as hath been ſaid, both by reaſon of his Age, and his extreme deafneſs, was not a Man of Counſel or Words; hardly conceiv'd what was propoſed, and as confuſedly and obſcurely deliver'd his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his Eye than his Ear; and in the Field well knew what was to be done. *Wilmot* was Lieutenant General of the Horſe, and at this time the ſecond Officer of the Army, and had much more Credit and Authority in it, than any Man; which he had not employ'd to the King's advantage, as his Majeſty believ'd. He was a Man Proud, and Ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary Officer in Marches, and governing his Troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did ſo, which was a great People. He had a more companionable Wit, even than his Rival *Goring*, and ſway'd more among the good Fellows, and could by no means endure that the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, ſhould have ſo much credit with the King in Councils of War.

The King had no kindneſs for him upon an old account, as remembring the part he had acted againſt the Earl of *Strafford*: however, he had been induced, upon the Accidents which happen'd afterwards, to repoſe truſt in him. This *Wilmot* knew well enough; and foreſaw, that he ſhould be quickly overſhadow'd in the War; and therefore deſired to get out of it, by a ſeaſonable Peace; and ſo, in all his diſcourſes, urg'd the neceſſity of it, as he had begun in *Buckingham-ſhire*; and, "that the King ought to ſend Propoſitions to "the Parliament, in order to the obtaining it; and in this March had proſecuted his former deſign by ſeveral Cabals among the Officers; and diſpoſed them to Petition the King, "to ſend to the Parliament again an offer of Peace; "and that the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *John Colpepper*, might not be permitted to "be preſent in Councils of War; implying, "that if this might not be "granted, they would think of ſome other way. Which Petition, though, by the Wiſdom of ſome Officers, it was kept from being deliver'd, yet ſo provoked the King, that he reſolv'd to take the firſt opportunity to free himſelf from his impetuous humour; in which good diſpoſition the Lord *Digby* ceaſed not to confirm his Majeſty; and as ſoon as the News came of the Northern Defeat, and that the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* had left the Kingdom, he prevail'd that *Goring* might be ſent for to attend his Majeſty; who then propoſed to himſelf to make his Nephew Prince *Rupert* General of the Army, and *Goring* General of the Horſe; which *Wilmot* could not avowedly have excepted againſt, the other having been always ſuperior to him in Command; and yet would be ſuch a Mortification to him, as he would never have been able to digeſt.

Whether his apprehenſions of this, as his jealous nature had much of ſagacity in it, or his reſtleſs and mutinous humour, tranſported him, but he gave not the King time to proſecute that gracious method; but even forced him to a quicker and rougher remedy: for during the whole March, he diſcourſed, in all places, "that the King muſt ſend to the Earl of *Eſſex* to invite "him to a Conjunction with him, ſo that the Parliament might be obliged "to

" to conſent to a Peace ; and pretended, that he had ſo good Intelligence in " that Army, as to know that ſuch an Invitation would prove effectual, and " acceptable to the Earl ; who, he knew, was unſatisfied with the Parliament's " behaviour towards him : and he was ſo indiſcreet, as to deſire a Gentleman with whom he had no intimacy, and who had a Paſs to go beyond the Seas, and muſt go through the Earl's Quarters, " that he would remember " his Service to the Earl of *Eſſex* ; and aſſure him, that the Army ſo much " deſir'd Peace, that it ſhould not be in the Power of any of thoſe Perſons " about the King to hinder it, if his Lordſhip would treat upon any reaſo- " nable Propoſitions. All which kind of carriage and diſcourſes were quickly repreſented, in their full magnitude, to the King by the Lord *Digby* ; and his Majeſty's own averſion kindled any ſpark into a form'd diſtruſt. So that after the King came into *Cornwal*, and had his whole Army drawn up on the top of the Hill, in view of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was in the Bottom, and a Battle expected every day, upon ſome new diſcourſe *Wilmot* made out of Pride and Vanity (for there was not, in all the former, the leaſt form'd Act of Sedition in his heart) the Knight Marſhall, with the aſſiſtance of *Tom Elliot*, arreſted him in the King's Name of High Treaſon ; and diſmounted him from his Horſe in the head of all the Troops ; putting a guard upon him. He was preſently ſent Priſoner to *Exeter*, without any other ill Effect, which might very reaſonably have been apprehended in ſuch a conjuncture, when he was indeed generally well beloved, and none of them for whoſe ſakes he was thought to be ſacrificed, were at all eſteem'd : yet, I ſay there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vaniſhed away.

The ſame day that *Wilmot* was arreſted, the King remov'd another General Officer of his Army, the Lord *Piercy* ; who had been made General of the Ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated Conſiderations ; and put into that Office the Lord *Hopton* ; whoſe promotion was univerſally approv'd ; the one having no friend, and the other being univerſally belov'd. Beſides, the Lord *Piercy* (who was the firſt that had been created a Baron at *Oxford* upon the Queen's Interceſſion ; which obliged the King to beſtow the ſame honour on more Men) had been as much inclined to mutiny, as the Lord *Wilmot* ; and was much a bolder Speaker, and had none of thoſe faculties, which the other had, of reconciling Men to him. Yet even His removal added to the ill humour of the Army, too much diſpoſed to diſcontent, and cenſuring all that was done : for though he was generally unlov'd, as a proud and ſupercilious Perſon, yet he had always three or four Perſons of good credit and reputation, who were eſteem'd by him, with whom he liv'd very well ; and tho' he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he eat well ; which in the General ſcarcity of that time, drew many Votaries to him ; who bore very ill the want of his Table, and ſo were not without ſome inclinations to murmur even on His behalf.

The very next day after theſe Removals, Colonel *Goring* appear'd ; who had waited upon the King the night before, at his Quarters, with Letters from Prince *Rupert* : and then the Army being drawn up, his Majeſty, attended by the principal Officers of the Army, rode to every Diviſion of the Horſe, and there declar'd, " that, at the requeſt of his Nephew Prince *Rupert*, and up- " on his reſignation, he made Mr *Goring* General of the Horſe ; and command- " ed them all to obey him ; and for the Lord *Wilmot*, although he had for very " good reaſons, juſtly reſtrain'd him for the preſent, yet he had not taken away " from him his Command in the Army ; which Declaration viſibly raiſed he countenance of the Body of Horſe, more than the King was pleaſed with obſerving : and the very next day the greateſt part of the Officers deliver'd a Petition, " that his Majeſty would give them ſo much light of the Lord *Wilmot's* " Crimes, that they might ſee that Themſelves were not ſuſpected, who, had " ſo long obey'd and executed his Orders ; which is manifeſtation enough of the ill diſpoſition the Army was in, when they were even in view of the Enemy, and of which the King had ſo much apprehenſion, in reſpect of the preſent poſture he was in, that he was too eaſily perſwaded to give them a Draught of the Articles, by which he was charg'd : which though they contain'd ſo many indiſcretions, Vanities, and Inſolencies, that wiſe and diſpaſſionate Men thought he had been proceeded with very juſtly, yet generally they ſeem'd

not to make him ſo very black as he had been repreſented to be; and when the Articles were ſent to him, he return'd ſo ſpecious an Anſwer to them that made many Men think he had been proſecuted with ſeverity enough. Yet *Wilmot* himſelf, when he ſaw his old mortal Enemy *Goring* put in the Command over him, thought himſelf incapable of reparation, or a full vindication; and therefore deſir'd leave to retire into *France*; and had preſently a Paſs ſent him to that purpoſe; of which he made uſe as ſoon as he receiv'd it; and ſo tranſported himſelf out of the Kingdom; which open'd the Mouths of many, and made it believ'd, that he had been ſacrificed to ſome Faction and Intrigue of the Court, without any ſuch miſdemeanour as deſerv'd it.

The King had, ſome days before this, found an opportunity to make a trial whether the Earl of *Eſſex*, from the notorious Indignities which he receiv'd from the Parliament, and which were viſible to all the world, or from the preſent ill condition which He, and his Army were reduced to, might be induced to make a conjunction with his Majeſty. The Lord *Beauchamp*, eldeſt Son to the Marquis of *Hertford*, deſired, for the recovery of his health, not then good, to tranſport himſelf into *France*; and to that purpoſe had a Paſs from his Uncle, the Earl of *Eſſex*, for himſelf; Monſieur *Richaute* a *French*-Man, who had been his Governour; and two Servants, to embark at *Plymouth*; and being now with the King, it was neceſſary to paſs through the Earl's Quarters. By him the King vouchſafed to write a Letter with his own hand to the Earl, in which he told him:

"How much it was in his power to reſtore that Peace to the Kingdom, which "he had profeſſed always to deſire; and upon ſuch conditions, as did fully com- "ply with all thoſe ends for which the Parliament had firſt taken up Arms: "for his Majeſty was ſtill ready to ſatisfy all thoſe ends; but that ſince the Inva- "ſion of the Kingdom, by the *Scots*, all his Overtures of Peace had been rejected; "which muſt prove the deſtruction of the Kingdom, if he did not, with his Au- "thority and Power, diſpoſe thoſe at *Weſtminſter* to accept of a Peace that "might preſerve it; with all thoſe Arguments, that might moſt reaſonably per- ſwade to a conjunction with his Majeſty, and ſuch gracious expreſſions of the ſence he would always retain of the Service and Merit, as were moſt likely to invite him to it. The King deſir'd, that a Paſs might be procured for Mr *Harding*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, a Gentleman, who had been before of much converſation with the Earl, and much lov'd by him; and the procuring this Paſs was recommended to Monſieur *Richaute*.

The Earl receiv'd his Nephew very kindly; who deliver'd the King's Letter to him, which he receiv'd, and read; and being then told by the Lord *Beauchamp*, that Monſieur *Richaute*, who was very well known to him, had ſome what to ſay to him from the King; the Earl called him into his Chamber, in the preſence only of the Lord *Beauchamp*, and ask'd him, "if he had any thing "to ſay to him? *Richaute* told him, "that his principal buſineſs was to deſire his "Permiſſion and Paſs, that Mr. *Harding* might come to him, who had many "things to offer, which, he perſumed, would not be unacceptable to him. The Earl Anſwer'd in ſhort, "that he would not permit Mr. *Harding* to come to "him, nor would he have any Treaty with the King, having receiv'd no War- "rant for it from the Parliament: upon which, *Richaute* enlarged himſelf upon ſome particulars, which Mr. *Harding* was to have urg'd, "of the King's deſire "of Peace, of the concurrence of all the Lords, as well thoſe at *Oxford*, as in "the Army, in the ſame deſire of preſerving the Kingdom from a Conqueſt by "the *Scots*; and other diſcourſe to that purpoſe; "and of the King's readineſs "to give him any ſecurity for the performance of all he had promiſed. To all which the Earl Anſwer'd ſullenly, "that according to the Commiſſion "he had receiv'd, he would defend the King's Perſon, and Poſterity; and that "the beſt Counſel he could give him was, to go to his Parliament.

Aſſoon as the King receiv'd this Account of his Letter, and ſaw there was nothing to be expected by thoſe Addreſſes, he reſolv'd to puſh it on the other way, and to Fight with the Enemy as ſoon as was poſſible; and ſo the next day, drew up all his Army in ſight of the Enemy; and had many Skirmiſhes between the Horſe of both Armies, till the Enemy quitted that part of a large Heath upon which they ſtood, and retired to a Hill near the Park of the Lord *Mohun*, at *Boconnocke*; they having the poſſeſſion of his Houſe, where they Quarter'd conveniently. That Night both Armies, after they had well view'd each other, lay in

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the Field; and many are of opinion, that if the King had that day vigorouſly advanced upon the Enemy, to which his Army was well inclined, though upon ſome diſadvantage of ground, they would have been eaſily defeated: for the King's Army was good in heart, and willing to engage; on the contrary, the Earl's ſeem'd much ſurpriſed, and in confuſion, to ſee the other Army ſo near them. But ſuch cenſures always attend ſuch Conjunctures, and find fault for what is not done, as well as with that which is done.

The next Morning the King called a Council, to conſider whether they ſhould that day compel the Enemy to Fight; which was concluded not to be reaſonable; and that it was better to expect the arrival of Sir *Richard Greenvil*; who was yet in the Weſt of *Cornwal*, and had a Body of eight thouſand Horſe and Foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon order'd, that all the Foot ſhould be preſently drawn into the Incloſures between *Boconnocke* and the Heath; all the Fences to the Grounds of that Country being very good Breaſt-works againſt the Enemy. The King's head Quarter was made at the Lord *Mohun*'s Houſe, which the Earl of *Eſſex* had kindly quitted, when the King's Army advanced the day before. The Horſe were Quarter'd, for the moſt part, between *Liskard* and the Sea; and, every day, compell'd the Earl's Forces to retire, and to lodge cloſe together; and in this poſture both Armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient Spirit that had poſſeſſed ſo many of the Horſe Officers, appear'd again; and ſome of them, who had conferr'd with the Priſoners, who were every day taken, and ſome of them Officers of as good Quality as any they had, were perſwaded by them, "that all the obſtinacy in *Eſſex*, in refuſing to "treat with the King, proceeded only from his jealouſy that when the King "had got him into his hands, he would take revenge upon him, for all the "miſchief he had ſuſtain'd by him; and that, if he had any aſſurance that what "was promiſed would be complied with, he would be quickly induced to treat.

Upon this excellent Evidence, theſe Politick Contrivers preſum'd to prepare a Letter, that ſhould be ſubſcribed by the General, and all the Superior Officers of the Army; the beginning of which Letter was, "that they had ob-"tain'd leave of the King to ſend that Letter to him. There they propoſed, "that He with ſix Officers, whom he ſhould chooſe, would the next Morn-"ing meet with their General, and ſix other Officers, as ſhould be appointed "to attend him; and if he would not himſelf be preſent, that then ſix Of-"ficers of the King's Army ſhould meet with ſix ſuch as he ſhould appoint, "at any place that ſhould be thought fit; and that they, and every of them, "who ſubſcribed the Letter, would, upon the honour and reputation of Gen-"tlemen and Soldiers, with their Lives maintain that whatſoever his Maje-"ſty ſhould promiſe, ſhould be perform'd; and that it ſhould not be in the "power of any private Perſon whatſoever, to interrupt or hinder the execu-"tion thereof. When they had framed this Letter between themſelves, and ſhew'd it to many others, whoſe approbation they receiv'd, they reſolv'd to preſent it to the King, and humbly deſire his permiſſion that it might be ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex*.

How unpardonable ſoever the preſumption and inſolence in contriving and framing this Letter was, and how penal ſoever it might juſtly have been to them, yet, when it was preſented to his Majeſty, many who liked not the manner of it, were perſwaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the King to conſent that the Officers ſhould ſign it; and that the General ſhould ſend a Trumpet with it; his Majeſty at the ſame time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own Letter had done; and likewiſe believing, that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly Spirit out of his Army, and that he ſhould never more be troubled with thoſe vexatious Addreſſes, and that it might add ſome Spirit and Animoſity to the Officers and Soldiers, when they ſhould ſee, with how much neglect and contempt the Earl receiv'd their application: And ſo Prince *Maurice*, General *Goring*, and all the Superior Officers of the Army, ſign'd the Letter; which a Trumpet deliver'd to the Earl of *Eſſex*; who, the next day, return'd his Anſwer to them in theſe words: "My Lords, in the be-"ginning of your Letter you expreſs by what Authority you ſend it; I having no "Authority from the Parliament, who have employ'd me, to treat, cannot,

" give way to it without breach of truſt. My Lords, I am your humble " Servant, *Eſſex*, *Liſtithiel Aug.* 10. 1644. This ſhort ſurly Anſwer produc'd the Effect the King wiſh'd and expected; they who had been ſo over-active in contriving the Addreſs, were moſt aſhamed of their folly; and the whole Army ſeem'd well compoſed to obtain that by their Swords, which they could not by their Pen.

Sir *Richard Greenvil* was now come up to the Poſt where he ſhould be; and, at *Bodmin*, in his March, had fallen upon a Party of the Earl's Horſe, and kill'd many, and taken others Priſoners, and preſented himſelf to the King at *Boconnocke*; giving his Majeſty an account of his proceedings, and a particular of his Forces; which, after all the high diſcourſes, amounted really but to eighteen hundred Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe; above one hundred of which were of the Queens Troop (left behind when her Majeſty Embark'd for *France*) under the Command of Captain *Edward Bret*; who had done very good Service in the Weſtern Parts of that County, from the time of the Queen's departure, and much confirm'd the Train'd-bands of thoſe parts. This Troop was preſently added to the King's Guards under the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, and Captain *Bret* was made Major of that Regiment.

Though the Earl of *Eſſex* had but ſtreight and narrow room for his Quarters for ſo great an Army of Horſe and Foot, yet he had the good Town of *Foy* and the Sea to friend; by which he might reaſonably aſſure himſelf of ſtore of Proviſions, the Parliament Ships having all the juriſdiction there; and ſo, if he preſerv'd his Poſt, which was ſo ſituated that he could not be compelled to Fight without giving him great advantage, he might well conclude, that *Waller*, or ſome other force ſent from the Parliament, would be ſhortly upon the King's back, as his Majeſty was upon His: and no queſtion, this rational Confidence was a great motive to him to neglect all Overtures made to him by the King; beſides the punctuality and ſtubborneſs of his own Nature; which whoſoever was well acquainted with, might eaſily have foreſeen, what effect all thoſe applications would have produced. It was therefore now reſolv'd to make his Quarters yet ſtreighter, and to cut off even his Proviſions by Sea, or a good part thereof. To which purpoſe Sir *Richard Greenvil* drew his Men from *Bodmin*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Lanhetherick*, a ſtrong Houſe of the Lord *Roberts*, two Miles Weſt of *Boconnocke*, and over the River that runs to *Liſtithiel*, and thence to *Foy*, and likwiſe to *Reprime* Bridge; by which the Enemy was not only depriv'd of that uſeful out-let, but a ſafe Communication made between him and the King's Army, which was before interrupted. And on the other ſide, which was of more Importance, Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, with a good Party of Horſe and Foot, made himſelf Maſter of *View-Hall*, another Houſe of the Lord *Mohun*'s, over againſt *Foy*, and of *Pernon* Fort, a Mile below it, at the Mouth of the *Haven*; both which places he found ſo tenable, that he put Captain *Page* into one, and Captain *Garraway* into the other, with two hundred Commanded Men, and two or three pieces of Ordnance; which theſe two Captains made good, and defended ſo well, that they made *Foy* utterly uſeleſs to *Eſſex*, ſave for the Quartering his Men; not ſuffering any Proviſions to be brought in to him from the Sea that way. And it was exceedingly wonder'd at by all Men, that he, being ſo long poſſeſs'd of *Foy*, did not put ſtrong Guards into thoſe places; by which he might have prevented his Army's being brought into thoſe extreme neceſſities they ſhortly after fell into; which might eaſily be foreſeen, and as eaſily, that way, have been prevented.

Now the King had leiſure to ſit ſtill, and warily to expect what invention or ſtratagem the Earl would make uſe of, to make ſome attempt upon his Army, or to make his own Eſcape. In this poſture both Armies lay ſtill, without any notable Action, for the ſpace of eight or ten days; when the King ſeeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, reſolv'd to draw his whole Army together, and to make his own Quarters yet much nearer, and either to force *Eſſex* to Fight, or to be uneaſy even in his Quarters. And it was high time to do ſo: for it was now certain, that either *Waller* himſelf, or ſome other Forces, were already upon their March towards the Weſt. With this Reſolution the whole Army advanced in ſuch a manner, that the Enemy was compell'd ſtill to retire before them, and to quit their Quarters; and, among the reſt, a riſing ground called *Beacon-Hill*; which they no ſooner quit-

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ted, than the King poſſeſſed; and immediately cauſed a ſquare work to be there raiſed, and a Battery made, upon which ſome pieces of Cannon were planted, that ſhot into their Quarters, and did them great hurt; when their Cannon, though they return'd twenty ſhot for one, did very little or no harm.

And now the King's Forces had a full proſpect over all the others Quarters; ſaw how all their Foot and Horſe were diſpoſed, and from whence they receiv'd all their Forage and Proviſions; which when clearly view'd and obſerv'd, *Goring* was ſent with the greateſt part of the Horſe, and fifteen hundred Foot, a little Weſtward to St. *Blaſe*, to drive the Enemy yet cloſer together, and cut off the Proviſions they receiv'd from thence; which was ſo well executed, that they did not only poſſeſs themſelves of St. *Auſtell*, and the Weſterly part of St. *Blaſe*, (ſo that the Enemy's Horſe were reduced to that ſmall extent of Earth that is between the River of *Foy*, and that at *Blaſe*, which is not above two Miles in breadth, and little more in length; in which they had for the moſt part fed ſince they came to *Liſtithiel*, and therefore it could not now long ſupply them) but likewiſe were Maſters of the *Parr* near St. *Blaſe*; whereby they depriv'd them of the chief place of Landing the Proviſions which came by Sea. And now the Earl begun to be very ſenſible of the ill Condition he was in, and diſcern'd that he ſhould not be able long to remain in that poſture; beſides he had receiv'd advertiſement that the Party which was ſent for his Relief from *London*, had receiv'd ſome bruſh in *Somerſet-ſhire*, which would much retard their March; and therefore it behov'd him to enter upon new Counſels and to take new Reſolutions.

It is very true the Defeat at *Cropredy* (in which there did not appear to be one thouſand Men kill'd, or taken Priſoners) had ſo totally broken *Waller*'s Army, that it could never be brought to Fight after; but when he had march'd at a diſtance from the King, to recover the broken Spirits of his Men, and heard that his Majeſty was march'd directly towards the Weſt, obſerving likewiſe that every Night very many of his Men run from him, he thought it neceſſary to go himſelf to *London*, where he made grievous complaints againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, as if he had purpoſely expoſed him to be affronted; all which was greedily hearken'd to, and his Perſon receiv'd, and treated, as if he had return'd Victorious after having defeated the King's Army: which was a method very contrary to what was uſed in the King's Quarters, where all accidental Misfortunes, how inevitable ſoever, were ſtill attended with very apparent diſcountenance.

But when he went himſelf to *London*, or preſently upon it, he ſent his Lieutenant General *Middleton* (a Perſon of whom We ſhall ſay much hereafter, and who liv'd to wipe out the Memory of the ill foot-ſteps of his Youth; for he was but eighteen years of Age, when he was firſt led into Rebellion) with a Body of three thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, to follow the King into the Weſt, and to wait upon his Rear, with Orders to reduce in his way *Donnington*-Caſtle, the Houſe of a private Gentleman near *Newbury*, in which there were a Company or two of Foot of the King's; and which they believ'd would be deliver'd up, as ſoon as demanded; being a place, as They thought, of little ſtrength. But *Middleton* found it ſo well defended by Colonel *Bois*, who was Governor of it, that after he had loſt at leaſt three hundred Officers and Soldiers, in attempting to take it, he was compell'd to recommend it to the Governor of *Abingdon*, to ſend an Officer and ſome Troops to block it up from infeſting that great Road into the Weſt; and himſelf proſecuted his March to follow the King.

In *Somerſet-ſhire*, he heard of great Magazines of all Proviſions, made for the ſupply of the King's Army, which were ſent every day by ſtrong Convoys to *Exeter*, there to wait farther Orders. To ſurprize theſe Proviſions he ſent Major *Carr*, with five hundred Horſe; who fell into the Village where the Convoy was, and was very like to have Maſter'd them, when Sir *Francis Doddington*, with a Troop of Horſe, and ſome Foot from *Bridgewater*, came ſeaſonably to their Relief; and after a very ſharp Conflict, in which two or three good Officers of the King's were kill'd, and among them, Major *Killigrew*, a very hopeful young Man, the Son of a Gallant and moſt deſerving Father, he totally Routed the Enemy; kill'd thirty or forty upon the place; and had the purſuit of them two or three Miles; in which Major *Carr*, who commanded the Party, and many other Officers, were taken; and

many others desperately wounded; and recover'd all that they had taken: which sharp Encounters, where always many more Men are lost, than are kill'd, or taken Prisoners, put such a stop to *Middleton*'s March, that he was glad to retire back to *Sherborne*, that he might refresh the weariness, and recover the Spirits of his Men. This was the Defeat or obstruction, which the Earl of *Essex* had Intelligence that the Forces had met with coming to his Releif; and which made him despair of any Succour that way.

When the Earl found himself in this Condition, and that, within very few days he must be without any Provisions for his Army; he resolv'd that Sir *William Balfour* should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole Body of Horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would Embark his Foot at *Foy*, and with them Escape by Sea. And two Foot Soldiers of the Army, whereof one was a *French*-man, came over from them, and assured the King, "that they intended, that Night, to "break through with their Horse, which were all then drawn on that side "the River, and Town of *Listithiel*; and that the Foot were to march to "*Foy*, where they should be Embarked. This Intelligence agreed with what they otherwise receiv'd, and was believ'd as it ought to be; and thereupon, order was given, "that both Armies (for that under Prince *Maurice* was "look'd upon as distinct, and always so Quarter'd) should stand to their "Armes all that Night; and if the Horse attempted an escape, fall on them "from both Quarters; the passage between them, through which they must go, being but a Musquet-shot over; and they could not avoid going very near a very little Cottage, that was well Fortified; in which fifty Musqueteers were placed. Advertisement was sent to *Goring*, and all the Horse; and the Orders renew'd, which had formerly been given, for the breaking down the Bridges, and cutting down the Trees near the high-way, to obstruct their passage.

Balfour *with the Earl of* Essex's *Horse escapes through the King's Army.*

The effect of all this Providence was not such as was reasonably to be expected. The Night grew dark and misty, as the Enemy could wish; and about three in the Morning, the whole Body of the Horse passed with great silence between the Armies, and within Pistol-shot of the Cottage, without so much as one Musquet discharg'd at them. At the break of Day, the Horse were discover'd marching over the Heath, beyond the reach of the Foot; and there was only at hand the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigade, the Body of the King's Horse being at a greater distance. That Brigade, to which some other Troops which had taken the Alarm joyn'd, follow'd them in the Rear; and kill'd some, and took more Prisoners: But stronger Parties of the Enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole Body often making a stand, they were often compell'd to retire; yet follow'd in that manner, that they kill'd and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustain'd in their whole March. The Notice and Orders came to *Goring*, when he was in one of his jovial Exercises; which he receiv'd with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as Men who took Alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights till all the Enemies Horse were passed through his Quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time. So that, excepting such who, by the tiring of their Horses, became Prisoners, *Balfour* continued his March even to *London*, with less loss or trouble than can be imagin'd, to the infinite Reproach of the Kings Army, and of all his Garrisons in the way. Nor was any Man called in question for this supine neglect; it being not thought fit to make severe Inquisition into the behaviour of the rest when it was so notoriously known how the Superior Officer had failed in his duty.

The next Morning, after the Horse were gone, the Earl drew all his Foot together, and quitted *Listithiel*, and march'd towards *Foy*; having left order for the breaking down that Bridge. But his Majesty himself from his new Fort discern'd it, and sent a Company of Musqueteers, who quickly beat those that were left; and thereby preserv'd the Bridge; over which the King presently march'd to overtake the Rear of the Army, which march'd so fast, yet in good Order, that they left two Demy-Culverins, and two other very good Guns, and some Ammunition, to be disposed of by the King. That day was spent in smart Skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the King's Horse had been more, whereof he had only two Troops of his Guards (which did good Service) it would

would have prov'd a Bloody day to the Enemy. The Night coming on, the King lay in the Field his own Quarters being ſo near the Enemy, that they diſcharged many Cannon-ſhot, which fell within few yards of him when he was at Supper. *Sunday* being the next day, and the firſt day of *September*, in the Morning, *Butler*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had been taken Priſoner at *Boconnocke*, and was exchanged for an Officer of the King's, came from the Earl to deſire a Parley. Aſſoon as he was ſent away, the Earl Embark'd himſelf, with the Lord *Roberts*, and ſuch other Officers as he had moſt kindneſs for, in a Veſſel at *Foy*; and ſo eſcaped into *Plymouth*; leaving all his Army of Foot, Cannon, and Ammunition, to the care of Major General *Skippon*; who was to make as good Conditions for them as he could; and after a very ſhort ſtay in *Plymouth*, he went on board a Ship of the Royal Navy, that attended there; and was, within a few days, deliver'd at *London*; where he was receiv'd without any abatememt of the reſpect they had conſtantly paid him; nor was it leſs than they could have ſhew'd to him, if he had not only brought back his own Army, but the King himſelf likewiſe with him.

The Earl of Eſſex *leaves his Army and eſcapes to* Plymouth *by Sea.*

The King conſented to the Parley; upon which a Ceſſation was concluded; and Hoſtages interchangeably deliver'd and then the Enemy ſent Propoſitions, ſuch as upon delivery of a ſtrong fortified Town, after a handſome defence are uſually granted. But they quickly found they were not look'd upon as Men in that Condition; and ſo, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their Cannon; which, with the four taken two or three days before, were eight and thirty pieces of Cannon; a hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Bullets proportionable; and about ſix thouſand Arms; which being done, "the Officers were to have Liberty to wear their Swords, and to paſs with "their own Money, and proper Goods; and to ſecure them from Plunder, they "were to have a Convoy to *Poole* or *Southampton*; all their ſick and wound-"ed might ſtay in *Foy* till they were recover'd, and then have Paſſes to *Ply-*"*mouth.*

Skippon *makes Conditions for the Foot.*

This Agreement was executed Accordingly, on *Monday* the ſecond of *September*, and though it was near the Evening before all was finiſh'd, they would march away that Night; and though all care was taken to preſerve them from Violence, yet firſt at *Liſtithiel*, where they had been long Quarter'd, and in other Towns through which they had formerly paſſed, the Inhabitants, eſpecially the Women, who pretended to ſee their own Cloaths and Goods about them, which they had been plunder'd of, treated them very rudely, even to ſtripping of ſome of the Soldiers, and more of their Wives, who had before behaved themſelves with great Inſolence in the march. That Night there came about one hundred of them to the King's Army, and of the ſix thouſand, for ſo many march'd out of *Foy*, there did not a third part come to *Southampton*; where the King's Convoy left them; to which *Skippon* gave a large Teſtimony under his hand, "that they had carried themſelves with "great Civility towards them, and fully complied with their obligation.

Whilſt the King was in the Weſt, though he had left *Oxford* in a very ill State in reſpect of Proviſions and Fortifications, and Soldiers, and of the different humours of thoſe who remain'd there, the Town being full of Lords (beſides thoſe of the Council) and of Perſons of the beſt Quality, with very many Ladies, who, when not pleaſed themſelves, kept others from being ſo; yet, in his abſence, they who were ſollicitous to carry on his Service, concurr'd and agreed ſo well together, that they prevailed with the reſt to do every thing that was neceſſary. They cauſed Proviſions of Corn to be laid in, in great proportions; aſſigning the Publick Schools to that purpoſe; and committing the Cuſtody of them to the owners of the Corn. They had raiſed ſo many Voluntiers, that their Guards were well kept, and there was need they ſhould be ſo; for when both the Parliament Armies were before the Town, Major General *Brown*, a Citizen of *London* of good Reputation, and a ſtout Man, had been left in *Abingdon* with a ſtrong Garriſon; from whence, being ſuperior in number, he infeſted *Oxford* very much, which gave them the more reaſon to proſecute the Fortifications; which, in the moſt important places, they brought to a good perfection; and when they had no more apprehenſion of a Siege, *Waller* being at a diſtance, and not able to follow the King, and leſs able to ſit down before *Oxford*, they reſolv'd to do ſomewhat to be talked of.

Affairs at Oxford *during the King's abſence.*

The King had, before his departure, found they were not ſatisfied with their Governour, and was very apprehenſive of his Rudeneſs, and want of Complacency. Upon the death of Sir *Williman Penniman*, who had been Governour of *Oxford*, to the great ſatisfaction of all Men, being a very brave and generous Perſon, and who perform'd all manner of Civilities to all ſorts of People, as having had a good Education, and well underſtanding the manners of the Court (the Queen being then in *Oxford*) her Majeſty, who thought her ſelf the ſafer for being under the charge, and care of a Roman Catholick, prevailed with the King, to confer that charge upon Sir *Arthur Aſton*; who had been at *Reading*, and had the fortune to be very much eſteem'd, where he was Not known; and very much diſliked, where he was; and he was by this time too well know at *Oxford*, to be belov'd by any; which the King well underſtood, and was the more troubled, becauſe he ſaw the prejudice was univerſal, and with too much reaſon; and therefore his Majeſty had given an extraordinary Commiſſion to the Lords of his Council, to whoſe Authority he was to ſubmit, which obliged him to live with a little more reſpect towards them, than he deſired to do; being a Man of a rough Nature, and ſo given up to an immoderate love of Money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewiſe ſome Officers of Name, who, having then no charge in the Army, ſtaid in the Town; and thoſe, by the King's direction, the Lords diſpoſed to aſſiſt the Governour; and particularly, to take care of the ſeveral Quarters of the Town; one whereof was aſſign'd to each of them: among them, Colonel *Gage* was one; who having the *Engliſh* Regiment in *Flanders*, had got leave there to make offer of his Service to the King; and to that purpoſe was newly come from thence to *Oxford*.

He was in truth a very extraordinary Man, of a large and very graceful Perſon, of an Honourable extraction, his Grandfather having been Knight of the Garter; beſides his great experience and abilities as a Soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good Scholar in the polite parts of Learning, a great Maſter in the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Tongues, beſides the *French* and the *Dutch*, which he ſpoke in great perfection; having ſcarce been in *England* in twenty years before. He was likewiſe very converſant in Courts; having for many years been much eſteem'd in that of the Arch-Duke and Dutcheſs *Albert* and *Iſabella*, at *Bruſſels*; which was a great and very regular Court at that time; ſo that he deſerv'd to be look'd upon as a wiſe and accompliſh'd Perſon. Of this Gentleman, the Lords of the Council had a ſingular eſteem, and conſulted frequently with him, whilſt they look'd to be Beſieged; and thought *Oxford* to be the more ſecure for His being in it; which render'd him ſo ungrateful to the Governour, Sir *Arthur*, that he croſſed him in any thing he propoſed, and hated him perfectly; as they were of Natures, and Manners, as different as Men can be.

The Garriſon of *Baſing*-Houſe, the Seat of the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, in which himſelf was and commanded, had been now ſtreightly Beſieg'd for the ſpace of above three Months, by a conjunction of the Parliament Troops of *Hampſhire* and *Suſſex*, under the Command of *Norton*, *Onſlow*, *Jarvis*, *Whitehead*, and *Morley*, all Colonels of Regiments, and now united in this Service under the Command of *Norton*; a Man of Spirit, and of the greateſt Fortune of all the reſt. It was ſo cloſely begirt before the King's March into the Weſt, and was look'd upon as a place of ſuch importance, that when the King ſent notice to *Oxford* of his reſolution to March into the Weſt, the Council humbly deſired his Majeſty, " that he would make *Baſing* his way, and thereby relieve it, which his Majeſty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invitted *Waller* the ſooner to follow him; and therefore declin'd it. From that time, the Marquis, by frequent expreſſes, importuned the Lords of the Council, " to " provide, in ſome manner for his relief; and not to ſuffer his Perſon, and a " place from whence the Rebels receiv'd ſo much prejudice, to fall into their " hands. The Lady *Marchioneſs*, his Wife, was then in *Oxford*; and ſolicited very diligently the timely preſervation of her Husband; which made every body deſire to gratify her, being a Lady of great Honour and Alliance, as Siſter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and to the Lady *Marchioneſs* of *Hertford*; who was likewiſe in the Town, and engaged her Husband to take this buſineſs to heart: and all the Roman-Catholicks, who were numerous in the Town, look'd upon

upon themſelves as concern'd to contribute all they could to the good work, and ſo offer'd to liſt themſelves, and their Servants in the Service.

The Council, both upon publick and private motives, was very heartily diſpoſed to effect it; and had ſeveral conferences together, and with the Officers; in all which the Governour too reaſonably oppoſed the deſign, " as full " of more difficulties, and liable to greater damages, than any Soldier who " underſtood Command, would expoſe himſelf and the King's Service to; and proteſted, " that he would not ſuffer any ſmall Garriſon that was under his " charge, to be hazarded in the attempt. It was very true, *Baſing* was was near forty Miles from *Oxford*, and, in the way between them, the Enemy had a ſtrong Garriſon of Horſe and Foot at *Abingdon*, and as ſtrong at *Reading*, whoſe Horſe every day viſited all the High-ways near, beſides a Body of Horſe and Dragoons Quarter'd at *Newbury*; ſo that it appear'd to moſt Men hardly poſſible to ſend a Party to *Baſing*, and impoſſible for that Party to return to *Oxford*, if they ſhould be able to get to *Baſing*: yet new importunities from the Marquis, with a poſitive Declaration, " that he could not defend it above ten days, and " muſt ſubmit to the worſt conditions the Rebels were like to grant to his Perſon, " and to his Religion; and new inſtances from his Lady, prevailed with the Lords to enter upon a new conſultation; in which the Governour perſiſted in his old reſolution, as ſeeing no cauſe to change it.

In this Debate Colonel *Gage* declared, " that though he thought the Service " full of hazard, eſpecially for the return; yet if the Lords would, by liſting " their own Servants, perſwade the Gentlemen in the Town to do the like, and en- " gage their own Perſons, whereby a good Troop or two of Horſe might be raiſed " (upon which the principal dependence muſt be) he would willingly, if there " were no body elſe thought fitter for it, undertake the conduct of them himſelf; and hoped he ſhould give a good account of it: which being offer'd with great chearfulneſs by a Perſon, of whoſe Prudence, as well as Courage, they had a full confidence, they all reſolv'd to do the utmoſt that was in their power to make it effectual.

There was about this time, by the ſurrender of *Greenland*-Houſe (which could not poſſibly be longer defended, the whole ſtructure being beaten down by the Cannon) the Regiment of Colonel *Hawkins* march'd into *Oxford*, amounting to near three Hundred; to which as many others joyn'd as made it up four hundred Men. The Lords mounted their Servants upon their own Horſes; and they, with the Voluntiers, who frankly liſted themſelves, amounted to a Body of two hundred and fifty very good Horſe, all put under the Command of Colonel *William Web*, an excellent Officer, bred up in *Flanders* in ſome emulation with Colonel *Gage*; and who, upon the Catholick Intereſt, was at this time contented to ſerve under him. With this ſmall Party for ſo great an Action, *Gage* marched out of *Oxford* in the beginning of the Night; and, by the Morning, reached the place where he intended to refreſh himſelf and his Troops; which was a Wood near *Wallingford*; from whence he diſpatched an Expreſs to Sir *William Ogle*, Governour of *Wincheſter*; who had made a promiſe to the Lords of the Council, " that " whenſoever they would endeavour the raiſing of the Seige before *Baſing*, he " would ſend one hundred Horſe, and three hundred Foot out of the Garriſon for their Aſſiſtance; and a preſumption upon this aid, was the principal motive for the undertaking: and ſo he was directed, at what Hour in the Morning his Party ſhould fall into *Baſing*-Park, in the Rear of the Rebells Quarters; whilſt *Gage* himſelf would fall on the other ſide; the Marquis being deſir'd at the ſame time to make frequent Sallies from the Houſe.

After ſome hours of refreſhment in the Morning, and ſending this Expreſs to *Wincheſter*, the Troops marched through by-Lanes to *Aldermaſton*, a Village out of any great road; where they intended to take more reſt that Night. They had marched, from the time they left *Oxford*, with Orange-Tawny Scarfs and Ribbons, that they might be taken for the Parliament Soldiers; and hoped, by that Artifice, to have paſſed undiſcover'd even to the approach upon the Beſiegers. But the Party of Horſe which was ſent before to *Aldermaſton*, found there ſome of the Parliament Horſe, and forgetting their Orange-Tawny Scarfs, fell upon them; and killed ſome, and took ſix or ſeven Priſoners; whereby the ſecret was diſcover'd, and notice quickly ſent to *Baſing* of the approaching danger; which accident made their ſtay ſhorter at that Vil-

lage than was intended, and than the wearineſs of the Soldiers required. About eleven of the Clock, they begun their march again; which they continued all that Night; the Horſemen often alighting, that the Foot might ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary, and ſurbated.

Between four and five of the Clock on *Wedneſday* Morning it having been *Monday* Night that they left *Oxford*, they arriv'd within a Mile of *Baſing*; where an Officer, ſent from Sir *William Ogle*, came to them to let them know, "that "he durſt not ſend his Troops ſo far, in regard many of the Enemies Horſe "lay between *Wincheſter* and *Baſing*. This broke all the Colonels meaſures; and, ſince there was no receding, made him change the whole Method of his proceeding's; and inſtead of dividing his Forces, and falling on in ſeveral places, as he meant to have done if the *Wincheſter* Forces had comply'd with their obligation, or if his march had been undiſcover'd, he reſolv'd now to fall on joyntly with all his Body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the Men to be ranged in Battalions; and rid to every Squadron, giving them ſuch words as were proper to the occaſion; which no man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every Man to tye a white Tape Ribbon, or Handkerchief above the Elbow of their right Arm; and gave them the word St. *George*; which was the ſign and the *word* that he had ſent before to the Marquis, leſt, in his Sallies their Men, for want of diſtinction, might fall foul of each other.

Thus they marched towards the Houſe, Colonel *Web* leading the right Wing, and Lieutenant Colonel *Bunkley* the left of the Horſe; and *Gage* himſelf the Foot: they had not marched far when at the upper End of a large Campagne Field, upon a little riſing of an Hill, they diſcern'd a Body of five Cornets of Horſe very full, ſtanding in very good order to receive them. But before any impreſſion could be made upon them, the Colonel muſt paſs between two Hedges lin'd very thick with Muſquetteers; from whom the Horſe very Courageouſly bore a ſmart Volly, and then Charged the Enemies Horſe ſo gallantly, that, after a ſhorter reſiſtance than was expected from the known Courage of *Norton*, though many of his Men fell, they gave ground; and at laſt plainly run to a ſafe place beyond which they could not be purſued. The Foot diſputed the buſineſs much better, and being beaten from Hedge to Hedge, retired into their Quarters and Works; which they did not abandon in leſs than two hours; and then a free entrance into the Houſe was gain'd on that ſide, where the Colonel only ſtay'd to ſalute the Marquis, and to put in the Ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve Barrels of Powder, and twelve hundred weight of Match; and immediately marched with his Horſe and Foot to *Baſing-ſtoke*, a good Market Town two Miles from the Houſe; leaving one hundred Foot to be led, by ſome Officers of the Garriſon, to the Town of *Baſing*, a Village but a Mile diſtant. In *Baſing-ſtoke*, they found ſtore of Wheat, Mault, Oats, Salt, Bacon, Cheeſe, and Butter; as much of which, was all that day ſent to the Houſe, as they could find Carts or Horſes to tranſport, together with fourteen Barrels of Powder, and ſome Muſquets, and forty or fifty head of Cattle, with above one hundred Sheep: whilſt the other Party, that went to *Baſing*-Town, beat the Enemy that was Quarter'd there, after having kill'd forty or fifty of them; ſome fled into the Church, where they were quickly taken Priſoners; and, among them, two Captains, *Jarviſe* and *Jephſon*, the two eldeſt Sons of two of the greateſt Rebels of that Country, and both Heirs to good Fortunes, who were carried Priſoners to *Baſing*-Houſe; the reſt, who Beſieged that ſide, being fled into a ſtrong Fort which they had raiſed in the Park. The Colonel ſpent that, and the next day, in ſending all manner of Proviſions into the Houſe; and then reaſonably computing that the Garriſon was well provided for two Months, he thought of his retreat to *Oxford*; which it was time to do: for beſides that *Norton* had drawn all his Men together, who had been diſmayed, with all the Troops, which lay Quarter'd within any diſtance, and appear'd within ſight of the Houſe more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they Parted, he was likewiſe well inform'd by the Perſons he had employed, that the Enemy from *Abingdon* had lodged themſelves at *Aldermaſton*, and thoſe from *Reading* and *Newbury*, in two other Villages upon the River *Kennet*; over which he was to paſs. Here-

Hereupon, that he might take away the Apprehenſion that he meant ſuddainly to depart, he ſent out Orders, which he was ſure would come into the Enemies hands, to two or three Villages next the Houſe, " that they ſhould, by the " next day-noon, ſend ſuch proportions of Corn into *Baſing*-Houſe, as were " mention'd in the Warrants; upon pain, if they failed by the time, to have a " thouſand Horſe and Dragoons ſent to fire the Towns. This being done, and all his Men drawn together about eleven of the Clock at Night, *Thurſday* the ſecond Night after he came thither, the Marquis giving him two or three Guides who knew the Country exactly, he marched from *Baſing* without ſound of Drum or Trumpet, and paſſed the *Kennet*, undiſcover'd, by a Ford near a Bridge which the Enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had ſecured that paſſage; the Horſe taking the Foot *en Croup*; and then, marching by-ways, in the Morning they likewiſe paſſed over the *Thames*, at a Ford little more than a Mile from *Reading*; and ſo eſcaped the Enemy, and got before Night to *Walkingford*; where he ſecurely reſted, and refreſhed his Men that Night; and the next Day arriv'd ſafe at *Oxford*; having loſt only two Captains, and two or three other Gentlemen, and Common Men; in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerouſly: what number the Enemy loſt could not be known; but it was believ'd, they loſt many, beſides above one hundred Priſoners that were taken; and it was confeſs'd by Enemies as well as Friends, that it was as Soldierly an Action, as had been perform'd in the War on either ſide; and redounded very much to the reputation of the Commander.

The next day after the Army of *Eſſex* was gone, and diſſolv'd, the King return'd to his Quarters at *Boconnocke*, and ſtay'd there only a day to refreſh his Men; having ſent, the day before, *Greenvil*, with the *Corniſh* Horſe and Foot, towards *Plymouth*, to joyn with *Goring* in the purſuit of *Balfour*, and that Body of Horſe; which, by paſſing over the Bridge near *Salt-aſh*, they might eaſily have done. But he ſlacken'd his march that he might poſſeſs *Salt-aſh*, which the Enemy had quitted, and left therein eleven pieces of Cannon with ſome Arms and Ammunition; which, together with the Town, was not worth his unwarrantable ſtay. This kept him from joyning with *Goring*; who thereby, and for want of thoſe Foot, excuſed his not Fighting with *Balfour* when he was within diſtance; but contented himſelf with ſending a Commanded Party to follow his Rear, and in that too eager a purſuit, Captain *Sam. Wainman*, a young Man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the Son of a very wiſe and eminent Father, was loſt, to the irreparable damage of a Noble Family. Thus *Balfour*, by an orderly and well govern'd march, paſs'd above one hundred Miles in the King's Quarters, as hath been ſaid before without any conſiderable loſs, to a place of ſafety within their own precincts.

The fear and apprehenſion of the Enemy was no ſooner over, than the murmur begun " that the King had been perſwaded to grant too good conditions " to that Body of Foot; and that he might well have forced them to have ſub- " mitted to his mercy, as well as to have laid down their Armes; and ſo have made " both Officers and Soldiers to become Priſoners of War: by which the Enemy " would not have been able ſo ſoon to have raiſed another Army. But they who undertook to cenſure that Action, how great a Number ſoever they were, did not at all underſtand the preſent temper and conſtitution of the King's Army; which then was not near ſo ſtrong as it was reputed to be: whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it firſt enter'd *Cornwal* which was in the beginning of *Auguſt*, and when a Party of his Majeſty's Horſe ſurpriſed and ſeiſed the Earl of *Eſſex*'s own Lieutenant Colonel, and many other Officers of Name at *Boconnocke*, before his Majeſty was ſuſpected to be in any near diſtance: I ſay whatever might have been then done, in that conſternation the Enemy was then in, the caſe was very much alter'd in the beginning of *September*, when the Articles were made; and when the number of Foot who laid down their Armes, was in truth ſuperior to thoſe of the King's (as it will appear anon) when his Army marched out of *Cornwal*. The overſight, which was a great one, was on the other ſide, when the Horſe broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly poſſible they ſhould not know it, that all the King's Horſe, his Guard only excepted, were at that time Quarter'd behind them, about St *Blaſe*, their Foot might very well have march'd away with their Horſe, their Cannon only being left behind, and having got but four or five hours

before, which they might eaſily, and as undiſcern'd have done, the King's Army in the Condition and ſtate it was in, naked and unſhod, would through thoſe incloſed parts, narrow Lanes, and deep Ditches, in *Devon* and *Somerſet*, have been able to have done them little harm: Beſides the King very well knew at the time the Articles were made, that *Middleton*, notwithſtanding all his Affronts, was then come to *Tiverton*; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his Majeſty, in thoſe condeſcenſions, proceeded with no leſs Prudence than Clemency.

The King ſends a Meſſage of Peace.

After this great Succeſs, the King thought fit to renew his offer of Peace; and ſent a Meſſage to the two Houſes of Parliament, to deſire that there might be a Treaty to that purpoſe; which Meſſage was ſent by a Trumpet to the Earl of *Eſſex*, after his repair to *London*, to be deliver'd by him, of which there was no conſideration taken in three Months after the receipt of it. This done, the King was perſwaded, in his way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon *Plymouth*; for ſo far it might be preſumed that the *Corniſh* Troops, how impatient ſoever they were to be at their harveſt, would attend him: And if he could, by appearing before it, become Maſter of it, which was not thought improbable, he might return to *Oxford* in great Triumph, and leave the Weſt throughly reduced: for then *Lyme* could not hold out, and he might be ſure to carry an Army with him ſtrongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of eaſe and expedition he might proceed in his march without farther ſtay; and he quickly found it neceſſary to do ſo; having ſent a Summons to the Town, and receiv'd a rude Anſwer to it:

For the Earl of *Eſſex* had left the Lord *Roberts* Governour in the Town; a Man of a ſour and ſurly Nature, a great Opinâtre, and one who muſt be overcome before he would believe that he could be ſo. The King, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the Town would require ſome time, purſued his former Reſolution, and marched away; having committed the Blocking up of *Plymouth* to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, a Man who had been bred a Soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promiſes; having with all manner of aſſurance undertaken to take the Town by *Chriſtmas*, if ſuch Conditions might be perform'd to him, all which were punctually comply'd with; whilſt he made his Quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the Town; beginning his War firſt upon his Wife, who had been long in poſſeſſion of her own Fortune, by virtue of a Decree in *Chancery*, many years before the Troubles; and ſeiſing upon all ſhe had, and then making himſelf Maſter of all their Eſtates who were in the Service of the Parliament without doing any thing of importance upon the Town; only upon the firſt Meſſage between the Lord *Roberts* and Him, there aroſe ſo mortal a miſunderſtanding, that there was never Civility or Quarter obſerv'd between them; but ſuch as were taken on either ſide, were put to the Sword; or which was worſe, to the Halter.

The King leaves Sir Richard Greenvil to Block up Plymouth.

Since there will be often occaſion to mention this Gentleman, Sir *Richard Greenvil*, in the enſuing diſcourſe, and becauſe many Men believ'd that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be ſet down at large, it will not be unfit, in this place, to ſay ſomewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entring into the King's Service ſome Months before the time We are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy Family in *Cornwal*, which had, in ſeveral Ages, produced Men of great Courage, and very ſignal in their Fidelity to, and Service of the Crown; and was Himſelf younger Brother (though in his Nature, or Humour, not of Kin to him) to the brave Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, who ſo Couragiouſly loſt his Life in the Battle of *Lanſdown*. Being a younger Brother, and a very young Man, he went into the Low-Countries to learn the Profeſſion of a Soldier; to which he had dedicated himſelf under the greateſt General of that Age, Prince *Maurice*, in the Regiment of my Lord *Veere*, who was General of all the *Engliſh*. In that Service he was look'd upon as a Man of Courage, and a diligent Officer, in the quality of a Captain, to which he attain'd after few years Service. About this time, in the end of the Reign of King *James*, the War broke out between *England* and *Spain*; and in the Expedition to *Cales*, this Gentleman ſerv'd as a Major to a Regiment of Foot, and continued in the ſame Command, in the War that ſoon after follow'd againſt *France*; and at the Iſle of *Rhee*, inſinuated himſelf into the

the very good grace of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was the General in that Invaſion; and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made Colonel of a Regiment with general Approbation, and as an Officer that well deſerv'd it.

His Credit every day encreaſed with the Duke; who, out of the generoſity of his Nature, as a moſt generous Perſon he was, reſolv'd to raiſe his Fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance, and ſollicitation, he prevail'd with a rich Widow to Marry him, who had been a Lady of extraordinary Beauty, which ſhe had not yet outliv'd; and though ſhe had no great Dower by her Husband, a younger Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*; yet ſhe inherited a fair Fortune of her own, near *Plymouth*; and was beſides very rich in a Perſonal Eſtate, and was look'd upon as the richeſt Match of the Weſt. This Lady, by the Duke's Credit, Sir *Richard Greenvil* (for he was now made a Knight and Baronet) obtain'd; and was thereby poſſeſſed of a plentiful Eſtate upon the Borders of his own Country; where his own Family had great Credit and Authority. The War being quickly at an end, and he depriv'd of his great Patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the Fortune of his Wife; which, though ample enough to have ſupported the expence a Perſon of his Quality ought to have made, was not large enough to ſatisfy his Vanity and Ambition; nor ſo great, as He, upon common reports, had promiſed himſelf by her. By not being enough pleaſed with her Fortune, he grew leſs pleaſed with his Wife; who, being a Woman of a Haughty and Imperious Nature, and of a Wit ſuperior to His, quickly reſented the diſreſpect ſhe receiv'd from him; and in no degree ſtudied to make her ſelf eaſy to him. After ſome years ſpent together in theſe Domeſtick unſociable Conteſtations, in which he poſſeſſed himſelf of all her Eſtate as the Sole Maſter of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any Competency for her ſelf; and indulged to himſelf all thoſe Licences in her own Houſe, which to Women are moſt grievous, ſhe found means to withdraw her ſelf from him; and was with all kindneſs receiv'd into that Family, in which ſhe had before been Married, and was always very much reſpected.

Her Abſence was not ingrateful to him, till the Tenants refuſed to pay him any more Rent, and he found himſelf on a ſuddain depriv'd of her whole Eſtate, which was all he had to live upon: for it appear'd now, that ſhe had before her Marriage with him, ſettled her entire Fortune ſo abſolutely upon the Earl of *Suffolk* that the preſent right was in Him, and he requir'd the Rents to be paid to him. This begot a Suit in the Chancery between Sir *Richard Greenvil* and the then Earl of *Suffolk*, before the Lord *Coventry*, who found the Conveyances in Law to be ſo firm, that he could not only not relieve Sir *Richard Greenvil* in Equity, but that in Juſtice he muſt Decree the Land to the Earl; which he did. This very ſenſible Mortification tranſported him ſo much, that, being a Man who uſed to ſpeak very bitterly of thoſe he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the Earl in a perſonal Conflict, he reveng'd himſelf upon him in in ſuch opprobrious Language, as the Government, and Juſtice of that time would not permit to paſs unpuniſh'd; and the Earl appeal'd for Reparation to the Court of Star-Chamber; where Sir *Richard* was Decreed to pay three thouſand pounds for damages to him; and was likewiſe fin'd the Sum of three thouſand pounds to the King; who gave the Fine likewiſe to the Earl: ſo that Sir *Richard* was committed to the Priſon of the Fleet in Execution for the whole ſix thouſand pounds; which at that time was thought by all Men to be a very ſevere and rigorous Decree, and drew a general Compaſſion towards the unhappy Gentleman.

After he had endured many years of ſtrict impriſonment, a little before the beginning of the late Troubles, he made his eſcape out of the Priſon; and tranſporting himſelf beyond the Seas, remain'd there till the Parliament was call'd that produced ſo many Miſeries to the Kingdom and when he heard that many Decrees which had been made, in that time, by the Court of Star-Chamber, were repeal'd, and the Perſons griev'd, abſolv'd from thoſe Penalties, he likewiſe return'd and Petition'd to have his cauſe heard; for which a Committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any concluſion, the Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*. Among the firſt Troops that were raiſed and tranſported for the Suppreſſion thereof, by the Parliament (to whom the King had unhappily committed the proſecution of it) Sir *Richard Greenvil* upon the fame

of being a good Officer, was ſent over with a very good Troop of Horſe; was Major of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s own Regiment of Horſe, and was very much eſteem'd by him, and the more by the Parliament, for the ſignal acts of Cruelty he did every day commit upon the *Iriſh*; which were of ſo many kinds upon both Sexes, Young and Old, hanging old Men who were Bedrid, becauſe they would not diſcover where their Money was, that he believ'd they had; and old Women, ſome of Quality, after he had plunder'd them, and found leſs than he expected; that they can hardly be believ'd, though notoriouſly known to be true.

After the Ceſſation was made in *Ireland*, he pretended that his Conſcience would not give him leave to ſtay there, and was much the more welcome to the Parliament, for declaring ſo heartily againſt that Ceſſation; and Sir *William Waller* being in the beginning of this Year to make his Expedition into the Weſt, after the Battle of *Alresford*, Sir *Richard Greenvil* was either commended to him, or invited by him, to Command the Horſe under him; which he chearfully accepted, not without many inſinuations, how much his intereſt in *Devon-ſhire*, and *Cornwal*, would advance Theirs. He receiv'd from the Parliament a great Sum of Money, for the making his Equipage; in which he always affected more than ordinary Luſtre; and Sir *William Waller* communicated to him all his deſigns, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an entire Friend, and an Officer of that Eminence, by whoſe Advice he meant to govern his own Conduct.

His firſt and principal deſign was to ſurpriſe *Baſing*-Houſe, by a correſpondence with the Lord *Edward Pawlet*, Brother to the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, and then with him, as unſuſpected as a Brother ought to be. For the better execution of this, Sir *Richard Greenvil* was ſent before with a Body of the Horſe, that all things might be well diſpoſed, and prepared againſt the time *Waller* himſelf ſhould come to him. He appointed a Rendezvous for the Horſe at *Bagſhot*, and the ſame day march'd out of *London* only with his Equipage; which was very Noble; a Coach and ſix Horſes, a Wagon and ſix Horſes, many Led Horſes, and many Servants; with thoſe, when he came to *Stanes*, he left the *Bagſhot* road, and march'd directly to *Reading*, where the King's Garriſon then was; and thence, without delay, to *Oxford*, where he was very graciouſly receiv'd by the King, and the more becauſe he was not expected. He communicated then to the King the whole deſign of the ſurpriſe of *Baſing*; upon which the King ſent an Expreſs immediately to the Marquis, with all the particular informations; who thereupon ſeiſed upon his Brother, and the other Conſpirators; who confeſs'd all, with all the circumſtances of the correſpondence and combination. The Marquis prevail'd with the King, that he might only turn his Brother out of the Garriſon, after Juſtice was done upon his Complices. This very happy and ſeaſonable diſcovery preſerv'd that important place; which without it, had infallibly been loſt within few Days, and therefore could not but much endear the Perſon of the Diſcoverer; upon whom the Parliament thunder'd out all thoſe reproaches, which his deſerting them in ſuch a manner was liable to; and denounced all thoſe judgements upon him of Attainder, Confiſcation, and incapacity of Pardon, which they uſed to do againſt thoſe, who they thought, had done them moſt miſchief, or againſt whom they were moſt incenſed: which was all the excuſe he could make for his ſevere proceedings againſt thoſe of their Party, who fell into his hands afterwards where he Commanded.

From *Oxford* he went quickly into the Weſt, before he had any Command there; declaring that he would aſſiſt Colonel *Digby*; who, upon Prince *Maurice*'s departure from thence with his Army, was left to Block up *Plymouth*; which he did with much Courage and Soldierly ability. To Him he had Letters from the King, that he ſhould put Sir *Richard Greenvil* into the poſſeſſion of his Wife's Eſtate, that lay within his Quarters, and which was juſtly liable to a Sequeſtration by her living in *London*, and being too zealouſly of that Party; which the Colonel punctually did. and ſo he came, after ſo many years, to be again poſſeſſed of all that Eſtate; which was what he moſt ſet his Heart upon.

One day he made a Viſit from his Houſe, which he call'd his own to the Colonel; and dined with him; and the Colonel civilly ſent half a dozen

zen Troopers to wait on him home, leſt any of the Garriſon, in their uſual Excurſions, might meet with him. In his return home, he ſaw four or five fellows, coming out of a Neighbour Wood, with Burthens of Wood upon their backs, which they had ſtolen. He bid the Troopers fetch thoſe fellows to him, and finding that they were Soldiers of the Garriſon, he made one of them hang all the reſt; which to ſave his own Life, he was contented to do: ſo ſtrong his Appetite was to thoſe Executions he had been accuſtom'd to in *Ireland*, without any kind of Commiſſion or pretence of Authority.

Shortly after, upon a Sally made with Horſe and Foot from the Town Colonel *Digby* (who beſides the the keenneſs of his Courage had a more compoſed underſtanding, and leſs liable to fumes, than ſome of his Family who had ſharper Parts) Charging them with ſuch vigour as Routed, and drove them back, receiv'd himſelf in the cloſe an unhappy wound, with a Rapier, in the Eye; which pierced near his Brain; ſo that, though he was brought off by his Soldiers, it was very long before he recover'd enough to endure the Air, and never did the effects of the Wound. Upon this accident Sir *Richard Greenvil* was placed in that Command, which he executed for ſome Months; until, upon the Advance of the Earl of *Eſſex*, he was compell'd to retire into *Cornwal*, where We found him at the King's coming thither.

This ſo large excurſion upon a private Perſon may ſeem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much Animoſity againſt the memory of a Man who did ſome things well, and was not without ſome merit in the King's Service: But they who know the Occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and conſider the ſeverity that he compell'd the Prince to uſe towards him, of which he made a great noiſe afterwards in the World, and prevailed with ſome good Men to believe that the proceeding againſt him was too rigorous, and that the Council then about the Prince had ſome Perſonal diſreſpect towards him, may reaſonably believe that this enlargement was in ſome degree neceſſary, that ſuch a Man's Original, Nature, Manners, and Diſpoſition, ſhould be manifeſt and clearly underſtood.

The King was now moſt intent to return into his Winter Quarters at *Oxford*, which was all he could propoſe to himſelf; in which he expected to meet with all the obſtructions and difficulties his enraged Enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that *Waller* was even ready to come out of *London*, and that *Middleton* was retired from *Tiverton* to joyn with him; that they had ſent for the Earl of *Mancheſter* to march towards the Weſt with his Victorious Army: So that, if he long deferr'd his march, he muſt look to Fight another Battle, before he could reach *Oxford*. Notwithſtanding all which, his Army that had been upon hard duty; and had made long marches above ſix Months together, requir'd ſome reſt and refreſhment; the Foot were without Cloaths, and Shoes; and the Horſe in ſuch ill humour, that without Money they would be more diſcontented. To provide the beſt remedy that could be applied to theſe evils, the next day after the King march'd from *Plymouth*, himſelf, attended only by his own Troop, and the principal Officers of the Court, went to *Exeter*; appointing the Army, by ſlow marches, to follow, and to be Quarter'd at *Tiverton*, and the other Towns adjacent; where they arriv'd on the 21*ſt* of *September*.

His Majeſty now quickly diſcern'd how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had leſſen'd and diminiſh'd his Army. His own Body of Foot, which when he enter'd *Cornwal*, were above four thouſand, was at this time much fewer; and Prince *Maurice*'s, which conſiſted of full four thouſand five hundred, when the King firſt view'd them at *Kirton*, was not now half the Number. Of all the Forces under *Greenvil*, which had made ſo much noiſe, and had been thought worthy of the Name of an Army, there were only five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe left with him, for the Blocking up *Plymouth*; the reſt were dwindled away; or elſe, which was his uſual Artifice, he had encouraged them to ſtay for ſome time in *Cornwal*, and then to repair to him, as many of them did; for his Forces ſuddainly encreaſed; and the truth is, few of the *Corniſh* march'd Eaſtward with the King. The King's Horſe were harraſs'd, and many of them dead in the marches; which contributed to the diſcontent of the Riders; ſo that great Proviſions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the Commiſſi-

ners, appointed in *Devon-ſhire* for thoſe Affairs, his Majeſty was within few days ſupplied with two thouſand pounds in Money, which was preſently diſtributed among the Horſe; and three thouſand Suites of Cloaths, with good proportions of Shoes and Stockings; which were likewiſe deliver'd to the Foot. What remain'd yet wanting for the Horſe and Foot, was promiſed to meet them, upon their firſt entrance into *Somerſet-ſhire*; where the Commiſſioners of that County, had undertaken they ſhould be ready.

There was another thing of equal importance to be provided for, before the King left *Exeter*; which was, the Blocking up the Troops of *Lyme*; which were grown more inſolent by the Succeſs they had Had; and made Incurſions ſometimes even to the Walls of *Exeter*; and to reſtrain a ſtronger Garriſon in *Taunton*. For when Prince *Maurice* raiſed his Siege from *Lyme*, he had very unhappily drawn out the Garriſon of *Taunton*, which conſiſted of eight hundred Men, under the Command of Sir *John Stawel*, a Perſon of that Eminent Courage and Fidelity, that he would never have given it up; and left only fourſcore Men in the Caſtle to be kept by a Lieutenant, who baſely gave it up; aſſoon as *Eſſex* in his paſſage demanded it; for which he deſervedly afterwards ſuffer'd Death. And it was now, by the Garriſon the Earl put into it, and the extreme Malignity and Pride of the Inhabitants, in both which they exceeded, become a ſharp Thorn in the ſides of all that Populous County.

To remedy the firſt of theſe, ſome Troops which depended upon the Garriſon of *Exeter*, were aſſign'd, and were to receive Orders from Sir *John Berkley*, Governour thereof; who was the more vacant for that Service by the reduction of *Barnſtable*; which was done during the King's ſtay at *Exeter*. The other of *Taunton*, was more unhappily committed to Colonel *Windham*, the Governour of *Bridgewater*; who, though a Gentleman of known Courage and unqueſtionable Fidelity, by the Diviſions and Factions in the Country, was not equal to the work. To diſpatch all this, the King ſtaid not a full week at *Exeter*; but haſten'd his march to *Chard* in *Someret-ſhire*, where he ſtaid longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwiſe have reach'd *Oxford*, before the Enemy was in a Conjunction ſtrong enough to ſtop him: yet even that ſtay could not be prevented, except he would have left the Money and Cloaths (which the Commiſſioners of *Somerſet-ſhire* promiſed, and did deliver there at laſt) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the Army.

It was the laſt of *September*, that the King march'd from *Chard*; and Quarter'd that Night at a Houſe of the Lord *Pawlet*'s, where Prince *Rupert* met him, and gave him an account of the unhappy Affairs of the North, and that he had left about two thouſand Horſe under the Command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; which he might as well have brought with him, and then the King would have had a glorious end of his Weſtern Expedition. Prince *Rupert* preſently return'd to *Briſtol*, with Orders, aſſoon as was poſſible, to march with thoſe Northern Horſe under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and two thouſand Foot, which were in *Wales*, under Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, into *Glocester-ſhire*; by which the Enemy might be obliged to divide their Force, which if they ſhould ſtill keep united, the Prince from thence would be able to joyn with the King: But theſe Orders were not executed in time. The King's Army at this time conſiſted in the whole but of five thouſand five hundred Foot, and about four thouſand Horſe; and *Waller* was already come with his Horſe to *Blandford*; but ſome of his Troops being beaten up by thoſe of the King's he retired to *Shaftsbury*, and thoſe parts of *Wilt-ſhire* adjacent. It concern'd the King very much, before he left thoſe parts, to relieve *Portland* Caſtle, which had been now Beſieged from the time of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s march that way. To that purpoſe, he march'd to *Sherborn*; where he ſtaid ſix days too long, though in that time he raiſed the Siege before *Portland* Caſtle, if he had not hoped by that delay that his Nephew Prince *Rupert* would have been well advanced in his march. Sir *Lewis Dives* was left with his own Regiment of one hundred and fifty old Soldiers, and ſome Horſe in *Sherborn* Caſtle, and made Commander in Chief of *Dorſet-ſhire*; in hope that he would be able ſhortly by his activity and the very good affection of that County, to raiſe men enough to recover *Weymouth*: and he did perform all that could be reaſonably expected from him. His Majeſty had a great deſire, in his march to *Oxford*, to relieve

relieve *Donnington* Caſtle, and *Baſing*; which was again Beſieg'd by almoſt the whole Army of the Enemy; and then to ſend a good Party to relieve *Banbury*, which had been cloſe Beſieg'd by Colonel *John Fiennes*, another Son of the Lord *Say*, with all the Forces of *Northampton-ſhire*, *Warwick*, and *Coventry*; and bravely defended by Sir *William Compton*, full three Months; but by this time reduced to the utmoſt extremity.

In order to preſerve all this, the King came to *Salisbury* upon the 15th of *October*; where he underſtood, "that *Waller* lay at *Andover* with his Troops; "that *Mancheſter* was advanced as far as *Reading* with five thouſand Horſe "and Foot, and four and twenty pieces of Ordnance; and that four Regi- "ments of the Train'd-bands of *London*, were beginning their march to him; and "that three thouſand of the Horſe and Foot of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army "were near *Portſmouth*, expecting Orders to joyn with the reſt. This might very well have diſpoſed his Majeſty to have haſten'd his march to *Oxford*, which would have made a fair concluſion of the Campagne; and this was the more reaſonable, becauſe here the King receiv'd Letters from Prince *Rupert*, in which he declar'd, "that it was not poſſible for him to bring up his "Troops ſo ſoon as his Majeſty expected; and indeed as his preſent Condition required: and if this had been reſolv'd both *Donnington* Caſtle, and *Banbury*, might have been ſeaſonably ſet at liberty; but a great gayety poſſeſſed *Goring*, that he earneſtly adviſed the King to march, with ſecrecy and expedition, to beat *Waller*; who lay at *Andover*, a good diſtance from the reſt, with three thouſand Horſe and Dragoons; which the King, upon the unanimous conſent of the Council, conſented to.

He had left all the Cannon that he had taken from *Eſſex*, in *Exeter*; and now he ſent all his great Cannon to a Garriſon he had within two Miles of *Salisbury* at *Langford*, a Houſe of the Lord *Gorges*; where was a Garriſon of one hundred Men, Commanded by a good Officer. The reſt of the Cannon and Carriages were left at *Wilton*, the Houſe of the Earl of *Pembroke*, with a Regiment of Foot to guard them; and the King appointed the Rendezvous for the Army to be the next Morning, by ſeven of the Clock, near *Clarendon* Park; and good Guards were ſet at all the Avenues of the City, to keep all People from going out, that *Waller* might not have any notice of his purpoſe: and if the hour of the Rendezvous had been obſerv'd, as it rarely was (though his Majeſty was himſelf the moſt punctual, and never abſent at the preciſe time) that deſign had ſucceeded to wiſh. For though the Foot under Prince *Maurice* came not up till eleven of the Clock, ſo that the Army did not begin its march till twelve, yet they came within four Miles of *Andover*, before *Waller* had any Notice of their Motions; when he drew out his whole Body towards them, as if he meant to Fight; but upon view of their Strength, and the good Order they were in, he changed his mind and drew back into the Town; leaving a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons to make good his Retreat. But the King's Van Charged, and Routed them with good Execution, and purſued them through the Town, and ſlew many of them in the Rear, until the darkneſs of the Night ſecur'd them, and hinder'd the others from following farther. But they were all ſcatter'd, and came not quickly together again; and the King Quarter'd that Night at *Andover*. The ſcattering this great Body under *Waller* in this manner, and the little reſiſtance they made, ſo raiſed the Spirits of the King's Army, that they deſir'd nothing more than to have a Battle with the whole Army of the Enemy; which the King meant not to ſeek out, nor to decline Fighting with them, if they put themſelves in his way. And ſo he reſolv'd to raiſe the Siege of *Donnington*-Caſtle, which was little out of his way to *Oxford*. To that purpoſe, he ſent Orders for the Cannon which had been left at *Langford*, and *Wilton*, to make all haſt to a place appointed between *Andover* and *Newbury*; where he ſtaid with his Army, till they came up to him; and then marched together to *Newbury*, within a Mile of *Donnington*.

The Blockade of *Doninngton*-Caſtle had been (when *Middleton* from thence purſued his march into the Weſt) left to the care of Colonel *Horton*; who for ſome time was contented to Block it up; but then finding his Summons neglected, and that they had ſtore of Proviſions within, and having an addition of Forces from *Abingdon* and *Reading*, he reſolv'd to Beſiege it; which he begun to do the 29th of *September*; and made his Approaches, and rais'd

a Battery on the foot of the Hill next *Newbury*, and plyed it ſo with his great Cannon, that, after twelve days continual ſhooting, he beat down three Towers and a part of the Wall; which he believ'd had ſo humbled the Governour and the Garriſon, that they would be no longer as ſtubborn as they had been; and therefore he ſent them another Summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, " that prevail'd with him, now they were even at his mercy, to " offer them Quarter for their Lives, if they gave up the Caſtle before *Wed-* " *neſday* at ten of the Clock in the Morning; but if that his favour was not " accepted, he declar'd in the preſence of God, that there ſhould no Man a- " mongſt them have his Life ſpar'd, The Governour made himſelf merry with his high and Threatning Language; and ſent him word, " he would keep the " place, and would neither give nor receive Quarter, At this time, the Earl of *Mancheſter* himſelf with his Forces came to *Newbury*; and receiving no better Anſwer to his own Summons, than *Horton* had done before, he reſolv'd to Storm it the next day. But his Soldiers, being well inform'd of the reſolution of thoſe within, declin'd that hot Service; and plyed it with their Artillery untill the next Night; and then remov'd their Battery to the other ſide of the Caſtle; and begun their Approaches by Saps; when the Governour made a ſtrong Sally, and beat them out of their Trenches, and kill'd a Lieutenant Colonel, who Commanded in Chief, with many Soldiers; ſhot their Chief Cannoneer through the Head, brought away their Cannon-Baskets, and many Armes, and retired with very little loſs: yet the next Night they finiſh'd their Battery: and continued ſome days their great ſhot, till they heard of the Approach of the King's Army; whereupon they drew off their Ordnance, and their Train'd-bands of *London* being not yet come to them, the Earl thought fit to march away to a greater diſtance; there having been, in nineteen days, above one thouſand great ſhot ſpent upon the Walls, without any other damage to the Garriſon, than the beating down ſome old parts thereof.

When the King came to *Newbury*, the Governour of *Donnington* attended him; and was Knighted for his very good behaviour, and there was then ſo little apprehenſion of dread of the Enemy, that his Majeſty thought not of proſecuting his Journey towards *Oxford*, before he ſhould Relieve both *Baſing* and *Banbury*. And now importunities being ſent from the laſt, which was even upon the point of rendering for want of Victuals, they having already eaten moſt of their Horſes, his Majeſty was well content that the Earl of *Northampton*, who had the Supreme Government of that Garriſon, where he had left his brave Brother his Lieutenant, ſhould, with three Regiments of Horſe, attempt the relieving it; Letters being ſent to *Oxford*, " that Colonel *Gage*, with ſome Horſe " and Foot from thence, ſhould meet him; which they did punctually; and came time enough to *Banbury* before they were expected: yet they found the Rebels Horſe (Superior in Number by much to theirs) drawn up in five Bodies on the South ſide of the Town, near their Sconce; as if, upon the advantage of that Ground, they meant to Fight. But two, or three ſhots, made at them by a Couple of Drakes brought from *Oxford* by Colonel *Gage*, made them ſtagger, and retire from their ground very diſorderly. Their Cannon and Baggage had been ſent out of the Town the Night before; and their Foot, being above ſeven hundred, run out of *Banbury* upon the firſt advance of the King's Troops. Colonel *Gage* with the Foot went directly to the Caſtle, that they might be at Liberty; whilſt the Earl of *Northampton* follow'd the Horſe ſo cloſely, that they found it beſt to make a ſtand; where he furiouſly Charg'd and Routed them; and, not withſtanding they had lined ſome Hedges with Muſqueteers purſued them till they were ſcatter'd, and totally diſperſed; their General young *Fiennes*, continuing his flight, till he came to *Coventry*, without ſtaying. The Foot, for the moſt part, by diſperſing themſelves, eſcaped by the Incloſures, before Colonel *Gage* could come up. But there were taken, in the Chaſe, one Field piece, and three Waggons of Armes and Ammunition; many ſlain; and two Officers of Horſe, with near one hundred other Priſoners, four Cornets of Horſe, and two hundred Horſes, were taken; and all this with the loſs of one Captain and nine Troopers; ſome Officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the Siege was raiſed from *Banbury*; which had continued full thirteen Weeks; ſo notably defended, that though they had but two Horſes left un-eaten, they had never ſuffer'd a Summons to be ſent to them; and was now Reliev'd the very day of

Banbury *Caſtle reliev'd by the Earl of* Northampton.

of the Month upon which both Town and Caſtle had been render'd to the King two years before; being the 26th of *October*.

Though the Relief of *Banbury* ſucceeded to wiſh, yet the King paid dear for it ſoon after: the very day after that Service was perform'd, Colonel *Urry*, a *Scotsman*, who had formerly ſerv'd the Parliament, and is well mention'd, in the tranſactions of the laſt year, for having quitted them, and perform'd ſome ſignal Service to the King, had in the Weſt, about the time the King enter'd into *Cornwal* (in a diſcontented humour, which was very natural to him) deſired a Paſs to go beyond the Seas; and ſo quitted the Service: but inſtead of embarking himſelf, made haſt to *London*; and put himſelf now into the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Army, and made a diſcovery of all he knew of the King's Army, and a deſcription of the Perſons and Cuſtomes of thoſe who principally commanded; ſo that as they well knew the conſtitution, and weakneſs of the King's Army, they had alſo Advertiſement of the Earl of *Northampton*'s being gone with three Regiments of Horſe, to the Relief of *Banbury*. Whereupon, within two days after, all thoſe Forces which had been under *Eſſex* and *Waller*, being united with *Mancheſter* (with whom likewiſe the Train'd-bands of *London* were now joyn'd; all which made up a Body of above eight thouſand Foot; the number of their Horſe being not Inferior) advanced towards the King, who had not half the number before the departure of the Earl of *Northampton*, and ſtay'd ſtill at *Newbury* with a reſolution to expect the return of that Earl, that he might likewiſe do ſomewhat for *Baſing*; not believing that the Enemy could be ſo ſoon united.

The ſecond Battle at Newbury

It was now too late to hope to make a Safe retreat to *Oxford*, when the whole Body of the Enemies Army, which had receiv'd poſitive Orders to Fight the King as ſoon as was poſſible, appear'd as near as *Thackham*; ſo that his Majeſty not at all diſmay'd, reſolv'd to ſtand upon the Defenſive only; hoping that, upon the advantage he had of the Town of *Newbury* and the River, the Enemy would not ſpeedily Advance; and that in the mean time, by being compell'd to lodge in the Field, which grew now to be very Cold, whilſt his Army was under cover, they might be forced to retire. The King Quarter'd in the Town of *Newbury*; and placed ſtrong Guards on the South of the Town: but the greateſt part of the Army was placed towards the Enemies Quarters, in a good Houſe belonging to Mr. *Doleman* at *Shaw*, and in a Village near it, defended by the River that runs under *Donnington*-Caſtle, and in a Houſe between that Village and *Newbury*, about which a Work was caſt up, and at a Mill upon the River of *Kennet*; all which lay almoſt Eaſt from the Town. Directly North from thence were two open Fields, where moſt of the Horſe ſtood with the Train of Artillery, and about half a Mile Weſt, was the Village of *Speen*; and beyond it a ſmall Heath. In this Village lay all Prince *Maurice*'s Foot, and ſome Horſe, and at the Entrance of the Heath a work was caſt up, which clear'd the Heath. In this poſture they had many Skirmiſhes with the Enemy for two days without loſing any ground; and the Enemy was ſtill beaten off with loſs.

On *Sunday* Morning, the ſeven and twentieth of *October*, by the break of day, one thouſand of the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Army, with the Train'd-bands of *London*, came down the Hill; and paſſed the River that way by *Shaw*; and, undiſcover'd, forced that Guard which ſhould have kept the Paſs near the Houſe; that was entrenched where Sir *Bernard Aſtly* lay; who inſtantly, with a good Body of Muſqueteers, fell upon the Enemy; and not only Routed them, but compell'd them to Rout two other Bodies of their own Men, who were coming to ſecond them. In this purſuit very many of the Enemy were ſlain, and many drown'd in the River, and above two hundred Armes taken. There continued, all that day, very warm Skirmiſhes in ſeveral Parts; the Enemies Army having almoſt encompaſſed the King's; and with much more loſs to Them, than to the King; till about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Waller* with his own, and the Forces which had been under *Eſſex*, fell upon the Quarter at *Speen*, and paſſed the River; which was not well defended by the Officer who was appointed to guard it with Horſe and Foot, very many of them being gone off from their Guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempted a Quarter that was thought the ſtrongeſt of all. But having thus got the River, they march'd in good Order, with very good Bodies of Foot, winged with Horſe, towards the Heath; from whence the Horſe which were left there, with too little reſiſtance, retir'd; being in truth much overpower'd, by

reaſon the Major part of them, upon confidence of ſecurity of the Paſs, were gone to provide Forage for their Horſe.

By this means, the Enemy poſſeſſed themſelves of the Ordnance which had been planted there; and of the Village of *Speen*; the Foot which were there, retir'd to the Hedge next the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which they made good: at the ſame time, the right Wing of the Enemies Horſe advanced under the Hill of *Speen* with one hundred Muſqueteers in the Van, and came into the open Field, where a good Body of the King's Horſe ſtood; which at firſt receiv'd them in ſome diſorder; but the Queen's Regiment of Horſe, commanded by Sir *John Cansfield*, charged them with ſo much gallantry, that he routed that great Body; which then fled; and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein moſt of the Muſqueteers were ſlain, and very many of the Horſe; inſomuch that the whole Wing rallied not again that night. The King was at that time with the Prince, and many of the Lords, and other his Servants, in the middle of that Field; and could not, by his own Preſence, reſtrain thoſe Horſe which at the firſt approach of the Enemy were in that diſorder, from ſhamefully giving Ground. So that if Sir *John Cansfield* had not in that Article of Time, given them that briſk Charge, by which other Troops were ready to charge them in the Flank, the King himſelf had been in very great danger.

At the ſame time, the left Wing of the Enemies Horſe advanced towards the North-ſide of the great Field; but before they got thither, *Goring* with the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigade, Charg'd them ſo vigorouſly, that he forced them back in great confuſion over a Hedge; and following them, was Charg'd by another freſh Body; which he defeated likewiſe, and ſlew very many of the Enemy upon the place; having not only routed and beaten them off their ground, but endured the Shot of three Bodies of their Foot in their purſuit, and in their retreat, with no conſiderable damage, ſave that the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Horſe falling under him, he was taken Priſoner; which was an extraordinary loſs. Whilſt this was doing on that ſide, twelve hundred Horſe and three thouſand Foot, of thoſe under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, advanced with great Reſolution upon *Shaw*-Houſe, and the Field adjacent; which quarter was defended by Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, and Colonel *George Liſle*; and the Houſe, by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*. They came ſinging of Pſalms; and, at firſt, drove forty Muſqueteers from a Hedge, who were placed there to ſtop them; but they were preſently Charg'd by Sir *John Brown* with the Prince's Regiment of Horſe; who did good execution upon them, till he ſaw another Body of their Horſe ready to Charge him, which made him retire to the Foot in Mr *Doleman*'s Garden, which flanked that Field, and give fire upon thoſe Horſe, whereof very many fell; and the Horſe thereupon Wheeling about, Sir *John Brown* fell upon their Rear, kill'd many, and kept that Ground all the day; when the Reſerve of Foot Commanded by Colonel *Thelwel*, gall'd their Foot with ſeveral Vollies; and then fell on them with the But-ends of their Muſquets, till they had not only beaten them from the Hedges, but quite out of the Field; leaving two Drakes, ſome Colours, and many dead Bodies behind them. At this time, a great Body of their Foot attempted Mr *Doleman*'s Houſe but were ſo well entertain'd by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*, that after they had made their firſt effort, they were forced to retire in ſuch Confuſion, that he purſued them from the Houſe with a notable Execution; inſomuch that they left five hundred dead upon a little ſpot of ground; and they drew off the two Drakes out of the Field to the Houſe, the Enemy being beaten off and retired from all that Quarter.

It was now night; for which neither Party was ſorry; and the King, who had been on that ſide where the Enemy only had prevail'd, thought that his Army had ſuffer'd alike in all other Places. He ſaw they were entirely poſſeſſed of *Speen*, and had taken all the Ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be eaſy for them, before the next Morning, to have compaſſed him round; towards which they might have gone far, if they had found themſelves in a Condition to have purſued their fortune.

Hereupon, as ſoon as it was night, his Majeſty, with the Prince and thoſe Lords who had been about him all the day, and his Regiment of Guards, retired into the Fields under *Donnington* Caſtle, and reſolv'd to proſecute the reſolution that was taken in the morning, when they ſaw the great Advantage

the

the Enemy had in numbers, with which he was like to be encompaſſed, if his Forces were beaten from either of the Poſts. That reſolution was, " to " march away in the night towards *Wallingford*; and to that purpoſe, all the Carriages, and great Ordnance, had been that Morning drawn under *Donnington* Caſtle; ſo he ſent Orders to all the Officers, to draw off their Men to the ſame Place; and receiving Intelligence at that time that Prince *Rupert* was come, or would be that night at *Bath*, that he might make no ſtay there, but preſently be able to joyn with his Army, his Majeſty himſelf, with the Prince, and about three hundred Horſe, made haſt thither; and found Prince *Rupert* there; and thence made what haſt they could back towards *Oxford*. The truth is, the King's Army was not in ſo ill a condition, as the King conceived it to have been: that Party which were in the Field near *Speen*, kept their ground very reſolutely; and although it was a fair Moon-ſhine night, the Enemy, that was very near them, and much Superior in Number, thought not fit to aſſault or diſturb them. That part of the Enemy that had been ſo roughly treated at *Shaw*, having receiv'd Succour of a ſtrong Body of Horſe, reſolv'd once more to make an attempt upon the Foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they ſtood not well enough to receive an equal loſs, but retired to their Hill, where they ſtood ſtill. This was the laſt Action between the Armies; for about ten of the Clock at night, all the Army, Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, upon the King's Orders, drew forth their ſeveral Guards to the Heath about *Donnington* Caſtle; in which they left moſt of their wounded Men, with all their Ordnance, Ammunition, and Carriages; then Prince *Maurice*, and the other Officers, march'd in good Order away to *Wallingford*, committing the bringing up the Rear to Sr. *Humphrey Bennet* (who had behav'd himſelf very Signally that day) who with his Brigade of Horſe march'd behind, and receiv'd not the leaſt diſturbance from the Enemy; who, in ſo light a Night, could not but know of the Retreat, and were well enough pleaſed to be rid of an Enemy that had handled them ſo ill. By the Morning, all the Army, Foot as well as Horſe, arriv'd at *Wallingford*; where having refreſh'd a little, they march'd to *Oxford*; without ſeeing any Party of the Enemy that look'd after them.

Many made a Queſtion which Party had the better of the Day; and neither was well enough ſatisfied with their Succeſs. There could be no queſtion there were very many more kill'd of the Enemy, than of the King's Army; whereof were miſſing, only Sir *William* St. *Leger*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Duke's Regiment of Foot; Lieutenant Colonel *Tipping*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Leake* both Officers of Horſe, who were all there ſlain, with not above one hundred Common Soldiers, in all places. The Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, was wounded on the head; Sir *John Cansfeild*, Sir *John Greenvil*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Page*, were wounded; but all recover'd. The Officers of the Enemies ſide were never talk'd of, being for the moſt part, of no better Families than the Common Soldiers. But it was reaſonably computed, by thoſe who ſaw the Action in all places, that there could not be ſo few as one thouſand dead upon the place: yet becauſe the King's Army quitted the Field, and march'd away in the Night, the other ſide thought themſelves Maſters; and the Parliament celebrated their Victory with their uſual Triumphs; though, within few days after, they deſcern'd that they had little reaſon for it. They came to know, by what accident was not imagin'd, that the Earl of *Brentford* remain'd that night in the Caſtle, by reaſon of the hurt in his Head, and ſo ſent Colonel *Urry* to him to perſwade him to give up the Caſtle, and to make him other large Offers; all which the General rejected with the Indignation that became him. No more ſhall be ſaid of the Colonel, becauſe, after all his tergiverſations, he choſe at laſt to loſe his Life for, and in the King's Service; which ought to expiate for all his tranſgreſſions, and preſerve his memory from all unkind Reflections.

The next day, when they knew that the King's Army was retired, and not till then, they made haſt to poſſeſs themſelves of *Newbury*; and then drew up their whole Army before *Donnington*-Caſtle, and ſummon'd the Governour " to " deliver it to them, or elſe they would not leave one Stone upon another. To which the Governour made no other reply, than " that he was not bound " repair it; but however he would, by God's help, keep the ground afterwards: ſeeing his obſtinacy, they offer'd him " to march away with the Arms, and all

" things belonging to the Garriſon; and, when that mov'd not, " that he ſhould " carry all the Cannon, and Ammunition with him; to all which he Anſwer'd, " that he wonder'd they would not be ſatisfied with ſo many Anſwers that he " had ſent, and deſired them " to be aſſured, that he would not go out of " the Caſtle, till the King ſent him Order ſo to do. Offended with theſe high Anſwers, they reſolv'd to Aſſault it; but the Officer who commanded the Party, being kill'd with ſome few of the Soldiers, they retir'd; and never after made any attempt upon it; but remain'd quietly at *Newbury* in great Faction among themſelves; every Man taking upon himſelf to find fault, and cenſure what had been done, and had been left undone, in the whole day's Service.

The King met Prince *Rupert*, as he expected, with Colonel *Gerrard*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; and made all the haſt he could to joyn thoſe Forces with his own Army, that ſo he might march back to *Newbury*, and diſengage his Cannon, and Carriages. By the way he met the Earl of *Northampton*, and thoſe Regiments which had Reliev'd *Banbury*; and having with marvellous Expedition cauſed a new Train of Artillery to be form'd, he brought his Army again to a Rendezvous on *Bullington-Green*; where, with the Addition of thoſe Forces, and ſome Foot, which he drew out of *Oxford*, under the Command of Colonel *Gage*, it appear'd to be full ſix thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe; with which he march'd to *Wallingford*; and within a day more than a Week after he had left *Donnington* Caſtle, found himſelf there again in ſo good a poſture, that he reſolv'd not to decline Fighting with the Enemy; but would be firſt poſſeſſed of his Cannon, and put ſome Proviſion into the Caſtle; which he accompliſh'd without any oppoſition.

The King relieves Donnington Caſtle.

The Enemy's Army lay ſtill at *Newbury*, perplexed with the Diviſions and Factions among their own Officers, without any notice of the King's advance, till a Quarter of their Horſe was beaten up. The next Morning, the King put his Army into Battalia; Prince *Rupert*, who was now declared General, led the Van; and got poſſeſſion of the Heath, on the back ſide of the Caſtle; from which a ſmall Party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very ſteep, and the way narrower. On that Heath, the King's Army was drawn up about Noon, every one being prepared to Fight; and none of the Enemy appearing, they march'd by the Caſtle over the River by a Mill, and two Fords below it, without any oppoſition; and thence drew into the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which was thought a good place to expect the Enemy; who, in the mean time, had drawn a great Body of their Horſe and Foot into the other Field toward *Shaw*, and had made Breaſt-works and Batteries on the back ſide of *Newbury*; which Town they reſolved to keep, and ſtand upon the defenſive, as the King had done before; preſuming, that they now having the warmer Lodging, might better attack the King after his Men had lain a Night or two in the Fields; it being now the Month of *November*, but fair for that Seaſon. Some light Skirmiſhes paſſed between the Horſe, but when the King ſaw upon what diſadvantages he muſt force them to Fight, he called his Council together; who were unanimous in opinion, " that ſince " he had Reliev'd the Caſtle, and put ſufficient Proviſions into it, and that it " was in his power to draw off his Ordnance and Ammunition from thence, " he had done his buſineſs; and if any Honour had been loſt the other day, " it was regain'd now, by his having paſſed his Army over the River in the " face of Theirs, and offer'd them Battle; which they durſt not accept. Upon which the King reſolv'd to attempt them no farther, but gave Orders to retire in their view, with Drums Beating and Trumpets Sounding, the ſame way he came over the River. So the King lay that night at *Donnington* Caſtle, and all the Army about him.

The King had not yet done all he meant to do, before he took up his Winter Quarters; and was willing, that the Enemy ſhould have an opportunity to Fight with him, if they deſir'd it: And therefore, on the *Sunday* morning the tenth of *November*, his Majeſty march'd with all his Cannon and Ammunition over the Heath from *Donnington*, over a fair Campagne, to *Lamborne*; in which march, ſome of the Enemies Horſe attempted his Rear, but were repulſed with loſs; many being ſlain, and ſome taken Priſoners. There the King Quarter'd that night, and the next day, to refreſh his Men, for the ill Lodging they had endured at *Donnington*; having ſent ſome Perſons of great Reputation and Intereſt

to

to *Marlborough*, to make large proviſions for Him, and his Army. And then, ſince he heard the Enemy lay ſtill at *Newbury*, he march'd to *Marlborough*; where he found all things to his wiſh. His heart was ſet upon the relief of *Baſing*, which was now again diſtreſs'd; the Enemy having, as is ſaid before, begirt it cloſely from the time that *Gage* had reliev'd it. He had a great mind to do it with his whole Army; that thereby he might draw the Enemy to a Battle: but, upon full Debate, it was concluded, "that the ſafeſt way would be to do it by "a ſtrong Party; that one thouſand Horſe ſhould be drawn out, every one of "which ſhould carry before him a Bag of Corn, or other Proviſions, and march "ſo as to be at *Baſing* Houſe the next morning after they parted from the Army; "and then every Trooper was to caſt down his Bag, and to make their retreat as "well as they might: And Colonel *Gage*, who had ſo good ſucceſs before, was appointed to Command this Party; which he chearfully undertook to do. The better to effect it, *Hungerford* was thought the fitter place to Quarter with the Army, and from thence to diſpatch that Party: ſo his Majeſty march'd back to *Hungerford*, which was half way to *Newbury*: the Enemy was in mean time march'd from thence to *Baſing*; which, they thought, would, upon the ſight of their whole Army, preſently have yielded; but finding the Marquis ſtill obſtinate to defend it, they were weary of the Winter War, and ſo retired all their force from thence, and quitted the Siege the very day before *Gage* came thither; ſo that he eaſily deliver'd his Proviſions, and retired to the King without any inconvenience. His Majeſty then march'd to *Farrington*, with ſome hope to have ſurpriſed *Abingdon* in his way; but he found it too well provided; and ſo after he had conſider'd where to Quarter his Horſe, which had formerly had their head Quarter at *Abingdon*, and thoſe places which were now under the power of that Governour, he return'd to *Oxford*; where he arriv'd to the univerſal Joy, on the three and twentieth of *November*; a Seaſon of the year fit for all the Troops to be in their Winter Quarters.

The King returns to Oxford.

The King was exceedingly pleaſed to find how much the Fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the Lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgement of it to them. And the Governour Sr. *Arthur Aſton*, having, ſome Months before, in the Managing his Horſe in the Fields, cauſed him to fall, had in the fall broken his own Leg, and, ſhortly after, been compell'd to cut it off; ſo that, if he recover'd at all, which was very doubtful, he could not be fit for any active Service; his Majeſty reſolv'd to confer that Government upon another. Of which reſolution, with all the circumſtances of grace and favour, and ſending him a Warrant for one thouſand pounds a year Penſion for his Life, he gave him notice; and then, to the moſt general ſatisfaction of all Men, he conferr'd that Government upon Colonel *Gage*; whom he had before Knighted. Sr. *Arthur Aſton* was ſo much diſpleaſed with his Succeſſor, that he beſought the King to confer that Charge upon any other Perſon; and when he found that his Majeſty would not change his purpoſe, he ſent to ſome Lords to come to him, who he thought were moſt Zealous in Religion, and deſired them to tell the King from him, "that though he was himſelf a Roman Catholick, he had been very careful "to give no ſcandal to his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects; and could not but in-"form him, that *Gage* was the moſt Jeſuited Papiſt alive; that he had a Jeſuit "who liv'd with him; and that he was preſent at all the Sermons among the Ca-"tholicks; which he believ'd would be very much to his Majeſty's diſſervice. So much his Paſſion and Animoſity over-ruled his Conſcience.

The King liked the choice he had made; and only adviſed the new Governour, by one of his Friends; "to have ſo much diſcretion in his Carriage, that there "might be no notice taken of the Exerciſe of his Religion; to which animadverſion he Anſwer'd, "that he never had diſſembled his Religion, nor ever would; "but that he had been ſo wary in the Exerciſe of it, that he knew there could be "no Witneſs produced, who had ever ſeen him at Maſs in *Oxford*; though he "heard Maſs every day; and that he had never been but once at a Sermon; "which was at the Lodging of Sr. *Arthur*'s Daughter; to which he had been in-"vited with great importunity; and believ'd now that it was to entrap him. But the poor Gentleman enjoy'd the Office very little time; for within a Month, or thereabout, making an attempt to break down *Culham* Bridge near *Abingdon*, where he intended to erect a Royal Fort, that ſhould have kept that Garriſon from that ſide of the Country; he was ſhot through the Heart with a Muſquet

Bullet. Prince *Rupert* was preſent at the Action, having approv'd, and been much pleaſed with the deſign; which was never purſued after his death: and in truth the King ſuſtain'd a wonderful loſs in his death; he being a Man of great wiſdom and temper; and one among the very few Soldiers, who made himſelf to be Univerſally lov'd and eſteem'd.

Though the King's Condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the Summer, he had reaſon to expect (he had broken, and defeated two Armies of the Parliament, and return'd into his Winter Quarter with advantage, and rather with an encreaſe than diminution of his Forces) yet his neceſſities were ſtill the ſame, and the Fountains dryed up from whence he might expect Relief; his Quarters ſhorten'd, and leſſen'd by the loſs of the whole North: for after the Battle of *York*, the *Scots* return'd to Reduce *New-Caſtle*; which they had already done; and all other Garriſons which had held out for the King; and when that Work ſhould be throughly and ſufficiently done, it muſt be expected that Army ſhould again move South-ward, and take ſuch other Places, as the Parliament ſhould not be at leiſure to look after themſelves.

The Temper of the Army, and Court at this time,

The King's Army was leſs united than ever; the old General was ſet aſide, and Prince *Rupert* put into the Command, which was no Popular Change: for the other was known to be an Officer of great Experience, and had committed no overſights in his Conduct; was willing to hear every thing Debated, and always concurr'd with the moſt reaſonable Opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any Action he was ſprightly, and Commanded well. The Prince was Rough, and Paſſionate, and lov'd not Debate; liked what was propos'd, as he liked the Perſons who propos'd it; and was ſo great an Enemy to *Digby* and *Colepepper*, who were only preſent in Debates of the War with the Officers, that he croſſed all they propos'd. The truth is, all the Army had been diſpos'd, from the firſt raiſing it, to a Neglect and Contempt of the Council; and the King himſelf had not been ſollicitous enough to preſerve the Reſpect due to it; in which he leſſen'd his own Dignity.

Goring, who was now General of the Horſe, was no more gracious to Prince *Rupert*, than *Wilmot* had been; had all the others faults, and wanted his regularity, and preſerving his reſpect with the Officers. *Wilmot* lov'd Debauchery, but ſhut it out from his buſineſs; never neglected that, and rarely miſcarried in it: *Goring* had a much better Underſtanding, and a ſharper Wit (except in the very exerciſe of Debauchery, and then the other was inſpir'd) a much keener Courage, and preſentneſs of Mind in danger: *Wilmot* diſcern'd it farther off, and becauſe he could not behave himſelf ſo well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declin'd it; and never drank when he was within diſtance of an Enemy: *Goring* was not able to reſiſt the Temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a Victory: as, in one of thoſe fits, he had ſuffer'd the Horſe to eſcape out of *Cornwal*; and the moſt ſignal Misfortunes of his Life in War, had their riſe from that uncontroulable Licence. Neither of them valued their promiſes, profeſſions, or friendſhips, according to any Rules of Honour, or Integrity; but *Wilmot* violated them the leſs willingly, and never but for ſome great benefit, or convenience to himſelf: *Goring* without ſcruple, out of Humour, or for Wit's ſake; and lov'd no Man ſo well, but that he would cozen him, and then expoſe him to Publick Mirth for having been cozen'd: therefore he had always fewer Friends than the other, but more Company; for no Man had a Wit that pleas'd the Company better. The Ambition of both was unlimited, and ſo equally incapable of being contented; and both unreſtrain'd by any reſpect to good Nature or Juſtice, from purſuing the ſatisfaction thereof: yet *Wilmot* had more Scruples from Religion to ſtartle him, and would not have attain'd his end by any groſs, or foul Act of wickedneſs; *Goring* could have paſſed through thoſe pleaſantly, and would, without heſitation, have broken any Truſt, or done any Act of Treachery to have ſatisfied an ordinary paſſion, or appetite; and in truth, wanted nothing but Induſtry (for he had Wit, and Courage, and Underſtanding, and Ambition, uncontroul'd by any fear of God, or Man) to have been as eminent, and ſucceſsful in the higheſt attempt of wickedneſs, as any Man in the Age he liv'd in, or before. Of all his Qualifications, Diſſimulation was his Maſter-piece; in which he ſo much excell'd, that Men were not ordinarily aſham'd, or out of countenance, with being deceiv'd but twice by him.

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The Court was not much better disposed than the Army; they who had no Preferment, were angry with those who had; and thought they had not deserv'd so well as themselves: They who were envied, found no satisfaction or delight in what they were envied for, being poor and necessitous, and the more sensible of their being so, by the Titles they had receiv'd upon their own violent Importunity. So that the King was without any joy in the Favours he had conferr'd and yet was not the less sollicited to grant more to others of the same kind; who, he foresaw, would be no better pleas'd than the rest: and the pleasing one Man this way displeas'd one hundred; as his Creating the Lord *Colepepper* at this time, and making him a Baron (who in truth had serv'd him with great Abilities; and, though he did imprudently in desiring it, did deserve it) did much dissatisfy both the Court, and the Army; to neither of which he was in any degree gracious, by his having no Ornament of Education, to make Men the more propitious to his parts of Nature; and dispos'd many others to be very importunate to receive the same Obligation.

There had been another Counsel enter'd upon, and concluded with great Deliberation and Wisdom, which turn'd at this time to his Majesty's disadvantage; which was the Cessation in *Ireland*; enter'd into, as hath been said before, with all the reason imaginable, and in hope, to have made a good Peace there, and so to have had the Power of that united Kingdom to have assisted to the surpressing the Rebellion in this. But now, as all the Supplies he had receiv'd from thence upon the Cessation, had been already destroy'd without any benefit to the King, so his Majesty found, that he should not be able to make a Peace there; and then the Government there would be in the worse condition by being depriv'd of so many good Officers, and Soldiers, upon the conclusion of the Cessation. There had been Commissioners from that time sent over to the King from the Confederate Roman Catholicks, to treat a Peace; the Lord Lieutenant, and Council, had sent likewise Commissioners to inform the King of all things necessary to be consider'd in the Treaty; and the Parliament which was then sitting in *Ireland*, had sent likewise Commissioners, in the Name of the Protestants in that Kingdom, to prevent the making any Peace; and with a Petition to dissolve the Cessation that had been made.

Propositions from Ireland rejected by the King.

The Commissioners from the Confederate Roman-Catholicks, demanded "the "Abrogation, and Repeal of all those Laws, which were in force against the "Exercise of the Roman Religion: That the Lieutenant, or Chief Gover- "nour, should be a Roman-Catholick; and that there should be no distinc- "on made, whereby those of that Religion should not be capable of any Pre- "ferment in the Kingdom, as well as the Protestants; together with the Repeal of several Laws which that Nation thought to have been made in their prejudice.

The Commissioners from the State (whereof some were of the Privy Council) professed "that they desired a Peace might be made; but propos'd in "order, as they said to the security of the Kingdom, "that all the *Irish* might "be Disarm'd; and such among them, as had been most signal and barbarous "in the Massacres in the beginning of the Rebellion, might be excepted from Par- "don, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour of Law: That the Laws might be "put in Execution against all Roman-Catholicks, and especially against all Je- "suits, Priests, and Fryars; and that they might be obliged to pay all the "Damages which had been sustain'd by the War.

The Commissioners from the Protestants demanded, "that the Cessation might "be dissolv'd, and the War carried on with the utmost Rigour, according to the "Act of Parliament that had been made in the beginning of the Rebellion; and "that no Peace might be made on any Conditions.

The King demanded of the *Irish*, "whether they believ'd it could be in his "Power, if it were agreeable to his Conscience, to grant them their Demands? "and whether he must not thereby purchase *Ireland* with the loss of *England* and "*Scotland*? There were among them some sober Men, who confessed "that as "his Majesty's Affairs then stood, they believ'd he could not grant it; and they "hoped that their General Assembly would, when they should be inform'd of "the truth of his Majesty's Condition, which was not known to them, be per-

" ſwaded to depart from ſome of their Demands; but that, for the preſent, they " had not Authority to recede from any one Propoſition.

The King then asked the Commiſſioners who had been ſent over by the Marquis of *Ormond*, Lieutenant of the Kingdom, " which Forces they thought to be the " ſtronger, the King's Army, or that of the Rebels; they confeſſed " the Rebels " to be much ſuperior in Power, and that they were poſſeſſed of more than three " parts of the Kingdom. The King then ask'd them, " whether they thought " it probable, now they found themſelves to be the Stronger, that the Rebels " would be perſwaded to yield to ſo diſadvantageous terms, as they propos'd, " and to be ſo wholely at the Mercy of thoſe whom they had ſo much provoked? " and if they could be ſo diſpoſed, whether they believ'd that they were able, " though they ſhould be willing, to ſell all they have in *Ireland* to pay the Da- " mages which had been ſuſtain'd by the War? The Commiſſioners acknowledged, " that they thought the laſt impoſſible; and that there might be a mitigation in " that particular; but for the former, they durſt not adviſe his Majeſty to recede " at all; for that there could be no other ſecurity for the Proteſtants in that " Kingdom, but by leaving the *Iriſh* without any capacity, or ability to Trouble " them: for their perfidiouſneſs was ſuch, that they could not be truſted; and " therefore they muſt be put into ſuch a Condition, by being totally diſarm'd, " that they ſhould not be able to do any Miſchief; or that all the Proteſtants " muſt leave the Kingdom to the entire poſſeſſion of the *Iriſh*; and whether that " would be for his Majeſty's Service and Security, they muſt refer to his own " Wiſdom.

The King then ſent for the Commiſſioners from the Parliament, on the behalf of the Proteſtants, and ask'd them, " whether they were ready, if the Ceſſation " were expir'd, to renew the War, and to proſecute it hopefully, to the Reducti- " on or Suppreſſion of the *Iriſh*? They anſwer'd very clearly, " that in the State " they were in, they could not carry on the War, or defend themſelves againſt " the *Iriſh*, who were much Superior to them in Power; but if his Majeſty would " recruit his Army, and ſend over Money, and Armes, and Ammunition, with " Shipping, they made no doubt, but with God's bleſſing, they ſhould be able " ſhortly to reduce them, and drive them out of the Kingdom. The King then ask'd them, " whether they did in truth think, that his Majeſty was able " to ſend them ſuch Supplies as they ſtood in need of? or whether they did not, " in their Conſciences, know, that he was not able to ſend them any part of it, " and ſtood in want of all for his own Support? They anſwer'd, " that they " hoped he would make a Peace with the Parliament, and would then be able " to ſend over ſuch Aſſiſtance to *Ireland*, as would quickly ſettle that King- " dom.

But after all theſe diſcourſes, his Majeſty prevail'd not with any of them to depart from the moſt unreaſonable of all their Demands; whereupon he diſmiſſed them; and told the *Iriſh*, " it had been in their Power ſo far to have obliged him, that " he might hereafter have thought himſelf bound to have gratified them in ſome " particulars, which were not now ſeaſonable to have been done, but they would " repent this their ſenſeleſs perverſeneſs, when it would be too late, and when " they found themſelves under a Power that would deſtroy them, and make them " ceaſe to be a Nation.

So they all left *Oxford*; and his Majeſty, notwithſtanding all this Reſolution, not to depart from any thing, that might in any degree be prejudicial to the Proteſtant Intereſt in that Kingdom, found that he ſuffer'd under no reproach more in *England*, than by having made that Ceſſation: ſo wonderfully unreaſonable was the generality of the Nation then by the abſurd imputation of his Majeſty's favouring the *Iriſh*.

The ſtreights in which the King now was, brought him to ſome reflections he had never made before; and the conſiderations of what might probably be the event of the next Summer, diſpoſed him to inclinations which were very contrary to what he had ever before entertain'd. His three younger Children were taken from the Governeſs in whoſe hands he had put them, and were not only in the Parliament Quarters, but expreſly by their Order, put into the Cuſtody of One in whom the King could have the leſs confidence, becauſe it was One in whom the Parliament confided ſo much. He had with him the Prince, and the Duke of *York*, both young; and he had no reſolution more fixed in him, than that the

Prince

Prince ſhould never be abſent from him; which, as hath been touch'd before, made him leſs conſider what Governour, or Servants he put about him; reſolving to form his Manners by his own Model. But now he began to ſay "that Him-"ſelf and the Prince were too much to venture in one bottom; and that it was "now time to unboy him, by putting him into ſome action and acquaintance "with buſineſs out of his own ſight: but communicated theſe thoughts only with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and was thought to confer more with the Lord *Colepepper* upon the Subject, than with either of the other; but had ſome particular thoughts upon which he then conferr'd with no body. There was but one Province in which the Prince could reſide, after he was ſever'd from the King; and that was the *Weſt*; which was yet in a worſe condition than it had been; by the Rebels being poſſeſſed of *Taunton*, one of the chief Towns in *Somerſet-ſhire*; and though it was an open, and unfortified place, it was very ſtrong againſt the King in the natural diſaffection of the Inhabitants, which were very numerous; and all the places adjacent of the ſame ill Principles; and *Waller* had already ſent ſome Troops thither to confirm them in their Rebellious Inclinations, and had himſelf a reſolution ſpeedily to go thither, with a Body ſufficient to form an Army for the reduction of the weſt: nor was the deſign improbable to ſucceed; for the reputation of the *Scots* Army, upon the recovery of all the North, had ſhaken and terrified all the Kingdom; and the King's Army was the laſt Enemy the Weſt had been acquainted with, and had left no good Name behind it.

To prevent this miſchief, *Goring* (who had now made a faſt friendſhip with the Lord *Digby*; either of them believing he could deceive the other, and ſo with equal paſſion embracing the Engagement) was ſent with ſome Troops to *Salisbury*, from whence he might eaſily prevent any motion of *Waller*; without which, *Taunton* would be in a ſhort time reduced by the Garriſons the King had in the Country: ſo that this alteration rather confirm'd, than diverted his Majeſty, in his thoughts of ſending the Prince thither: and he begun to publiſh his purpoſe, and named Counſellors to be with his Highneſs, by whoſe Advice all things ſhould be done; his Majeſty's purpoſe being in truth, only at that time that the Prince ſhould go no farther Weſt than *Briſtol*; and that there might no jealouſies ariſe from this Action (which every Body knew was ſo far from the King's former purpoſe; and it might be imagin'd, that his Highneſs would be ſent to the Queen his Mother into *France*; which many unreaſonably apprehended) the King declared what Council he intended ſhould be about his Son; the Reputation of whom, he thought, would allay all jealouſies of that kind. He named the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and appointed them "to meet frequently at "the Prince's Lodging, to conſider with his Highneſs, what Preparations ſhould "be made for his Journey, and in what manner his Family ſhould be eſtabliſhed. There was one Perſon more, who of neceſſity was to wait on the Prince, the Earl of *Berk-ſhire*, his Governour; and then his Majeſty found, what wrong Meaſures he had taken in the conferring that Truſt; and lamented his own error to thoſe he truſted; but knew not how to prevent the Inconveniences that might enſue, unleſs by applying two remedies, which were not natural, and might have been productive of as great Inconveniences. The one was, to leſſen the Prince's Reverence, and Eſteem for his Governour; which was very ſufficiently provided for. The other, to leave the Governour without any more Authority, than every one of the Council had; and ſo much leſs, as the Prince had a better eſteem of every one of Them, than he had of him: and ſo left him without a Governour, which would have been a little better, if he had been without the Earl of *Berk-ſhire* too.

A Council ſettled for the Prince of Wales.

When the King was in this Melancholick poſture, it was a great refreſhment, and ſome advantage to him, to hear that the diſorder the Parliament was in, was Superior to His. The Cauſe of all the Diſtractions in his Court, or Army, proceeded from the extreme poverty and neceſſity his Majeſty was in; and a very moderate ſupply of Money would, in a Moment, have extinguiſhed all thoſe diſtempers. But all the Wealth of the Kingdom, for they were well nigh poſſeſſed of all, could not prevent the ſame, and greater diſtractions and emulations, from breaking into the whole Government of the Parliament: for all the perſonal Animoſities imaginable broke out in their Councils, and in their Armies; and

Diviſions amongſt thoſe at Weſtminſter.

the Houſe of Peers found themſelves, upon the matter, excluded from all power, or credit, when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the Commons.

That violent Party, which had at firſt cozen'd the reſt into the War, and afterwards obſtructed all the Approaches towards Peace, found now that they had finiſhed as much of their work, as the tools which they had wrought with, could be applied to; and what remain'd to be done, muſt be diſpatched by new Workmen. They had been long unſatisfied with the Earl of *Eſſex*, and He as much with Them; both being more ſollicitous to ſuppreſs the other, than to deſtroy the King. They bore the loſs and diſhonour he had ſuſtain'd in *Cornwall*, very well; and would have been glad, that both he and his Army had been quite cut off, inſtead of being diſſolv'd; for moſt of his Officers and Soldiers, were corrupted in their Affections towards them; and deſired nothing but Peace: ſo that they reſolv'd never more to truſt, or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was, that their belov'd Earl of *Mancheſter*, upon whom they depended as a faſt Friend, by whom they might inſenſibly have diveſted the Earl of *Eſſex* of all inconvenient Authority in the Army, appear'd now as unapplicable to their purpoſes as the other; and there was a breach fallen out between Him and *Oliver Cromwell*, which was irreconcilable, and had brought ſome Counſels upon the Stage, before they were ripe.

Cromwell accuſed the Earl of *Mancheſter*, "of having betray'd the Paliament "out of Cowardice; for that he might, at the King's laſt being at *Newbury*, "when he drew off his Cannon, very eaſily have defeated his whole Army if "he would have permitted it to have been engaged: that he went to him, and "ſhew'd him evidently how it might be done; and deſir'd him that he would "give him leave, with his own Brigade of Horſe to Charge the King's Army in "their Retreat; and the Earl, with the reſt of his Army, might look on, and "do as he ſhould think fit; but that the Earl had, notwithſtanding all importunity us'd by him and other Officers, poſitively and obſtinately refuſed to "permit him; giving no other reaſon, but that, he ſaid, if they did engage, and "overthrow the King's Army, the King would always have another Army to "keep up the War; but if that Army which he Commanded, ſhould be o-"verthrown, before the other under the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould be reinforced, "there would be an end of their pretences; and they ſhould be all Rebels, and "Traytors, and executed and forfeited by the Law.

This pronunciation what the Law would do againſt them, was very heavily taken by the Parliament, as if the Earl believ'd the Law to be againſt them, after ſo many Declarations made by them, "that the Law was on "Their ſide, and that the King's Armes were taken up againſt the Law. The Earl confeſſed "he had uſed words to that effect, that they ſhould be treated as "Traytors, if their Army was Defeated, when he did not approve the ad-"vice that was given by the Lieutenant General; which would have expoſed "the Army to greater hazard, than he thought ſeaſonable in that Conjuncture, "in the middle of the Winter, to expoſe it to. He then recriminated *Cromwell*, "that, at another time *Cromwell* diſcourſing freely with him of the State of "the Kingdom, and propoſing ſomewhat to be done, the Earl had Anſwer'd, "that the Parliament would never approve it; to which *Cromwell* preſently reply'd "My Lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt Men, you ſhall find your ſelf "in the head of an Army that ſhall give the Law to King and Parliament; "which diſcourſe, he ſaid, made great impreſſion in him; for he knew the "Lieutenant General to be a Man of very deep deſigns; and therefore he was "the more careful to preſerve an Army, which he yet thought was very faithful "to the Parliament.

This diſcourſe ſtartled thoſe who had always an averſion to *Cromwell*, and had obſerv'd the fierceneſs of his Nature, and the Language he commonly uſed when there was any mention of Peace; ſo that they deſir'd that this matter might be throughly examin'd, and brought to Judgment. But the other ſide put all obſtructions in the way, and rather choſe to loſe the advantage they had againſt the Earl of *Mancheſter*, than to have the other matter examin'd; which would unavoidably have made ſome diſcoveries they were not yet ready to produce. However the Animoſities encreaſed, and the Parties appear'd barefaced againſt each other; which augmented the diſtractions, and divided the City as well as the Parliament;

liament; and new opinions ſtarted up in Religion; which made more ſubdiviſions; and new terms and diſtinctions were brought into diſcourſe; and *Fanaticks* were now firſt brought into appellation: which kind of confuſions exceedingly diſpoſed Men of any ſober underſtanding, to wiſh for Peace; though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the Parliament.

The *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners were as jealous, and as unſatisfied as any other Party; and found, ſince the Battle of *York*, neither their Army, nor themſelves ſo much conſider'd, as before; nor conditions perform'd towards them with any punctuality. They had long had jealouſy of *Cromwell*, and Sr. *Henry Vane*, and all that Party; which they ſaw encreaſed every day; and grew powerful in the Parliament, in the Council, and in the City. Their ſacred Vow and Covenant was mention'd with leſs reverence, and reſpect, and the Independants, which comprehended many Sects in Religion; ſpake publickly againſt it; of which Party *Cromwell* and *Vane* were the Leaders; with very many of their Clergy Men, who were the moſt Popular Preachers, and in the Aſſembly of Divines had great Authority: ſo that the *Scots* plainly perceiv'd, that though they had gone as far towards the deſtruction of the Church of *England*, as they deſir'd, they ſhould never be able to eſtabliſh their Presbyterian Government; without which they ſhould loſe all their Credit in their own Country, and all their Intereſt in *England*. They diſcern'd likewiſe, that there was a purpoſe, if that Party prevail'd, to change the whole Frame of the Government, as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtical, and to reduce the Monarchy to a Republick; which was as far from the end and purpoſe of that Nation, as to reſtore Epiſcopacy. So that they ſaw no way to prevent the Miſchief and Confuſion that would fall out, but by a Peace; which they begun heartily to wiſh, and to conſpire with thoſe of that Party which moſt deſir'd to bring it to paſs; but how to ſet a Treaty on Foot, they knew not.

The Houſe of Peers, three or four Men excepted, wiſhed it; but had no power to compaſs it. In the Houſe of Commons, there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the Courage to propoſe it. They who had an inward averſion from it, and were reſolv'd to prevent it by all poſſible means, wrought upon many of the other to believe, "that they would accept of a Propo-"ſition for a Treaty, if the King deſir'd it; but that it would be diſhonourable, "and of very pernicious conſequence to the Nation, if the Parliament firſt pro-"pos'd it. So that it ſeem'd evident, that if any of the Party which did in truth deſire Peace, ſhould propoſe it to the Parliament, it would be rejected; and rejected upon the point of Honour, by many of thoſe who in their hearts pray'd for it.

They tried their old Friends of the City, who had ſerv'd their Turns ſo often, and ſet ſome of them to get hands to a Petition, by which the Parliament ſhould be mov'd, "to ſend to the King to Treat of Peace. But the deſign was no ſooner known, but others of an oppoſite Party were appointed to ſet a counter Petition on foot, by which they ſhould "diſclaim any Conſent to, or Approbation of the "other Petition; not that they did not deſire Peace, as much as their Neighbours (no body was yet arriv'd at the impudence to profeſs againſt Peace) "but that "they would not preſume to move the parliament in it, becauſe they knew, their "Wiſdom knew beſt the way to obtain it, and would do what was neceſſary and "fit towards it; to which they wholely left it.

This Petition found more Countenance among the Magiſtrates, the Mayor, and Aldermen; Sr. *Henry Vane* having diligently provided, that Men of his own Principles and Inclinations, ſhould be brought into the Government of the City; of which he ſaw they ſhould always have great need, even in order to keep the Parliament well diſpoſed. So that they who did in truth deſire any reaſonable Peace, found the way to it ſo difficult, and that it was impoſſible to prevail with the two Houſes to propoſe it to the King, that they reſolv'd, "it could only riſe from his "Majeſty; and to that purpoſe they ſhould all labour with their ſeveral Friends at "*Oxford*, to incline the King to ſend a Meſſage to the Parliament, to offer a "Treaty of Peace in any place where they ſhould appoint; and then they would "all run the utmoſt hazard before it ſhould be rejected.

The Independent Party (for under that Style and Appellation they now acted, and own'd themſelves) which fear'd and abhorr'd all Motions towards Peace, were in as great ſtreights as the other, how to carry on their deſigns. They were

reſolv'd to have no more to do with either of their Generals, but how to lay them aſide, was the difficulty; eſpecially the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had been ſo entirely their Founder, that they ow'd not more to the Power and Reputation of Parliament, than to his ſole Name, and Credit: the being able to raiſe an Army, and conducting it to Fight againſt the King was purely due to Him, and the effect of his Power. And now to put ſuch an Affront upon him, and to think of another General, muſt appear the higheſt Ingratitude, and might provoke the Army it ſelf, where he was ſtill exceedingly belov'd; and to continue him in that Truſt, was to betray their own Deſigns, and to render them impracticable. Therefore, till they could find ſome expedient to explicate and diſintangle themſelves out of this Labyrinth, they made no advance towards the Recruiting or Supplying their Armies, nor to provide for any Winter Expedition; only they ſent *Waller* out, with ſuch Troops towards the Weſt, as they cared not for, and reſolv'd to uſe their Service no more.

They knew not how to propoſe the great alterations, they intended, to the Parliament; and of all Men, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners were not to be truſted. In the end, they reſolv'd to purſue the Method in which they had been hitherto ſo ſucceſsful, and to prepare, and ripen things in the Church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in the Parliament. They agreed therefore in the Houſes (and in thoſe Combinations they were always unanimous) "that "they would have a Solemn Faſt-Day, in which they would *ſeek God* (which was the new phraſe they brought from *Scotland* with their Covenant) "and deſire "his Aſſiſtance, to lead them out of the perplexities they were in: and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the Preachers who were to perform that Exerciſe, and who were more Truſted in the deepeſt Deſigns, than moſt of thoſe who named them were: for there was now a Schiſm among the Clergy, as well as the Laity; and the Independents were the Bolder, and more Political Men.

When the Faſt-Day came (which was obſerv'd for eight or ten hours together in the Churches) the Preachers pray'd "the Parliament might be inſpired with "thoſe thoughts, as might contribute to their Honour and Reputation; and that "they might preſerve that opinion the Nation had of their Honeſty and Integrity, "and be without any Selfiſh ends, or ſeeking their own Benefit and Advantage. After this preparation by their Prayers, the Preachers, let their Texts be what they would, told them very plainly, "that it was no wonder there was ſuch Di-"viſion among them in their Counſels, when there was no Union in their hearts: "That the Parliament lay under many reproaches, not only among their Ene-"mies, but with their beſt Friends; who were the more out of countenance, "becauſe they found that the aſperſions and imputations which their Enemies "had laid upon them, were ſo well grounded, that they could not wipe them "off: That there was as great Pride, as great Ambition, as many private Ends, "and as little Zeal and Affection for the Publick, as they had ever imputed to "the Court: That, whilſt they pretended, at the Publick coſt, and out of the "Purſes of the poor People, to make a general Reformation, their chief care was "to grow great and rich Themſelves; and that both the City and Kingdom took "notice, with great anxiety of Mind, that all the Offices of the Army, and all "the profitable Offices of the Kingdom, were in the hands of the Members of "the two Houſes of Parliament; who, whilſt the Nation grew poor, as it muſt "needs do under ſuch inſupportable Taxes, grew very rich; and would, in a "ſhort time, get all the Money of the Kingdom into their hands; and that it could "not reaſonably be expected, that ſuch Men, who got ſo much, and enriched "Themſelves to that degree, by the continuance of the War, would heartily "purſue thoſe ways which would put an end to it; the end whereof muſt put an "end to their exorbitant profit. When they had exaggerated theſe reproaches, as pathetically as they could, and the ſenſe the People generally had of the corruption of it, even to a deſpair of ever ſeeing an end of the Calamities they ſuſtain'd, or having any proſpect of that Reformation in Church and State, which they had ſo often and ſo ſolemnly promis'd to effect, they fell again to their Prayers, "that God would take his own Work into his hand; and if the Inſtruments he "had already imploy'd, were not worthy to bring ſo glorious a Deſign to a con-"cluſion, that He would inſpire others more fit, who might perfect what was "begun, and bring the Trouble of the Nation to a Godly period.

When

When the two Houſes met together, the next day after theſe devout Animadverſions, there was another Spirit appear'd in the looks of many of them. Sr. *Henry Vane* told them, " if ever God had appear'd to them, in was in the exerciſe " of Yeſterday; and that it appear'd, it proceeded from God, becauſe (as he was " credibly inform'd by many, who had been Auditors in other Congregations) " the ſame lamentations, and diſcourſes, had been made in all other Churches, " as the Godly Preachers had made before Them; which could therefore proceed " only from the immediate Spirit of God. He repeated ſome things which had " been ſaid, upon which he was beſt prepar'd to enlarge; and beſought them " to remember their obligations to God, and to their Country; and that they " would free themſelves from thoſe juſt reproaches; which they could do no other- " wiſe, than by deveſting themſelves of all Offices, and Charges, that might bring " in the leaſt advantage and profit to themſelves; by which only they could make " it appear, that they were publick-hearted Men; and as they pay'd all Taxes " and Impoſitions with the reſt of the Nation, ſo they gave up all their time to " their Country's Service, without any reward or gratuity.

After a faſt day Vane *and* Cromwell *propoſed a ſelf denying Ordinance.*

He told them, " that the Reflections of Yeſterday, none of which had ever en- " ter'd upon his Spirit before, had rais'd another Reflection in him than had been " mention'd; which was, that it had been often taken notice of, and objected by " the King himſelf, that the Numbers of the Members of Parliament, who ſat in " either Houſe, were too few to give reputation to Acts of ſo great Moment, as " were tranſacted in their Councils; which, though it was no fault of theirs, who " kept their proper Stations, but of thoſe who had deſerted their places, and " their truſts, by being abſent from the Parliament; yet that, in truth, " there were too many abſent, though in the Service of the Houſe, and by " Their appointment; and if all the Members were obliged to attend the Ser- " vice of the Parliament, in the Parliament, it would bring great reputation to " their Numbers, and the People would pay more reverence, and yield a fuller " obedience to their Commands: and then concluded, " that he was ready to " accuſe himſelf for one of thoſe who gain'd by an Office he had; and though he " was poſſeſſed of it before the beginning of the Troubles, and ow'd it not to the " favour of the Parliament (for he had been joyn'd with Sr. *William Ruſſel* in the Treaſurer-ſhip of the Navy by the King's Grant) " yet he was ready to lay it " down, to be diſpoſed of by the Parliament; and wiſh'd, that the profits there- " of might be applied towards the ſupport of the War.

When the Ice was thus broke, *Oliver Cromwell*, who had not yet arriv'd at the faculty of Speaking with decency and temper, commended the Preachers " for " having dealt plainly and impartially, and told them of their faults, which they " had been ſo unwilling to hear of: that there were many things, upon which he " had never reflected before, yet upon revolving what had been ſaid, he could " not but confeſs, that all was very true; and till there was a perfect reforma- " tion in thoſe particulars which had been recommended to them, nothing would " proſper that they took in hand: that the Parliament had done very wiſely, " in the entrance into the War, to engage many Members of their own in the " moſt dangerous parts of it, that the Nation might ſee that they did not in- " tend to Embark them in perils of War, whilſt themſelves ſate ſecurely at " home out of Gun-ſhot, but would march with them where the danger moſt " threaten'd; and thoſe Honourable Perſons, who had expoſed themſelves this " way, had merited ſo much of their Country, that their memories ſhould be " held in perpetual veneration; and whatſoever ſhould be well done after them, " would be always imputed to their Example: But, that God had ſo bleſſed their " Army, that there had grown up with it, and under it, very many excellent " Officers, who were fitter for much greater Charges than they were now poſ- " ſeſſed of; and deſir'd them not to be terrify'd with an imagination, that if " the higheſt Offices were vacant, they ſhould not be able to put as fit Men " into them; for, beſides that it was not good to put ſo much truſt in any " Arm of Fleſh, as to think ſuch a Cauſe as This depended upon any one " Man, he did take upon him to aſſure them, that they had Officers in their " Army, who were fit to be Generals in any Enterpriſe in Chriſtendom.

He ſaid " he thought nothing ſo neceſſary as to purge, and vindicate the " Parliament, from the partiality towards their own Members; and made a " proffer to lay down his Commiſſion of Command in the Army; and deſir'd, " that an Ordinance might be prepar'd, by which it might be made unlaw-

" ful, for any Member of either Houſe of Parliament, to hold any Officeor " Command in the Army, or any Place or Employment in the State; and ſo concluded with an enlargement upon " the Vices, and Corruptions which were " gotten into the Army; the prophaneneſs, and impiety, and abſence of all Re- " ligion; the drinking and gaming, and all manner of Licence, and Lazineſs; " and ſaid plainly that, till the whole Army were new Modell'd, and Go- " vern'd under a ſtricter Diſcipline, they muſt not expect any notable Suc- " ceſs in any thing they went about.

This Debate ended in appointing a Committe, " to prepare an Ordinance " for the Excluſion of all Members from their Truſts aforeſaid; which took up much Debate, and depended very long before it was brought to a concluſion; and in the end was call'd the *Self-denying Ordinance*; the driving on of which, exceedingly encreaſed the inclination of the other Party to Peace; which they did now foreſee would only prevent their own ruins, in that of the Kingdom.

Advice came from ſo many ſeveral hands to *Oxford*, that the King ſhould ſend a Meſſage to the Houſes for Peace, with an Aſſurance that it would not be rejected, that his Majeſty (who ſtill apprehended as great a diviſion among his own Friends upon the Conditions of Peace, out of the univerſal wearineſs of the War, as he diſcern'd there was among his Enemies upon the Emulation in Command, or differences in Religion) enter'd upon the conſideration how to bring it to paſs. The Members of Parliament were ſtill ſitting at *Oxford*: but they at *London* who were moſt deſirous of Peace, had given warning to avoid that Rock; and that their Names ſhould never be mention'd; which would have procured an Union between the moſt irreconcilable Parties, in throwing out ſuch Overtures. On the other ſide the ſending a bare Meſſage, by a Trumpet, was not probably like to produce any other effect, than an inſolent Anſwer in theſameway, or no Anſwer at all, as his two or three laſt Meſſages had done.

In concluſion, the King reſolv'd that there ſhould be a ſhort Meſſage drawn; in which, " the continuance of the War, and the miſchiefs it brought upon the " Kingdom, ſhould be lamented: and his deſire expreſs'd, that ſome reaſo- " nable Conditions of Peace might be thought upon; aſſuring them that his " Majeſty would be willing to conſent to any thing, that could conſiſt with " his Conſcience and Honour. He reſolv'd, that he would ſend this Meſſage by ſome Perſons of Condition; who might, well upon conference with their Friends, be able to make ſome impreſſion; at leaſt diſcover what might be reaſonably expected And if the Parliament ſhould refuſe to grant a Safe Conduct for ſuch Meſſengers, it might well be preſum'd, what reception the Meſſage it ſelf was like to find. The Perſons he reſolv'd to ſend, were the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*; both of unblemiſh'd Honour, and of general Reputtaion in the Kingdom. So a Trumpet was ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex* for a Safe Guard, or Paſs, to thoſe two Lords; to the end they might deliver a Meſſage from the King to the two Houſes concerning a Treaty of Peace. To which the Earl of *Eſſex* only anſwer'd, " that he would acquaint the Houſes " with it, and return their Anſwer; and ſo diſmiſſed the Trumpet.

The King had now done his part; and the reſt was to be perfected there. They who were reſolv'd never to admit a Peace, though they could not ſtill prevent a Treaty, thought they had advantage enough to object againſt this unuſual Meſſage: " If the Meſſage it ſelf had been ſent, they might have judged, " whether it had been like to be attended with good Succeſs, and ſo might " have accepted a Treaty, if they had approv'd of it; but this ſending of Meſ- " ſengers before they knew what they would bring, was an invention to begin a " Treaty before they admitted it; and to ſend Enemies into their Quarters, " with Authority to ſcatter their Poyſon abroad: and therefore, with great " paſſion they preſſed, " that no ſuch Paſs ſhould be ſent. On the other hand it was, with equal paſſion, alledged, " that the refuſal of the Safe Conduct was " a total rejection of Peace, before they underſtood upon what terms it would " be offer'd; which the People would take very ill from them; and conclude " that the War muſt continue for ever; they therefore wiſh'd that a Safe " Guard might be ſent without delay, and that they would have a better " opinion of their Friends, than to imagine that the Preſence, or Power of

" two

" two Men how conſiderable ſoever, would be able to corrupt, or pervert their " Affections from the Parliament.

In this opinion the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners likewiſe concurr'd; ſo that the other Party found it neceſſary to conſent, and the Safe Conduct, after many Debates, was ſent accordingly. But that they might not ſeem to their Friends abroad, to be overpower'd; they revenged themſelves in purſuing the diſpatch of their *Self-denying Ordinance* with great vehemence; and becauſe the effect of that was manifeſtly that they ſhould be without a General, it was already propoſed " that Sr. *Thomas Fairfax* (who had behaved himſelf ſo ſignally in their Service, in the Defeat of Colonel *Bellaſis*, and taking him Priſoner, which gave them their firſt footing in *York-ſhire*, from their being ſhut up and Beſieged in *Hull*; in the overthrow of the Lord *Byron*, and taking all the *Iriſh* Regiments; and laſtly in the late Battle at *York*, where he had turned the fortune of the day, when the *Scotiſh* Army was Routed and their General Fled) might now be made their General; for which *Oliver Cromwell* aſſured them he was very equal. In the diſcourſes upon this Subject (which found all oppoſition) as the Service of the Earl of *Eſſex* was much magnified, and his merit extoll'd, by thoſe who deſired to have no other General, ſo it was undervalued, and depreſſed, with ſome bitterneſs and contumely, by thoſe who believ'd that all they could do would be to no purpoſe, if He were not totally excluded from any power.

Sir Thomas Fairfax *is propoſed in the Houſe of Commons to be made their General.*

About the beginning of *December*, the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, upon their Paſs, went from *Oxford* to *London*; where they were adviſed not to go much abroad, leſt the People ſhould be apt to do them injury; and very few had the Courage to come to them, except with great privacy. Only the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, as Men in Soveraign Authority, and Independent upon the Parliament, made no ſcruple of viſiting them, and being viſited by them. The Houſes did not preſently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they ſhould deliver their Meſſage; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilſt the War was carried on only by the Authority of the Parliament. Heretofore the Meſſage being deliver'd to either Houſe, was quickly communicated to the other; but now the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners made a third Eſtate, and the Meſſage was directed to Them as well as to the Houſes. In the end it was reſolv'd, " that there ſhould be a Conference between the two Houſes in the Painted " Chamber; at which the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners ſhould be preſent, and ſit on " one ſide of the Table; and that the upper end of it ſhould be kept for the " King's Meſſengers: Where there was a Seat provided for them, all the reſt being bare, and expecting that They would be ſo too: for though the Lords uſed to be cover'd whilſt the Commons were bare, yet the Commons would not be bare before the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; and ſo none were cover'd. But aſſoon as the two Lords came thither, they cover'd, to the trouble of the other; but, being preſently to ſpeak, they were quickly freed from that Eye ſore.

The Duke of Richmond *and the Earl of* Southampton *ſent to* London *with a Meſſage for a Treaty.*

The two Lords uſed very few words, in letting them know the King's great Inclinations to Peace; and deliver'd and read their Meſſage to that purpoſe; which was receiv'd by the Lords without any other expreſſions than " that " they ſhould report it to the Houſes; and ſo the meeting broke up: And then many of the Lords, and ſome of the Commons, paſſed ſome Compliments and Ceremony to the two Lords according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to ſee them in private, or to ſend Confiding Perſons to them. By which means, they found there were great Diviſions among them, and upon Points that would admit no reconciliation: and therefore they believ'd that there would be a Treaty of Peace; but they could not make any ſuch gueſs of the Moderation of the Conditions of the Peace, as to conclude that it would be with effect. For they that moſt deſir'd the Peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any terms, durſt not own that they wiſh'd it, but upon the higheſt terms of Honour, and Security for the Parliament; which could neither be Secure, nor Honourable for the King. They diſcover'd, that they who did heartily wiſh the Peace, did intend to promote a Treaty between Perſons named by the King and Perſons named by the Parliament, to meet at ſome third Place, and not to ſend Commiſſioners to *Oxford* to Treat with the King himſelf; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and not more likely now to produce a better end: Whereas they did believe, or ſeem'd to believe, that how unreaſonable ſoever the Propoſitions ſhould be, upon which they Treated, they would, by yielding to

ſome things, when they refuſed others, ſooner prevail with the Houſes to mollify their demands, than at firſt to reform them.

This Method was not ungrateful to the two Lords; who had the ſame conceptions, that, if ſober Men were named for Commiſſioners, ſomewhat would reſult from the freedom of their Communication. And the Duke of *Richmond* ſent his Secretary *Web* expreſsly to *Oxford*, to know the King's pleaſure, "whether, if "a third Place were propoſed for Commiſſioners on both ſides to meet, they ſhould "conſent to it? Which his Majeſty (though he had no mind to truſt others, but where himſelf was preſent) was perſwaded to approve. But all this was but diſcourſe, and private wiſhes: for it was never brought into Debate; and it was told them very plainly, "that, as long as they ſtaid in Town, the Houſes would "never ſo much as confer upon the Subject of their Meſſage; becauſe they found "it would be matter of great Debate, and ſpend much time; during which they "did not deſire their Company, nor to be troubled with their Infuſions. And therefore, aſſoon as they had receiv'd the King's Meſſage, they proceeded upon their Trial of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* before both Houſes of Parliament, upon an Impeachment of High Treaſon, reſolving likewiſe to give that evidence to the People, of what inclination they had to make a Peace with the King. The two Lords, obſerving this affected delay in the buſineſs they were ſent about, and being adviſed by their Friends not to ſtay longer, but to expect the determination to be ſent to *Oxford*, return'd to the King, with ſome confidence that a Treaty would be conſented to; and that it would be at ſome third Place, and not at *Oxford*, and leſs at *London*, by Commiſſioners which ſhould be agreed on by both ſides. But they brought an expreſs deſire, and even a condition to the King, from all thoſe with whom they had conferr'd, and who were the chief Perſons who advanced the Treaty, "that, if that which they labour'd for, ſhould be yielded to by the Parliament, "his Majeſty would not Name a Perſon (whom they mention'd to the King) "for one of his Commiſſioners; for that he was ſo odious that they would abſo-"lutely decline the Treaty, before they would admit Him to be one of the "Treaters.

The Trial of the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury.

It was, as is ſaid before, a very ſad Omen to the Treaty, that, after they had receiv'd the King's Meſſage by thoſe Noble Lords, and before they return'd any Anſwer to it, they proceeded in the Trial of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; who had lain Priſoner in the Tower, from the beginning of the Parliament, about four years, without any proſecution till this time. Now they brought him to the Barrs of both Houſes; charging him with ſeveral Articles of High Treaſon; which, if all that was alledged againſt him, had been true, could not have made him guilty of Treaſon. They accuſed him "of a deſign to bring in Po-"pery, and of having correſpondence with the Pope, and ſuch like particulars, as the Conſciences of his greateſt Enemies abſolv'd him from. No Man was a greater, or abler Enemy to Popery; No Man a more reſolute and devout Son of the Church of *England*. He was proſecuted by Lawyers, aſſign'd to that purpoſe, out of thoſe, who from their own Antipathy to the Church and Biſhops, or from ſome diſobligations receiv'd from him, were ſure to bring Paſſion, Animoſity, and Malice enough of their own; what evidence ſoever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeneſs, reproach, and barbarity imaginable; with which his Judges were not diſpleaſed.

He defended himſelf with great and undaunted Courage, and leſs Paſſion than was expected from his Conſtitution; anſwer'd all their objections with clearneſs, and irreſiſtible reaſon; and convinced all impartial Men of his Integrity, and his deteſtation of all Treaſonable Intentions. So that though few excellent Men have ever had fewer Friends to their Perſons, yet all reaſonable Men abſolv'd him from any foul Crime that the Law could take notice of, and puniſh. However, when They had ſaid all they could againſt Him, and he all for himſelf that need to be ſaid, and no ſuch Crime appearing, as the Lords, as the Supreme Court of Judicatory, would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of death; they reſorted to their Legiſlative Power, and by Ordinance of Parliament, as they call'd it, that is by a determination of thoſe Members who ſat in the Houſes (whereof in the Houſe of Peers there were not above twelve) they appointed him to be put to death as guilty of High Treaſon. The firſt time the two Houſes of Parliament had ever aſſumed that Juriſdiction, or that ever Ordinance had been made to ſuch a purpoſe; nor could any Rebellion be more againſt the Law, than that Murtherous Act.

He is condemn'd by an Ordinance.

When

When the firſt mention was made of their monſtrous purpoſe, of bringing the Arch-Biſhop to a Tryal for his Life, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had always a great Reverence and Affection for him, had ſpoken to the King of it, and propoſed to him, "that in all events, there might be a Pardon prepared, and "ſent to him, under the Great Seal of *England*; to the end, if they proceeded againſt "him in any form of Law, he might plead the King's Pardon; which muſt be al-"low'd by all who pretended to be govern'd by the Law; but if they proceeded in a "Martial, or any other extraordinary way, without any form of Law, his Majeſty "ſhould declare his Juſtice and Affection to an old faithful Servant, whom he "much eſteem'd in having done all towards his preſervation that was in his "Power to do. The King was wonderfully pleaſed with the Propoſition; and took from thence occaſion to commend the Piety and Virtue of the Arch-Biſhop, with extraordinary Affection; and commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to cauſe the Pardon to be prepared, and his Majeſty would Sign and Seal it with all poſſible ſecrecy; which at that time was neceſſary. Whereupon the Chancellor ſent to Sir *Thomas Gardiner* the King's Sollicitor, and told him the King's pleaſure; upon which he preſently drew the Pardon, which was Sign'd and Seal'd with the Great Seal of *England*, and carefully ſent, and deliver'd into the Arch-Biſhop's own hand, before he was brought to his Tryal; who receiv'd it with great joy, as it was a Teſtimony, of the King's gracious Affection to him, and care of him, without any opinion that they who endeavour'd to take away the King's Life, would preſerve His by his Majeſty's Authority.

When the Arch-Biſhop's Council had peruſed the Pardon, and conſider'd that all poſſible Exceptions would be taken to it, though they ſhould not reject it, they found, that the Impeachment was not ſo diſtinctly ſet down in the Pardon as it ought to be; which could not be help'd at *Oxford*, becauſe they had no Copy of it; and therefore had ſupplied it with all thoſe general expreſſions, as, in any Court of Law, would make the Pardon valid againſt any exceptions the King's own Council could make againſt it. Hereupon, the Arch-Biſhop had, by the ſame Meſſenger, return'd the Pardon again to the Chancellor, with ſuch directions and copies as were neceſſary; upon which it was perfected accordingly, and deliver'd ſafely again to him, and was in his hands during the whole time of his Trial. So when his Trial was over, and the Ordinance paſſed for his Execution, and He call'd and ask'd, according to cuſtom in Criminal proceedings, "what "he could ſay more, why he ſhould not ſuffer death? He told them, "that he "had the King's gracious Pardon, which he pleaded, and tender'd to them, and "deſir'd that it might be allow'd. Whereupon he was ſent to the Tower, and the Pardon read in both Houſes; where, without any long Debate, it was de-clar'd "to be of no effect, and that the King could not Pardon a Judgement of Parliament. And ſo, without troubling themſelves farther, they gave order for his Beheading; which he underwent with all Chriſtian Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders and Confuſion of his Enemies. Much hath been ſaid of the Perſon of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments, and natural Infirmities, to which ſhall be added no more in this place (his memory deſerving a particular celebration) than that his Learning, Piety, and Virtue, have been attain'd by very few, and the greateſt of his Infirmities are common to all, even to the beſt Men.

The Arch-Biſhop beheaded.

When they had diſpatched this important work, and thereby receiv'd a new Inſtance of the good Affection and Courage of their Friends, and involv'd the two Houſes in freſh guilt and obloquy (for too many concur'd in it, without conſidering the heinouſneſs of it, and only to keep their Credit clear and entire, whereby they might with the more Authority advance the Peace that was deſir'd) they now enter upon the Debate, "what Anſwer they ſhould ſend the "King concerning a Treaty for Peace. They who deſir'd to advance it, hoped thereby to put an end to all the deſigns of new modelling the Army, and to prevent the increaſe of thoſe Factions in Religion, which every day broke out among them to the notorious Scandal of Chriſtianity. They who had no mind to a Treaty, becauſe they had minds averſe from all thoughts of Peace, diſcern'd plainly, that they ſhould not be able to finiſh their deſign upon the Army, and ſet many other devices on foot, which would contribute to their convenience, untill this long'd-for Treaty were at an end; and therefore they all agreed to give ſome concluſion to it; and reſolv'd that there ſhould be

a Treaty, and upon the Method that ſhould be obſerv'd in the conducting it; from which they who ſhould be employ'd by them, ſhould not recede or be diverted.

The two Houſes agree to a Treaty at Uxbridge.

Then they nominated ſixteen Commiſſioners for the two Houſes, and four for the Parliament of *Scotland*, and named *Uxbridge* for the place where the Treaty ſhould be; which Treaty ſhould be limited to be finiſh'd within twenty days from the time when it ſhould begin.

Upon this concluſion, they ſent their Anſwer to the Meſſage, they had receiv'd from the King by a Trumpet, in a Letter from their General to the King's General; in which they inform'd his Majeſty, "that, out of their paſſionate deſire "of Peace, they had agreed to his Propoſition for a Treaty; and that they had "aſſign'd *Uxbridge* for the place where it ſhould be; and had appointed the Earl "of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Earl "of *Denbeigh*, of the Houſe of Peers; and of the Commons, the Lord *Wainman*, "Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Saint-John* (whom they call'd the King's Sollicitor General) "Sr. *Henry Vane* the younger, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. *Crew*, and Mr. "*Prideaux*; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Lord *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scot*-"*land*; the Lord *Maitland* (who, by the death of his Father, became Earl of *Lau*-*therdale* by the time of the Treaty) "Sr. *Charles Erskin*, and one Mr. *Barcley*, to be "their Commiſſioners; together with Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, in matters only "which relate to the Church; to Treat, upon the particulars they had entruſted "them with, with ſuch Perſons, as his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to Nominate; for "all whom a Safe Conduct ſhould be ſent, aſſoon as his Majeſty had named them; "as they deſir'd his Majeſty's Safe Conduct for the Perſons nam'd by them: to none of which the King took any exception, but ſign'd their Paſs; and ſent word to the Houſes, "that he accepted the Treaty, and the place, and that he "had nominated, as Commiſſioners for him, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis "of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Kingſton*, the Earl of *Chi*-"*cheſter*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Seymour*, the Lord *Hatton*, Controller of the "King's Houſehold; the Lord *Colepepper*, Maſter of the Rolls; Sr. *Edward Hyde*, "Chancellor of the Exchequer: Sr. *Edward Nicholas*, principal Secretary of "State; Sr. *Richard Lane*, Lord Chief Baron of his Court of Exchequer; Sr. *Tho*-"*mas Gardiner*, his Majeſty's Sollicitor General; Sr. *Orlando Bridgman*, Attour-"ney of his Court of Wards; Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, and Mr. *Geoffery Palmer*; "and deſired, that a Safe Conduct might be ſent for them, as his Majeſty had "ſent for the others; and they ſhould then be ready, at the day that was ſet "down at *Uxbridge*.

The King accepts it.

When this was return'd to *Weſtminſter*, there aroſe new diſputes upon the Perſons named by the King, or rather againſt the Additions, and Appellations of Title, which were made to their Names; for they did not except againſt the Perſons of any of them, though ſeveral were moſt ungracious to them.

When the Lord Keeper *Littleton* had fled from *Weſtminſter*, upon his Majeſty's Commands to attend him at *York*, the two Houſes had, in their fury, declared, "that nothing which ſhould, from that time, paſs under the Great "Seal, ſhould be good and valid; but void and null: this they did to diſcredit any Commiſſion, which they foreſaw might iſſue out for their Conviction, Trial, and Attainder: and in ſome time after they had cauſed a Great Seal to be made with the King's Image, for the diſpatch of the neceſſary proceſs in Law, and proceedings in Courts of Juſtice; which Seal was committed by them to ſome of their Members, who had ſat in the Chancery, and tranſacted the buſineſs of that Court, and applied the Seal to all thoſe uſes and purpoſes it had been accuſtom'd unto. They found this Declaration and Ordinance of theirs, invaded in this Meſſage they had now receiv'd from the King. The Lord *Dunſmore* had been created Earl of *Chicheſter*; Sr. *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Lord *Hatton*; Sr. *John Colepepper*, Lord *Colepepper*, with the Addition of Maſter of the Rolls: which Office they had beſtowed upon *Lenthall* their Speaker, who was in poſſeſſion of it; Sr. *Edward Hyde* was declar'd Chancellor of the Exchequer; which, though it was an Office they had not medled with beſtowing, yet it had paſſed the Great Seal, after it came into the King's hands. Sr. *Thomas Gardiner* was made the King's Sollicitor; and the Patent formerly granted to their belov'd *Saint-John*, ſtood revoked; which they would not endure; having, as is ſaid, annexed that Title to his Name when they mention'd him

him as a Commiſſioner for their Treaty. They had the ſame exception to the Chief Baron, and to the Atturney of the Wards; both which Offices were in the poſſeſſion of Men more in their favour.

After long Debate, they were contented to inſert their Names in their Safe Conduct, without their Honours, or Offices; and they were ſo angry with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they had no mind that he ſhould be ſtyled a Knight, becauſe he was not ſo when he left the Parliament: But the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners prevail'd in that point, ſince they had not yet pretended to take away the Uſe of the King's Sword from him: ſo they allow'd him, by a Majority of Votes to be a Knight, and ſent their Safe Conduct, in the manner as is mention'd, to *Oxford*: Upon which the King at the deſire of the Perſons concern'd forbore to inſiſt; but giving them ſtill in his own Paſs, and in his Commiſſion whereby they were authoriz'd to Treat, the Style and Appellation which belong'd to them, and which muſt be allow'd by the others before they begun to Treat. The Style of their Paſs was not thought worthy any reply; and becauſe there was private advice given at the ſame time, "that they would not, when they met at the Treaty, conſider any Autho-"rity that qualified the Kings Commiſſioners to Treat, but only what ſhould "be under the King's Sign-Manuel, though they would not have taken that "for a ſufficient Warrant for themſelves to treat with the King's Enemies; at laſt the King's Commiſſioners were contented, together with a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, to take another likewiſe with them in that form, and only under the Sign-Manuel as was deſir'd.

The Treaty at Uxbridge.

About the end of *January*, or the beginning of *February*, the Commiſſioners on both ſides met at *Uxbridge*; which being within the Enemy's Quarters, the King's Commiſſioners were to have ſuch Accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the diſtribution, and left one entire ſide of the Town to the King's Commiſſioners, one Houſe only excepted, which was given to the Earl of *Pembroke*; ſo that they had no cauſe to complain of their Accommodation; which was as good as the Town would yield, and as good as the other had. There was a good Houſe at the end of the Town, which was provided for the Treaty, where was a fair Room in the middle of the Houſe, handſomely dreſſed up for the Commiſſioners to ſit in; a large ſquare Table being placed in the middle with Seats for the Commiſſioners, one ſide being ſufficient for thoſe of either Party; and a Rail for others who ſhould be thought neceſſary to be preſent, which went round. There were many other Rooms on either ſide of this great Room, for the Commiſſioners on either ſide to retire to, when they thought fit to conſult by themſelves, and to return again to the publick Debate; and there being good Stairs at either end of the Houſe, they never went through each others Quarters; nor met, but in the great Room.

Aſſoon as the King's Commiſſioners came to the Town all thoſe of the Parliament came to viſit and to welcome them; and, within an hour, thoſe of the King's return'd their viſits with uſual Civilities; each profeſſing great deſire and hope, that the Treaty would produce a good Peace. The firſt viſits were altogether, and in one Room; the *Scots* being in the ſame Room with the *Engliſh*. Each Party eat always together, there being two great Inns which ſerv'd very well to that purpoſe. The Duke of *Richmond*, being Steward of his Majeſty's Houſe, kept his Table there for all the King's Commiſſioners: nor was there any reſtraint from giving and receiving Viſits apart, as their acquaintance, and inclinations diſpoſed them; in which thoſe of the King's Party uſed their accuſtom'd Freedom, as heretofore. But on the other ſide, there was great warineſs and reſervedneſs; and ſo great a Jealouſy of each other, that they had no mind to give or receive Viſits to, or from their old Friends; whom they loved better than their New. Nor would any of them be ſeen alone with any of the King's Commiſſioners, but had always one of their Companions with them, and ſometimes one whom they leaſt truſted. It was obſerv'd by the Town, and the People that flocked thither, that the King's Commiſſioners look'd as if they were at Home and govern'd the Town; and the other as if they were not in their own Quarters; and the truth is, they had not that alacrity and ſerenity of Mind, as Men uſe to have who do not believe themſelves to be in a fault.

The King's Commiſſioners would willingly have perform'd their Devotions in the Church, nor was there any reſtraint upon them from doing ſo, that is by Inhibition from the Parliament, otherwiſe than that by the Parliament's Ordinance (as they call'd it) the Book of Common-Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor the Veſtures, nor Ceremonies of the Church to be uſed. So that the days of Devotion were obſerv'd in their great Room of the Inn; whither many of the Country, and the Train of the Commiſſioners, and other Perſons, who came every day from *London*, uſually reſorted.

When the Commiſſioners, on both ſides, met firſt together in the Room appointed for the Treaty, and had taken their Seats, it being left to the King's Commiſſioners, which ſide of the Table they would take; the Earl of *Northumberland*, who always deliver'd any thing that was agreed between them, and read all the Papers (after the powers of both ſides were examined, and peruſed) propoſed ſome Rules to be obſerv'd in the Treaty; "as of having Nothing bind-"ing, unleſs All were agreed upon; and ſuch like; to which there was no objection; and offer'd, as a direction they had receiv'd from the Parliament, "that "they ſhould firſt enter upon the matter of Religion; and Treat three entire "days upon that Subject, without entring upon any other; and if all Differen-"ces, in that particular, were not adjuſted within thoſe days, they ſhould then "proceed to the next Point, which was the Militia; and obſerve the ſame Me-"thod in that, and from thence paſs to the buſineſs of *Ireland*; which three Points "being well ſettled, they believ'd the other differences would be with more eaſe "compoſed: and after thoſe Nine days were paſſed, they were to go round again "upon the ſeveral Subjects, as long as the time limited would continue: his "Majeſty being left at liberty to propoſe what he thought fit, at his own time, "and to change the Method propoſed, It was declared, "that the Twenty days, "limited for the Treaty, were to be reckon'd of the days which ſhould be ſpent "in the Treaty, and not the days of coming or returning, or the days ſpent in "Devotion; there falling out three Sundays and a Faſt-day in thoſe Twenty days. The Method was willingly conſented to; the King's Commiſſioners conceiving it would be to no purpoſe to propoſe any thing on the King's behalf, till they diſcern'd what agreement was like to be made in any one particular; by which they might take their Meaſures, and might propoſe any thing of Moment under one of the three Heads mention'd before.

There happen'd a very odd Accident, the very firſt Morning they met at the Houſe to agree upon their Method to be obſerv'd in the Treaty. It was a Market day, when they uſed always to have a Sermon, and many of the Perſons who came from *Oxford* in the Commiſſioners Train, went to the Church to obſerve the forms. There was one *Love*, a young Man, that came from *London* with the Commiſſioners, who preached, and told his Auditory, which conſiſted of the People of the Town, and of thoſe who came to the Market, the Church being very full, "that they were not to expect any good from the Treaty; for that they "came from *Oxford* with hearts full of Blood, and that there was as great di-"ſtance between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell; and "that they intended only to amuſe the People with expectation of Peace, till "they were able to do ſome notable miſchief to them; and inveighed ſo ſeditiouſ-ly againſt all Cavaliers, that is, againſt all who follow'd the King, and againſt the Perſons of the Commiſſioners, that he could be underſtood to intend nothing elſe, but to ſtir up the People to mutiny; and in it to do ſome Act of Violence upon the Commiſſioners. They were no ſooner advertiſed of it, by ſeveral Perſons who had been preſent in the Church, and who gave very particular Information of the very words which had been ſpoken, than they inform'd the other Commiſſioners of it: gave them a Charge in writing againſt the Preacher; and demanded publick Juſtice. They ſeem'd troubled at it, and promiſed to examine it, and cauſe ſome ſevere puniſhment to be inflicted upon the Man; but afterwards confeſſed, "that they had no Authority to puniſh him, but that they had "cauſed him to be ſharply reprehended, and to be ſent out of the Town; and "this was all that could be obtain'd: ſo unwilling they were to diſcountenance any Man who was willing to ſerve them. This is the ſame *Love*, who ſome years after, by *Cromwell*'s particular proſecution, had his head cut off, for being in a Plot with the *Scots* againſt the Army, and their Parliament.

It

It is not the purpoſe of this Diſcourſe to ſet down the particular tranſactions of this Treaty; which were publiſh'd by the King's Order, ſhortly after the concluſion of it, and all the Papers, which had been deliver'd by the Commiſſioners on either ſide, expos'd to the View of the Kingdom, in the method and manner in which they were deliver'd, Only ſuch particulars as fell out in that time, and were never communicated, and many of them known to very few, ſhall be briefly mentioned, that any, who hereafter ſhall have the peruſal of this Hiſtory, may know how impoſſible it was, that this Treaty could produce ſuch a Peace as both ſides would have been glad of; and that they who govern'd the Parliament then, had at that time the reſolution to act thoſe monſtrous things, which they brought afterwards to paſs.

First of Religion.

The firſt buſineſs to be entred upon, being that of Religion, the Divines of both ſides were admitted to be preſent in the places appointed for them, oppoſite to each other; and Dr. *Steward*, Clerk of the Cloſet to the King, was a Commiſſioner, as Mr. *Henderſon* was on the other ſide; and they both ſat cover'd without the Bar, at the backs of the Commiſſioners. On the Parliament Part, it was propoſed, "that all the Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, might be immediately taken away, "and aboliſhed; and in the room thereof, that there might be another Govern- "ment erected; ſuch as ſhould be moſt agreeable to God's word, and the Practice "of the beſt Churches: That the Book of Common-Prayer might be taken away, "and totally ſuppreſſed; and that, inſtead thereof, a Directory might be uſed (in which there was likewiſe ſet down as much of the Government, which they meant to erect for the future, as was neceſſary to be provided for the preſent, and which ſupplied all the uſe of Articles or Canons, which they had likewiſe aboliſh'd) and "that the King himſelf ſhould take the Covenant; and conſent to an Act of "Parliament, whereby all Perſons of the Kingdom ſhould be likewiſe oblig'd to "take it. And the Copies of the Covenant, and the Directory were deliver'd at the ſame time to the King's Commiſſioners; which were very long, and neceſſary to be read over, before any Anſwer could be made to them. So they took that Afternoon to peruſe them together and adjourn'd their Treaty till the next Morning; and though they enter'd upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory was ſo very long, that they ſpent all that Afternoon, and ſome part of the Night, before they had finiſhed the reading of them. Then, there being many new terms in the Directory, as *Congregational*, *Claſſical*, *Provincial* and *Synodical*, which were not known in practice, and ſome expreſſions in the Covenant, which were ambiguous, and, they well knew, were left ſo, becauſe the Perſons who fram'd them, were not all of one mind, nor had the ſame Intentions in ſome of the other terms mention'd before, the King's Commiſſioners caus'd many Queſtions to be prepared in writing, to be offer'd at the next meeting; wherein they deſir'd to be inform'd, what their meaning was in ſuch and ſuch Expreſſions, in which they knew well they had ſeveral meanings, and would hardly concur in one, and the ſame Anſwer.

About the beginning of the Treaty, or the day before it did begin, the Earl of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, viſited the Duke of *Richmond* privately in his Chamber; and either propoſed, or was very willing, to have private conference there with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; upon which the Duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, ſent to him; and he preſently went to the Duke's Chamber; where he found them both; and after ſome ſhort Compliments, the Earl told him, "how ſtoutly he had defended his Knighthood; which the "Parliament had reſolv'd to have denied, if he had not convinced them. Thence, he diſcourſed of "the great prejudice the Parliament had againſt him, as a Man "who more induſtriouſly oppos'd Peace than any other of the King's Council: "that he had now a good opportunity to wipe off all thoſe jealouſies, by being "a good Inſtrument in making this Peace, and by perſwading his Majeſty to "comply with the deſires and ſupplications of his Parliament; which he hoped he "would be.

The Chancellor told him, "that the King did ſo much deſire a Peace, that no "Man need adviſe him to it, or could divert him from it, if fair and honourable "conditions of Peace were offer'd to him; but if a Peace could not be had, but "upon ſuch conditions as his Majeſty judged inconſiſtent with his Honour, or his "Conſcience, no Man could have credit enough to perſwade him to accept it; "and that, for his own part, without reflecting upon the good or ill opinion the

" Parliament might have of him, he would diſwade him from conſenting to it. The other ſeem'd diſappointed in his ſo poſitive Anſwer; yet, with great freedom, enter'd upon diſcourſe of the whole matter; and, after ſome kind of Apology, " that *Scotland* was ſo far engaged in the Quarrel, contrary to their former In- " tentions, and Profeſſions, he did as good as conclude, " that if the King would " ſatisfy them in the buſineſs of the Church, they would not concern themſelves " in any of the other Demands. In which Propoſition, finding no kind of Compliance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but ſharp proteſtations againſt the demands, as inconſiſtent with Conſcience, Juſtice, or Religion, the conference broke off, without inclination in either of them to renew it. But, from that time, there was more contradiction, and quick repartees between them two throughout the Treaty, than between any other of the Commiſſioners. And it was manifeſt enough, by the private Conferences with other of the Commiſſioners, that the Parliament took none of the points in controverſy leſs to heart, or were leſs united in, than in what concern'd the Church.

When, upon the next meeting of the Commiſſioners the Queſtions, which were mention'd before, were read, and deliver'd by the Duke of *Richmond*, who always perform'd that part on the behalf of the King's Commiſſioners, as the Earl of *Northumberland* did on the Parliament's, there was a viſible diſorder in their Countenances; ſome of them, ſmiling, ſaid, " We look'd into their Game; but without offering at any Anſwer, they aroſe, and went to their Room of conſultation; where they remain'd in great paſſion, and wrangling many hours: ſo that the other Commiſſioners, finding that they were not like ſuddainly to agree, adjourn'd till the Afternoon, and departed to dinner. Aſſoon as they came together in the Afternoon, and were ſate, the Earl of *Northumberland* ſaid, " that they " wonder'd there ſhould appear any difficulty in any expreſſions, upon which thoſe " Queſtions had been adminiſter'd in the Morning; which to Them ſeem'd very " clear and plain; however, to give their Lordſhips ſatisfaction, that they had " appointed another noble Lord, there preſent, who was well acquainted with " the ſignification of all thoſe Words, to explain what the common ſenſe and mean- " ing of them was. Thereupon, the Earl of *Lautherdale* made a diſcourſe upon the ſeveral Queſtions, and what acceptation thoſe expreſſions and words had. But, being a young Man, not accuſtom'd to an orderly and decent way of ſpeaking, and having no gracious pronunciation, and full of paſſion, he made every thing much more difficult than it was before: So that the Commiſſioners deſir'd, " that they might receive an Anſwer in writing; ſince it was declared upon the " entrance of the Treaty, that though in Debate any Man might ſay what he " thought neceſſary, yet nothing ſhould be underſtood to be the ſenſe of either " ſide, but what was deliver'd in Writing; and therefore they deſir'd, that what " that Noble Lord had ſaid, which they preſumed was the ſenſe of all the " reſt, becauſe they had referr'd to Him, and ſeem'd ſatisfied with what he " had deliver'd, might be given to them in writing; without which they " knew not how to proceed, or give an anſwer to what was propoſed to them. This demand, founded upon a Rule of their own, which they knew not how to decline, put the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners into great paſſion: for all the *Engliſh* ſate ſtill without ſpeaking a word, as if they were not concern'd. The Lord *Lautherdale* repeated what he had ſaid before, a little more diſtinctly; and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, ſaid, " that the things were ſo plain, that no " Man could chooſe but underſtand, and remember what was ſpoken; and " that the preſſing to put it in writing was only to ſpend time; which would " be quickly out, half the time aſſign'd for the buſineſs of Religion being to " expire that night; and therefore paſſionately deſir'd them, " that they " would reſt ſatisfied with what had been ſpoken, and proceed upon the mat- " ter.

It was replied, " that they could not truſt their Memories ſo far, as to " prepare an Anſwer to their demands concerning the Covenant, or Directory, " except they were ſure that they underſtood the full and declared meaning " of their demand; which they had leſs reaſon now to believe they did, than " before; ſince there was ſo much difficulty made to ſatisfy them in writing; " and therefore they muſt inſiſt upon receiving an Anſwer to the Papers they " had given: And two or three of the King's Commiſſioners withdrew, and prepared another Paper; in which they ſet down the reaſons which obliged them not

not to be ſatisfied with the Diſcourſe which had been made, and why they muſt inſiſt upon the having it in writing; which being communicated to the reſt as they ſat was likewiſe deliver'd to the others who could not refuſe to receive it, though it was plain enough they never intended to give any Anſwer in writing; nor they on the King's ſide to deſiſt from demanding it: But they declared, " that as they preſumed, they ſhould in the end, receive " their Anſwer in writing, which they ſhould not depart from, ſo it was their " reſolution not to defer their farther proceeding upon the matter; but they " were ready to proſecute that in the method they would deſire; and ſo it " was reſolv'd, " the next Morning, to hear the Divines, who were of ei- " ther Party, what they would ſay againſt or for Epiſcopacy, and the Govern- " ment and Lands of the Church; which were equally concern'd in the De- " bate.

On the King's part, beſides Dr *Steward*, who was a Commiſſioner in matters relating to the Church, there was Dr *Sheldon*, afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr *Lany*, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr *Fern*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*; Dr *Potter*, then Dean of *Worceſter*, and Provoſt of Queen's College in *Oxford*; and Dr *Hammond*; all who, being the King's Chaplains, were ſent by him to attend the Commiſſioners for their Devotions, and for the other Service of the Church, as the management of the Treaty requir'd; which could not be foreſeen; On the Parliament ſide, beſides Mr *Alexander Henderſon*, who was the Commiſſioner, Mr *Marſhall* a Country Parſon in *Eſſex*, and an eminent Preacher of that Party, who was the Chief Chaplain in the Army, Mr *Vines*, a Parſon likewiſe in *Warwickſhire*, and a Scholar (both of them of the Aſſembly of Divines, and ſo, very converſant in thoſe points relating to the Church, which had been ſo often diſputed there) Mr *Cheynel*, one who had been Fellow of *Merton* College in *Oxford*, and two or three others; who, bearing no parts in the diſputes, had not their names remember'd.

Mr *Henderſon* begun rather with Rhetorick, than Logick, " of the neceſſity to " change the Government of the Church, for the preſervation of the State; which " was ſo much in danger, that it could be preſerv'd no other way; and therefore " that in Conſcience it ought to be conſented to; that the Queſtion was not about " the preſervation of Both, which, by the Wiſdoms of the Parliaments of both " Nations, was found to be impoſſible; but ſince there could but one ſtand, " whether they ſhould be both Sacrificed, or the Church given up, that the State " might be preſerv'd: nor was the Queſtion now whether Epiſcopacy was Law- " ful, and the Government by Biſhops conſiſtent with Religion, but whether it " was ſo neceſſary, that Religion could not be preſerv'd without it; which " was to condemn all the Reform'd Churches of *Europe*, where there were no Bi- " ſhops, *England* only excepted. It ought therefore to ſuffice, that the Parlia- " ment, which beſt underſtood what was good for the Nation, had found it " to be a very unneceſſary, inconvenient, and corrupt Government, that had " been productive of great miſchief to the Kingdom from the very time of " the Reformation; that the Biſhops had always favour'd Popery, and pre- " ſerv'd, and continued many of the Rights and Cuſtoms thereof in their Go- " vernment, and Practice; and had of late introduced many Innovations into " the Church, by the example and pattern of the Church of *Rome*, and to the " great ſcandal of the Proteſtant Churches of *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland* and " *Holland*; that they had been the occaſion of the War between the two " Nations of *Scotland*, and *England*; and then of the Rebellion in *Ireland*; " and now of the Civil War in *England*; and thereupon, that the Parliament, " in order to the uniting all the Proteſtant Churches, which was the only way " to extinguiſh Popery, had reſolv'd to change this inconvenient, miſchievous " Government, and erect another in the place of it, which ſhould advance Piety, " and true Religion; and that he hoped the King would concur in ſo Godly " an Action, which would prove ſo much for his Glory. * He took notice " of an old Anſwer formerly made by a King of *England*, when the altera- " tion of ſome Laws had been deſir'd of him, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*; " which, he ſaid, muſt be a miſtake in the Impreſſion: that it was impoſſible " for any King to lay it down as a Rule, that he will not change the Laws; for moſt Kings had changed them often for their own, and their Subjects benefit; but " the meaning muſt be, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, We will change

* Let the reader take notice that Mr *Henderſon* is miſtaken in the *Engliſh* ſtory. *Nolumus &c.* was not ſaid by a King, but to him. See *Coke* upon the Statute of *Merton*. Cap. 9.

" them as often as there ſhall be occaſion, but We will not ſuffer them *mutari* to " be changed by the preſumption of others, without our conſent. He ſaid, " they " did not preſume to think of compelling the King to change the Government of " the Church; but they hoped he would willingly do it, upon the humble Petiti- " on of both Kingdoms, and for his own, and their benefit: That he ſhould ſay " no more, till he ſhould hear the reaſons from the Divines on the other ſide, " why his Majeſty ſhould not conſent to the Advice of his Parliament, ſince he con- " ceiv'd nothing of Conſcience could be alledged againſt it, becauſe it appear'd " by what his Majeſty had conſented to in *Scotland*, for the utter aboliſhing of " Biſhops, that he did not believe in his Conſcience, that Epiſcopacy was " abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of Chriſtian Religion.

Dr. *Steward*, with a much better countenance, told the Commiſſioners, " that " he hoped and knew, that their Lordſhips were too well acquainted with the " Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, and the Foundation upon which it ſub- " ſiſted, to believe it could be ſhaken by any of thoſe Arguments which had " been made againſt it. He ſaid, that though he did believe, it was impoſſible " to prove that a Government, ſettled and continued without intermiſſion, from " the time when Chriſtianity was firſt planted in *England*, and under which the " Chriſtian Religion had ſo much flouriſhed, was an unlawful and Anti-Chriſtian " Government; yet that he expected, that they who had ſworn to aboliſh it, " and came now to perſwade their Lordſhips to concur with them in preſſing " the King to joyn in the ſame obligation, would not urge a leſs argument for " ſuch their Engagement, than the unlawfulneſs, and wickedneſs of that Govern- " ment, which Conſcience obliged them to remove. But Mr. *Henderſon* had wiſely " declined that Argument, though in their Common Sermons, and other Diſ- " courſes in Print, they gave it no better Style than *Anti-Chriſtian*; and had ur- " ged only the inconveniences which had fallen out from it, and benefit which " would reſult by the Change, of which no judgement could be made, till it might " be known what Government they did intend to erect in the place of it; and " ſince the Union with the Forreign Proteſtant Churches, ſeem'd to be their grea- " teſt reaſon for the prodigious alteration they propoſed, he wiſh'd that they would " ſet down, which Forreign Church it is, to which they meant to conform, and " make their new Government by; for that he was aſſured, that the model which " they ſeem affected to in their Directory, was not like to any of the Forreign " Reform'd Churches now in the World. He ſaid, " though he would not take " upon him to cenſure the Forreign Churches, yet it was enough known, that the " moſt Learned Men of thoſe Churches, had lamented that their Reformation was " not ſo perfect as it ought to be, for want of Epiſcopacy; which they could not be " ſuffer'd to have: and they had always paid that Reverence to the Church of *England* " which they conceiv'd due to it, as to the Church to which God had vouchſafed the " moſt perfect Reformation, becauſe it retains all that was innocent or venerable " in Antiquity. He then enlarg'd upon the original Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy; uſing all thoſe Arguments, which are ſtill uſed by the moſt Learned Men in thoſe diſputes, to prove, that without Biſhops there could be no Ordination of Miniſters, and conſequently no adminiſtration of Sacraments, or performance of the Miniſterial Functions. He ſaid, " he would not preſume to ſay any thing of his " Majeſty's having conſented to the abrogation of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, though " he knew what his Majeſty himſelf thinks of it, only that he had an obligation " upon him in Conſcience in this Kingdom, which he had not in that, his Coro- " nation Oath, by which he was bound to defend the Rights of the Church; and " That alone would make it unlawful for his Majeſty to conſent to what was pro- " poſed, both in the point of Epiſcopacy, and the alienation of the Lands of the " Church; which would be direct Sacrilege.

Upon theſe ſeveral points, and what reſulted from thence, the Divines on both ſides ſpent all that day, Morning and Afternoon, till it was very late in the Night, and moſt part of the next day; only the Commiſſioners on either ſide, at the firſt coming together: Mornings and Afternoons, preſented ſuch Papers as they thought fit, upon what had paſſed in Debate: As, the King's Commiſſioners deſir'd to know in writing, " whether the Parliament Commiſſioners did believe that the " Government of the Church by Biſhops was unlawful? To which they could never obtain a Categorical Anſwer.

When the laſt of the three firſt days was paſt (for it was near twelve of the Clock at Night) and the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners obſerv'd that nothing was conſent-

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ed to which they look'd for, the Chancellor of *Scotland* enter'd into a long diſcourſe, with much paſſion, againſt Biſhops, " of the miſchief they had done in all Ages, " and of their being the ſole Cauſes of the late Troubles in *Scotland*, and of the " preſent Troubles in *England*: Remember'd, " that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canter-* " *bury* had purſued the Introduction of the Liturgy and the Canons into *Scotland*, " with ſo great vehemence, that, when it was deſir'd, that the publiſhing them " might be ſuſpended for one Month, that the People might be the better pre- " pared to ſubmit to what they had not been before acquainted with, he would by " no means conſent to that delay; but cauſed it to be enter'd upon the next *Sunday*, " againſt the advice of many of the Biſhops themſelves; which put the People into " ſuch a fury, that they could not be appeaſed. He lamented and complain'd, " that three days had been now ſpent in fruitleſs Debates; and that though their " Divines had Learnedly made it appear, that Epiſcopacy had no foundation in " Scripture, and that it might be lawfully taken away; and that notwithſtanding " it was evident, that it had been the cauſe of great miſchief, and the Wiſdom of " Parliament had thought the utter taking it away to be abſolutely neceſſary for " the preſervation of the Kingdom; their Lordſhips were ſtill unmoved, and had " yielded in no one particular of Importance, to give them ſatisfaction; from " which they could not but conclude, that they did not bring that hearty inclina- " tion to Peace, which they hoped they would have done; and ſo concluded with ſome expreſſions more rude and inſolent, than were expected.

Whereupon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not without ſome commotion, ſaid, " that he did not wonder, that their Lordſhips, who had for ſome years been " accuſtomed to ſuch Diſcourſes, and the more inclin'd to ſuppoſe all that was con- " fidently ſaid to be reaſonably prov'd, and ſo having not been uſed to converſe " with any Perſons of a contrary opinion, had been brought to conſent and ap- " prove thoſe alterations, which they had propoſed; but that it ſeem'd very ad- " mirable to him, that their Lordſhips could expect, or imagine it poſſible, " that they who never had heard ſuch things ſaid before, nor could underſtand in " ſo little time what had been now ſaid, ſhould depart from a Faith, and a form " of Worſhip, in which they had been educated from their Cradle; and which, " upon ſo long obſervation, and experience, they look'd upon with all poſſible ap- " probation and reverence, upon only hearing it inveigh'd againſt three days; " which would have been much too little time to have warranted a Converſion " from much leſs important opinions, they had ſo long entertain'd; though their " Arguments had Had as much weight as they wanted. He ſaid, " they were " of opinion, that all thoſe miſchiefs and inconveniences which they had men- " tion'd, had in truth proceeded from an over vehement deſire to overthrow Epiſ- " copacy, not from the Zeal to ſupport it: that if the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* " had been too precipitate in preſſing the reception of that, which he thought a " Reformation, he paid dearly for it; which made him the more wonder, that " they ſhould blame Them, for not ſubmitting to much greater alterations, " than were at that time propoſed, in three days; when they reproach'd Him, " for not having given Them a whole Month to conſider. He ſaid, " he might " aſſure their Lordſhips with great ſincerity, that they were come thither with " all imaginable paſſion and deſire, that the Treaty might conclude in a happy " and bleſſed Peace; as he ſtill hoped it would; but if it ſhould be otherwiſe, " that they would ſtill believe, their Lordſhips brought with them the ſame ho- " nourable and pious Inclinations, though the Inſtructions, and Commands from " thoſe who truſted them, reſtrain'd them from conſenting to what in their own " judgements ſeem'd reaſonable. And ſo, without any manner of reply, both ſides aroſe, and departed, it being near midnight.

There happen'd a pleaſant Accident in one of theſe days, which were aſ- ſign'd for the matter of Religion. The Commiſſioners of both ſides, either be- fore their ſitting, or after their riſing, entertaining themſelves together by the Fire ſide, as they ſometimes did, it being extremely Cold, in general and caſual diſcourſes, One of the King's Commiſſioners ask'd one of the other with whom he had familiarity, in a low Voice, " why there was not in their whole Directory, " any mention at all of the Creed, or the Ten Commandments, and ſo little of " the Lord's Prayer? which is only once recommended. The Earl of *Pembroke*, overhearing the diſcourſe, anſwer'd aloud, and with his uſual paſſion, " that He, " and many others, were very ſorry that they had been left out; that the

" putting them in had taken up many hours Debate in the Houſe of Com-
" mons, and that at laſt the leaving them out had been carried by eight or nine
" Voices; and ſo they did not think fit to inſiſt upon the addition of them in the
" Houſe of Peers; but many were afterwards troubled at it, and he verily be-
" liev'd, if it were to do again, they ſhould carry it for the inſerting 'em all;
which made many ſmile, to hear that the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, had been put to the Queſtion, and rejected: And many of the other were troubled, and out of countenance with the reaſon the good Lord had given for the Excluſion.

Secondly of the Militia. The next Subject of the Treaty was the buſineſs of the Militia; which their Commiſſioners poſitively required, " to be entirely veſted in the Parliament, and
" in ſuch Perſons as they thought fit to be confided in. This they ſaid was more ne-
" ceſſary than ever, for the ſecuring the People from their Fears and Jealouſies;
" which were now much encreaſed, and were capable of being aſſwaged by no
" other means: and deliver'd a large Paper to that purpoſe, which contained no more than had been often ſaid in their Declarations, and as often anſwer'd in thoſe which had been publiſh'd by the King. And when the Commiſſioners of the King, whereof there were four very Eminent in the knowledge of the Law, *Lane*, *Gardiner*, *Bridgeman*, and *Palmer*, made the demand appear to be without any pretence of Law, or Juſtice, and aſſerted it to be veſted in the King by the Law, they never offer'd to alledge any other Argument, than the determination of the Parliament, which had declar'd the right of the Militia to be in them, from which they could not recede; ſo that the Conferences were very ſhort upon thoſe days, but the Papers very long which were mutually deliver'd; the preparing whereof took up the time; they of that ſide (even they who moſt deſir'd the Peace) both publickly and privately inſiſting " upon having the whole Command
" of the Militia by Sea, and Land, and all the Forts, and Ships of the Kingdom
" at their diſpoſal; without which they look'd upon themſelves as loſt, and at the King's Mercy; not conſidering that he muſt be at Theirs, if ſuch a Power was committed to them. But in this particular, he who was moſt reaſonable among them, thought it very unreaſonable to deny them that neceſſary Security; and believ'd it could proceed from nothing elſe, but a Reſolution to take the higheſt Vengeance upon their Rebellion.

Thirdly of Ireland Then they enter'd upon the buſineſs of *Ireland*; in which they thought they had the King at a very great advantage; and that his Commiſſioners would not be able to anſwer the Charges they ſhould make upon that particular. And many of the Commiſſioners on the Kings part, who had not been well acquainted with thoſe Tranſactions, thought it would be a hard matter to juſtify all that the King had been neceſſitated to do; and any thing of Grace towards the *Iriſh* Rebels, was as ungracious at *Oxford*, as it was at *London*; becauſe they knew the whole Kingdom had a great deteſtation of them. They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of that Rebellion; " how
" the King had voluntarily committed the carrying on that War to the two
" Houſes of Parliament; that they had Levied great Sums of Money upon
" the Kingdom for that Service but finding that it was like to bring a grea-
" ter Burthen upon the Kingdom than it could bear, that his Majeſty had con-
" ſented to an Act of Parliament for the Encouragement of Adventurers to bring
" in Money, upon aſſurance of having Land aſſign'd to them in that Kingdom,
" out of the Forfeitures of the Rebels, aſſoon as the Rebellion ſhould be ſup-
" preſſed; and had likewiſe, by the ſame Act, put it out of his Power to
" make any Peace or Ceſſation with thoſe Rebels, or to grant Pardon to any
" of them without conſent of Parliament; and thereupon many of his Majeſty's
" Subjects had brought in very conſiderable Sums of Money, by which they had
" been able to manage that War without putting this Kingdom to farther
" Charge; and God had ſo bleſſed the Proteſtant Forces there, that they had
" ſubdued and vanquiſhed the Rebels in all Encounters; and, probably, by
" that time, the whole Rebellion had been extinguiſh'd if the King had not,
" contrary to his promiſe, and obligation by that Act of Parliament, made a
" Ceſſation with thoſe Execrable Rebels, when they were not able to continue
" the War; and had call'd over many of thoſe Regiments, which the Par-
" liament had ſent over againſt the *Iriſh*, to return hither to Fight againſt the
" Parliament: by means whereof his Proteſtant Subjects of that Kingdom
" were

" were in great danger to be deſtroy'd and the Kingdom to be entirely poſſeſ-
" ſed by the Papiſts. They enlarged themſelves upon this Subject, with all the invidious inſinuations they could deviſe, to make the People believe, that the King was inclined to, and favoured that Rebellion. They demanded " that the King would forthwith declare that Ceſſation to be void; and that " he would proſecute the War againſt thoſe Rebels with the utmoſt fury; " and that the Act of Parliament for their reduction, might be executed as it " ought to be.

The Commiſſioners of the King prepar'd and deliver'd a very full Anſwer in writing to all their Demands; at the delivery whereof, they appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enlarge upon any of thoſe particulars, which prov'd the Counſels that had been taken, juſt, and neceſſary. This he did ſo particularly and convincingly, that thoſe of the Parliament were in much Confuſion, and the King's Commiſſioners much pleaſed. He put them in mind of " their bringing thoſe very Troops, which were Levied by the King's Au-" thority for the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion in *Ireland*, to Fight againſt the " King at *Edge-hill*, under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*; of their having " given over the proſecution of that War, or ſending any ſupply of Armes, Mo-" ney, or Ammunition thither; having imploy'd thoſe Magazines which were " provided for that Service, againſt his Majeſty; inſomuch as the Privy Coun-" cil of that Kingdom had ſent to his Majeſty, that he would provide ſome " other way for the preſervation of that Kingdom, ſince they could not be able " to ſupport the War any longer, againſt the United Power of the Rebels: " That all Overtures, which his Majeſty had made towards Peace, had been " rejected by the Parliament; and one hundred thouſand pounds, brought in by " the Adventurers for *Ireland*, had been ſent in one entire Sum into *Scotland*, to " prepare and diſpoſe that Kingdom to ſend an Army to Invade This; which they " had done, and till then his Majeſty had not, in the leaſt degree, ſwerv'd from " the obſervation of that Act of Parliament; but when he ſaw that the Parlia-" ment, inſtead of proſecuting the end and intention of that Statute, ap-" ply'd it wholely to the carrying on the War againſt Himſelf, he thought " himſelf abſolv'd before God and Man, if he did all he could to reſcue and " defend himſelf againſt their Violence, by making a Ceſſation with the Rebels " in *Ireland*, and by drawing over ſome Regiments of his own Army from " thence, to aſſiſt him in *England*: which Ceſſation had hitherto preſerved " the Proteſtants of that Kingdom; who were not able without ſupplies to " preſerve themſelves from the ſtrength and power of the Rebels: which ſup-" plies his Majeſty could not, and the Parliament would not ſend; and there-" fore, if the Proteſtants there, ſhould hereafter be oppreſſed by the Rebels, " who every day procur'd aſſiſtance from abroad, and ſo were like to be more " powerful, all the Miſchiefs and Miſery that muſt attend them, would, before " God and Man, be put to the Account of the Parliament; which had defrau-" ded them of thoſe ſupplies, which, by his Majeſty's care had been raiſed, " and provided for them; and not to his Majeſty, who had done nothing but " what he was obliged to do for his own preſervation; and if he had not ſent " for thoſe Soldiers from *Ireland*, they could not have ſtayed there without a " ſupply of Money, Cloaths and Proviſions; which the Parliament had not " yet ſent to that part of the Army which remain'd there, and which could " by no other way have ſubſiſted, but by the benefit, and ſecurity of the Ceſ-" ſation.

He told them, " that all this unjuſtifiable way of proceeding, though it " had compell'd the King to yield to a Ceſſation, yet could not prevail with " him to make a Peace with the *Iriſh* Rebels; from whom he had admitted " Commiſſioners to attend him with Propoſitions to that purpoſe; but that, " when he found thoſe Propoſitions and Demands ſo unreaſonable, that he " could not conſent to them in Conſcience, and that they were inconſiſtent " with the ſecurity of his Proteſtant Subjects there, he had totally rejected " them, and diſmiſſed their Commiſſioners with ſevere and ſharp Animadver-" ſions: yet that he had given his Lieutenant, and Council there, Authority " to continue the Ceſſation longer, in hope that the Rebels there, might be " reduced to better Temper; or that his Majeſty might be enabled by a hap-" py Peace here, which he hop'd this Treaty would produce, to chaſtiſe their

" odious and obſtinate Rebellion: And if the Parliament would yet give his " Majeſty ſufficient caution that the War ſhould be vigorouſly proſecuted there " againſt the *Iriſh*, by ſending over ſtrong Supplies of Men and Money, he would " put an end to that Ceſſation without declaring it to be void; which other- " wiſe he could not in Juſtice do, and the doing whereof would be to no " purpoſe.

The Commiſſioners, viſibly out of Countenance and Angry, made no other reply, but " that they were ſorry to find, that odious and deteſtable Rebellion had " receiv'd ſo much Grace, as that Commiſſioners from it had been admitted " into the King's Preſence; and that they wonder'd, there ſhould be any " ſcruple made of declaring that Ceſſation void, that was entred into expreſsly " againſt the Letter of an Act of Parliament. This reply they gave in writing, with many pathetical expreſſions againſt the Murthers and Cruelties, that had been uſed in the beginning of that Rebellion; which oblig'd the King's Commiſſioners to a little more ſharpneſs in their returns than they were inclined to; and to tell them, " That they wiſhed it were in the King's Power " to puniſh all Rebellion, with that ſeverity that was due to it; but ſince " it was not ſo, he muſt condeſcend to Treaties, and to all other Expedi- " ents which are neceſſary to reduce his Subjects who are in Rebellion, to return " to their Duty and Obedience.

The nine firſt Days were now ſpent upon the three great heads, in which there was little advance made towards giving ſatisfaction to either Party; for though, in the matter of Religion, the King's Commiſſioners had made ſuch condeſcenſions, as would oblige Biſhops to be more diligent in Preaching, and to be themſelves preſent in the adminiſtration of the moſt important parts of their Juriſdiction; yet no ſuch Reformation was conſiderable to thoſe who car'd for nothing without extirpation; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten; and they were ſenſible, that in the matter of *Ireland*, the King's Defence would weigh down their Clamour and Calumny. There happen'd ſome Accidents in this time of the Treaty, which made impreſſion on each Party; the firſt was found in the looks of the Parliament Commiſſioners, upon the Advertiſement they receiv'd, that Sir *Lewis Dives*, who was Governour of a ſmall Garriſon in *Sherborn* in *Dorſetſhire*, had from thence, in a Night, upon Intelligence with the King's Governour of *Portland*-Caſtle, ſurpriſed *Weymouth*, a Sea-port poſſeſſed by the the Parliament; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the King.

But whilſt the King's Commiſſioners entertain'd ſome hope that this loſs might have the more diſpoſed the Parliament to a juſt Peace, they receiv'd Advertiſement of a much greater loſs ſuſtain'd by the King, and which was more like to exalt the other ſide. Colonel *Langhorn*, and *Mitton*, two very Active Officers in the Parliament Service, about *Shropſhire* and North *Wales*, by correſpondence with ſome Townſmen, and ſome Soldiers in the Garriſon of *Shrewsbury*, from whence too many of that Garriſon were unhappily drawn out two or three days before, upon ſome Expedition, ſeiſed upon that Town in the Night; and, by the ſame Treachery, likewiſe enter'd the Caſtle; where Sir *Michael Earnly* the Governour had been long ſick, and riſing, upon the Alarm, out of his Bed, was killed in his Shirt; whilſt he behaved himſelf as well as was poſſible; and refuſed Quarter; which did not ſhorten his Life many days, he being even at the point of Death by a Conſumption; which kept him from performing all thoſe Offices of Vigilance he was accuſtom'd to, being a Gallant Gentleman, who underſtood the Office and Duty of a Soldier by long experience, and diligent obſervation. The loſs of *Shrewsbury* was a great blow to the King, and ſtreighten'd his Quarters exceedingly, and broke the ſecure Line of Communication with *Cheſter*, and expoſed all North *Wales*, *Hereford*, and *Worceſter*, to the daily inroads of the Enemy: and the News of this, recover'd the dejected Spirits of the Parliament Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge*.

Yet there had been an odd Accident which accompanied the Enterpriſe upon *Weymouth*, which gave them afterwards more trouble. Sir *Lewis Dives* had, in his March from *Sherborne*, intercepted a Packet of Letters ſent out of *Somerſetſhire* to the Parliament; and among thoſe, there was a Letter from *John Pyne*, a Gentleman well known, and of a fair Eſtate in that Country, to Colonel *Edward Popham*, a principal Officer of the Parliament in their Fleets at Sea, and of a Paſſionate

ſionate and virulent Temper, of the Independent Party. The Subject of the Letter was a bitter invective againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, and all thoſe who advanced the Treaty of Peace, and a great deteſtation of the Peace, with very indecent expreſſions againſt the King himſelf, and all who adhered to him. This Letter had been ſent by Sir *Lewis Dives* to one of the Secretaries at *Oxford*, and from Him to the Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge*; who, aſſoon as they receiv'd it, communicated it to ſome of thoſe Commiſſioners, who they knew deſired a Peace, and were very great Friends to the Earl of *Eſſex*. The *Scots* were likewiſe as much inveigh'd againſt as any Body elſe. They to whom this Letter was communicated, durſt not undertake to appear to know any thing of it; but adviſed, " that " the Marquis of *Hertford*, might ſend a Copy of it to his Brother the Earl " of *Eſſex*, with ſuch reflections as He thought fit: which being done accordingly, the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was yet General, took it ſo much to heart that he deſir'd the Marquis of *Hertford* would ſend him the Original; which was preſently done; hoping that it would have given ſome Advantage to the Earl of *Eſſex*, towards whom the Parliament yet behav'd it ſelf with all imaginable decency and reſpect.

The Converſation that this Letter occaſion'd between ſome of the Commiſſioners of both ſides, who in private uſed their old freedom, made a great diſcovery of the Faction that was in the Parliament: that there were many who deſir'd to have Peace, without any alteration in the Government, ſo they might be ſure of Indemnity, and ſecurity for what was paſt; that the *Scots* would inſiſt upon the whole Government of the Church, and all other Matters would defer to the King; but that there was another Party, that would have no Peace upon what condition ſoever, who did reſolve to change the whole frame of the Government in State, as well as Church; which made a great Party in the Army: all thoſe of the Parliament who deſir'd to remove the Earl of *Eſſex* from being General of the Army, and to make another General, were of that Party. There was likewiſe, among the Commiſſioners themſelves, very little Truſt, and Communication; Sir *Harry Vane*, *Saint-John*, and *Prideaux*, being, upon the matter, but Spies upon the reſt; and though moſt of the reſt did heartily deſire a Peace, even upon any Terms, yet none of them had the Courage to avow the receding from the moſt extravagant demand. Beſides, there was reaſon enough to believe, that, if the King had yielded to all that was then propoſed, they would likewiſe have inſiſted upon all which they had formerly demanded, and upon the delivery up of all thoſe Perſons who had faithfully ſerv'd the King, and had been by them always excepted, as Perſons never to be pardon'd.

For though they had aſſign'd thoſe three General Heads, of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, to be firſt Treated upon, which were all plauſible and popular Arguments, and in which they who moſt deſir'd Peace, would inſiſt at leaſt upon many condeſcenſions, yet they had not, in the leaſt degree declin'd any other of their Propoſitions; as the exemption of many of the greateſt Quality, or of the moſt declared Affections to the King, in the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, from Pardon; and the making the Eſtates of the reſt, under the Name of Delinquents, liable to pay the Charges of the War; from which, or any of the other very unreaſonable demands, the Houſes had not in their Inſtructions given their Commiſſioners Authority, in the leaſt particle to recede: They who deſir'd Peace, being ſatisfied, that they had prevail'd to have a Treaty, which they imagin'd would do all the reſt, and that theſe leſſer demands, would fall off, of themſelves, when ſatisfaction ſhould be given in thoſe important particulars which more concern'd the publick; and, on the other ſide, they who reſolv'd the Treaty ſhould be ineffectual, were well content, that their Commiſſioners ſhould be inſtructed only to inſiſt upon thoſe three Generals without power to depart from any one expreſſion, in the Propoſitions concerning thoſe Particulars; being ſatisfied, that in the particular which concern'd the Church, the *Scots* would never depart from a title; and as ſure, that the King would never yield to it; and that, in the Militia, they who moſt deſired Peace, would adhere to that which moſt concern'd their own Security; and in the buſineſs of *Ireland*, beſides the opportunity to aſperſe the King, upon an Argument in which the People generally concurr'd with them, they were ſafe enough; except the King ſhould abſolutely retract, and recant all that he had done, and by declaring the Ceſſation void, expoſe all thoſe who had a hand in

it, to Their cenſure, and judgment; and ſo diſſolve all the Authority he had in that Kingdom for the future; which they knew he would never do. So that they were ſafe enough in thoſe three heads of their Treaty, without bringing any of their other demands into Debate; which would have ſpent much time, and raiſed great difference in opinion among them; yet they had thoſe ſtill in reſerve, and might reaſonably conclude, that if the King ſatisfied them in the Terms of thoſe three Propoſitions, he would never inſiſt upon any of the reſt; which could not relate ſo much to his Conſcience, or his Honour, as the other. Beſides, they knew well, that, if, by the King's Condeſcenſions, they had full ſatisfaction in the former Three, they who had moſt paſſion for Peace, would, for their own ſhares in the particular revenge upon thoſe Men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments, which would be then in their diſpoſal, never divide from them in any thing that remain'd to be demanded.

One Night, late, the Earl of *Pembroke* came to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Lodging, to return him a viſit, and ſat with him ſome hours; all his diſcourſe being to perſwade him, to think it reaſonable to conſent to all that the Parliament had demanded. He told him, "that there was never ſuch a Pack "of Knaves, and Villaines, as they who now govern'd in the Parliament; who "would ſo far prevail, if this Treaty were broke off, as to remove the Earl of "*Eſſex*; and then they would conſtitute ſuch an Army as ſhould force the Parliament, as well as the King, to conſent to whatſoever they demanded; which would "end in the Change of the Government into a Common-wealth. The Chancellor told him, "if he believ'd That, it was high time for the Lords to look about them, "who would be then no leſs concern'd than the King. He confeſſed it, and "that "they were now ſenſible, that they had brought this miſchief upon themſelves; "and did heartily repent it, though too late; and when they were, in no degree, "able to prevent the general deſtruction, which they foreſaw: but if the King "would be ſo gracious to them, as to preſerve them, by conſenting to thoſe unreaſonable Propoſitions which were made by the Parliament, the other wicked "Perſons would be diſappointed by ſuch his conceſſions; the Earl of *Eſſex* would "ſtill keep his power; and they ſhould be able, in a ſhort time after the Peace "concluded, by adhering to the King, whom they would never forſake hereafter, "to recover all for him that he now parted with, and to drive theſe wicked Men, "who would deſtroy Monarchy, out of the Kingdom; and then his Majeſty would "be greater than ever. How extravagant ſoever this diſcourſe ſeems to be, the matter of it was the ſame, which the wiſeſt of the reſt, and there were Men of very good parts among them, did ſeriouſly urge to other of the King's Commiſſioners, with whom they had the ſame confidence: ſo broken they were in their Spirits, and ſo corrupted in their Underſtanding, even when they had their own ruin in their View.

The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the proudeſt Man alive, could not look upon the Deſtruction of Monarchy, and the contempt the Nobility was already reduced to, and which muſt be then encreaſed, with any pleaſure: yet the repulſe he had formerly receiv'd at *Oxford*, upon his Addreſſes thither, and the fair eſcape he had made afterwards from the jealouſy of the Parliament, had wrought ſo far upon him, that he reſolv'd no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other, and was willing to ſee the King's Power and Authority ſo much reſtrain'd, that he might not be able to do him any harm.

The Earls of *Pembroke*, and *Salisbury*, were ſo totally without credit, or intereſt in the Parliament, or Country, that it was no matter which way Their inclinations or affections diſpoſed them; and their Fear of the Faction that prevailed, was ſo much greater than their Hatred towards them, that though they wiſhed They might rather be deſtroy'd than the King, they had rather the King and his Poſterity ſhould be deſtroy'd, than that *Wilton* ſhould be taken from the one of them, or *Hatfield* from the other; the preſervation of both which from any danger, they both believ'd to be the higheſt point of prudence, and politick circumſpection.

The Earl of *Denbigh* had much greater parts, and ſaw farther before him into the deſperate deſigns of that Party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and deteſted thoſe deſigns as much as any of them; yet the pride of his Nature, not inferior to the proudeſt, and the conſcience of his Ingratitude to the King, in ſome reſpects ſuperior to Theirs who had been moſt obliged,

bliged, kept him from being willing to quit the Company with whom he had converſed too long. Though he had receiv'd from them moſt ſignal Affronts and Indignities, and well knew he ſhould never more be employ'd by them, yet he thought the King's condition to be utterly deſperate, and that he would be at laſt compell'd to yield to worſe conditions than were now offer'd to Him. He conferr'd with ſo much freedom with one of the King's Commiſſioners, and ſpent ſo much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great Friendſhip between them, that he drew ſome jealouſy upon himſelf from ſome of his Companions. With Him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his diſloyalty to the King, with expreſſions of great compunction; and proteſted, " that he would moſt willingly redeem his Tranſgreſſions by " any attempt that might ſerve the King ſignally, though he were ſure to loſe " his Life in it; but that to loſe Himſelf, without any benefit to the King, " would expoſe him to all miſery; which he would decline, by not ſeparating " from his Party. He inform'd him more fully of the wicked purpoſes of thoſe who then govern'd the Parliament, than others apprehended or imagin'd; and had a full proſpect of the vile condition Himſelf, and all the Nobility ſhould be reduced to; yet thought it impoſſible to prevent it, by any Authority of their own; and concluded, " that if any conjuncture fell out, in which, by loſing " his Life, he might preſerve the King, he would embrace the Occaſion; otherwiſe, he would ſhift the beſt he could for himſelf.

Of the Commiſſioners of the Houſe of Commons, though, the three named before being excepted, the reſt did in their hearts deſire a Peace, and upon much honeſter conditions than they durſt own; yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durſt communicate their thoughts together: ſo that though they could ſpeak their minds freely enough, ſeverally, to thoſe Commiſſioners of the King's ſide with whom they had former friendſhip, they would not, in the preſence of any of their own Companions, uſe that freedom. The Debate that had been in the Houſe upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*, had rais'd ſo many Jealouſies, and diſcompos'd the confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any Man intended to do; many who had, from the beginning of the Troubles, profeſſed to have moſt devotion for the Earl of *Eſſex*, and to abhor all his Enemies, had lately ſeem'd to concur in that Ordinance, which was contrived principally for his diſhonour and deſtruction; and others who ſeem'd ſtill to adhere to him, did it with ſo many cautions, that there could be no confidence of their perſeverance.

Hollis, who was the frankeſt among them in owning his Animoſity and Indignation againſt all the Independent Party, and was no otherwiſe affected to the Presbyterians, than as they conſtituted a Party upon which he depended to oppoſe the other, did foreſee that many of thoſe who appear'd moſt reſolute to concur with him, would, by degrees, fall from him purely for want of Courage, in which he abounded. *Whitlock*, who, from the beginning, had concurr'd with them without any Inclinations to their Perſons, or their Principles, had the ſame reaſon ſtill not to ſeparate from them. All his Eſtate was in their Quarters, and he had a Nature that could not bear, or ſubmit to be undone: though to his Friends, who were Commiſſioners for the King, he uſed his old openneſs, and profeſſed his deteſtation of all the proceedings of his Party, yet could not leave them. *Pierpoint*, and *Crew*, who were both Men of great Fortunes, and had always been of the greateſt moderation in their Counſels, and moſt ſollicitous upon all opportunities for peace, appear'd now to have contracted more bitterneſs, and ſourneſs than formerly; and were more reſerv'd towards the King's Commiſſioners, than was expected; and in all Conferences inſiſted peremptorily, " that the King muſt yield to whatſoever was requir'd in the three " Demands, which had been Debated. They all valued themſelves " upon " having induced the Parliament, againſt all Oppoſition, to conſent to a Treaty; which producing no effect, they ſhould hereafter have no more credit; and it plainly appear'd, that they had perſwaded themſelves, that, in the Treaty, they ſhould be able to perſwade the King's Commiſſioners to concur with them; and that the King would yield upon the very ſame argument, and expectation, that the Earl of *Pembroke* had offer'd to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Some of them, who knew how impoſſible it was to prevail with the Commiſſioners, or, if They could be corrupted ſo far in their judgments, how much more impoſſible it would be to perſwade the King to conſent to what was ſo diametrically againſt his Conſcience, and his Honour; and, in truth, againſt his Security, did wiſh, "that, to get the time of the Treaty prolong'd, ſome Con-"ceſſions might be made in the point of the Militia, in order to their ſecurity; "which being provided for, might probably take off many Perſons, who, out "of that conſideration principally, adhered to thoſe who they thought were "moſt jealous of it, and moſt ſollicitous for it. This ſeem'd ſuch an Expedient to thoſe to whom they propos'd it, that they thought fit to make a Debate among all the Commiſſioners about it; "and if it ſhould produce no other "effect, than the getting more days to the Treaty, and making more Di-"viſions in the Parliament, both which they might naturally expect from it, "the benefit was not ſmall that would attend it; for, as long as the Treaty "laſted, there could be little advance made towards new modelling the Army, "the delay whereof would give the King likewiſe more time to make his "Preparations for the Field; towards which he was in no forwardneſs. This conſideration prevail'd with the Commiſſioners to ſend their opinion to the King, "that he would give them leave to propoſe, when the next day came "for the Debate of the point of the Militia, that the whole Militia of the "Kingdom ſhould be ſettled in ſuch a Number of Perſons, for ſeven or eight "years, who might be all ſworn to the obſervation of all the Articles which "ſhould be agreed upon in the Treaty; after the expiration of which time, "which would be ſufficient to extinguiſh all jealouſies, it ſhould be reſtored "to the King. And they ſent the King a Liſt of ſuch Names, as they wiſh'd might be inſerted in the Propoſition, of Perſons in Credit with the Parliament, to which his Majeſty might add the like Number of ſuch, of whoſe Fidelity he was moſt aſſured.

The Earls of *Eſſex*, *Northumberland*, *Warwick*, and *Mancheſter*, with *Fairfax*, and *Cromwell*, were among thoſe they recommended to be named by the King. With this Meſſage they ſent two of their own Body, who added other reaſons, which they conceiv'd might prevail with Him; and it was with great difficulty that his Majeſty was prevailed with to conſent, that ſuch an Overture ſhould be made. But being unwilling to diſſent from his Commiſſioners judgement, and believing it would be rejected, and in hope that it would gain time by lengthning the Treaty, his Majeſty was contented, that the Commiſſioners ſhould make ſuch an Offer as is mention'd, and name the Perſons they had propoſed of the Parliament Party; and withal, he ſent a Liſt of ſuch Perſons as himſelf thought fit to truſt in that Affair; in whom, together with the others, he would have the power of the Militia to be veſted. But by this time, the Term aſſign'd for the Treaty drawing towards an end, they who had at firſt adviſed this Expedient, had not the ſame opinion of the ſucceſs; and had plainly diſcover'd, that the Parliament would not conſent to add one day more to the Treaty. So the farther proſecution of the Overture in that manner was laid aſide. For the King's Commiſſioners concluded, "that at this time to offer any particular Names "from the King to be truſted with the Militia, was but to expoſe thoſe Per-"ſons to reproach, as ſome of them were very ungracious and unpopular to "them; and to give the other ſide an excuſe for rejecting the offer, upon exception to their Perſons. However, that they might ſee a greater condeſcenſion from the King in that point, than he had ever yet been induced to, they offer'd, "that the Militia ſhould be ſo ſettled for the ſpace of ſeven years, as they had "deſir'd, in ſuch a Number of Perſons, as ſhould be agreed upon; a moiety of "which Perſons, ſhould be nominated by the King, and the other moiety by the "Parliament: which was rejected by them with their uſual neglect.

From this time the Commiſſioners, on both ſides, grew more reſerv'd, and colder towards each other; inſomuch as in the laſt Conferences, the Anſwers and Replies upon one another, were ſharper and more reflecting than they had formerly been: and in their Conference upon the laſt day, which held moſt part of the Night, it was evident, either ſide labour'd moſt to make the other ſeem to be moſt in fault. The King's Commiſſioners deliver'd a Paper, which contain'd a Sum of all that had been done in the Treaty, and obſerv'd, "that after a War "of ſo many years, enter'd into, as was pretended, for the Defence, and

"Vindication

" Vindication of the Laws of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, in " a Treaty of twenty days, they had not demanded any one thing, that, by the " Law of the Land, they had the leaſt Title to demand; but inſiſted only on " ſuch particulars as were againſt Law, and the eſtabliſh'd Government of the " Kingdom; and that much more had been offer'd to them for the obtaining of " Peace, than they could with juſtice or reaſon require: with which they were ſo offended, that they, for ſome time, refuſed to receive the Paper, upon pretence, " that the time for the Treaty was expired; becauſe it was then after twelve of the Clock of the Night of the twentieth day: but at laſt they were contented to receive it, finding, that it would not be leſs publick, and would more reflect upon them, if they rejected it: and ſo they parted a little before the break of day.

The end of the Treaty without effect.

The next day, being *Sunday*, they reſted in the Town, that they might in the Afternoon decently take their leaves of each other; though *Monday*, according to the Letter of their Paſs, was the laſt day of their freedom, and at that Seaſon of the year their Journey to *Oxford* might require two days, as they had ſpent two days in coming thither; and the Commiſſioners for the Parliament, had given them a Paper in which they declar'd, " that they might ſafely make uſe of " another day for their return, of which no Advantage ſhould be taken. But they having on *Sunday*, perform'd their mutual Viſits to each other, parted with ſuch coolneſs towards each other, as if they ſcarce hoped to meet again; and the King's Commiſſioners were ſo unwilling to run any hazard, that they were on the *Monday* Morning ſo early in their Coaches, that they came to *Oxford* that Night, and kiſs'd the King's hand; who receiv'd them very graciouſly; thanking them for the pains they had taken. Surely the pains they had taken, with how little ſucceſs ſoever, was very great; and they who had been moſt inured to buſineſs, had not in their Lives ever undergone ſo great fatigue for twenty days together, as at that Treaty. The Commiſſioners ſeldom parted, during that whole time, till two or three of the Clock in the Morning. Beſides, They were obliged to ſit up later who were to prepare ſuch Papers as were directed for the next day, and to write Letters to *Oxford*; ſo that, if the Treaty had continued much longer, it was very probable many of the Commiſſioners muſt have fallen ſick for want of ſleep; which ſome of them were not ſatisfied with in three or four days after their return to *Oxford*. Thus ended the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, the particulars whereof were, by the King's Command, ſhortly after publiſh'd in Print, and never contradicted by the Parliament.

The King ſpoke to thoſe he truſted moſt at that time, with much more Melancholy of his own Condition, and the State of his Affairs, than he had uſed to do. The loſs of *Shrewsbury* was attended with many ill Conſequences; and that which had ſeem'd to bring ſome kind of recompence for it, the Surpriſe of *Weymouth*, prov'd but a Dream; for the Enemy had loſt but one part of the Town, which they, in a ſhort time after, recover'd again by the uſual Negligence of the King's Governours. So that his Majeſty told them " He found it abſolutely neceſſary to " purſue his former reſolution of ſeparating the Prince his Son from himſelf, " that the Enemy might not, upon any Succeſs, find them together; which, he " ſaid, would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he ſhould fall into their " hands, whilſt his Son was at liberty, they would not dare to do him harm. He ſeem'd to have very reaſonable Apprehenſions, that upon the loſs of a Battle, he might become a Priſoner; but he never imagin'd, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his Life; not that he believ'd they could be reſtrain'd from that Impious Act, by any remorſe of Conſcience, or that they had not wickedneſs enough to deſign and execute it: but he believ'd it againſt their Intereſt; and would often, in diſcourſe, ſay, " of what moment the preſervation of his Life was to " the Rebels; and how much they were concern'd to preſerve it, in regard, " that if he Himſelf were dead, the Parliament ſtood diſſolv'd; ſo that there " would be an end of their Government: which, though it were true in Law, would have little ſhaken their Power, of which they were too long poſſeſſed to part with it eaſily.

This was a ſpeculation of that Nature, that no body had reaſon to endeavour to change the King's opinion in that particular; and his Majeſty thought of nothing ſo much as haſtning the Princes Journey; and to that purpoſe, commanded thoſe who were appointed to attend him to be ready by a ſhort day, reſolving that his Highneſs ſhould make his Journey directly to *Briſtol*, and continue his

reſidence there, till ſome emergent alteration ſhould make his remove from thence neceſſary. For whatever diſcourſe was made of raiſing an Army in the Weſt, the King had no purpoſe to put the Prince into the head of any ſuch Army; and though *Goring* had prevail'd to be ſent, with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and ſome Foot, into *Hampſhire*, upon pretence of ſecuring the Weſt from *Waller*'s Incurſion, and upon ſome other deſign; yet the King had not the leaſt purpoſe, that he ſhould be where the Prince was; though he was not himſelf without that deſign at that preſent, as ſhall be made out anon, meaning by that device to withdraw himſelf from the command of Prince *Rupert*, which the King did not apprehend. But his Majeſty having no more in his purpoſe than is ſaid before, he ſent the Lord *Hopton* to *Briſtol* to provide a Houſe for his Highneſs, and to put that City into as good a poſture of Security for the Prince's reſidence, as was neceſſary; nor was there any other Strength deſign'd to attend about his Highneſs's Perſon, than one Regiment of Horſe, and one Regiment of Foot, for his Guards, both to be under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; who was likewiſe to raiſe them upon his own Credit and Intereſt; there being, at that time, not one Man raiſed of Horſe or Foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they ſhould be raiſed; nor, indeed, for the ſupport of the Prince's Family, or his Perſon. In ſo great ſcarcity, and poverty, was the King himſelf, and his Court at *Oxford*.

There happen'd an Accident at this time, that reconcil'd the minds of many to this Journey of the Prince into the Weſt, and look'd like a good Omen that it would produce good effects; though it prov'd afterwards an occaſion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the King return'd through *Somerſet-ſhire*, after the Defeat of the Earl of *Eſſex* in *Cornwal*, there had been a Petition deliver'd to him, in the Names of the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects of the County of *Somerſet*, in which they deſir'd, "that his "Majeſty would give them leave to Petition the Parliament, that there might be "a Treaty for Peace; and that they might have liberty to wait upon his Majeſty "in Perſon in his march; and that when they came to a nearer diſtance, they "might then go before, and deliver their Petition; and if they ſhould not ob- "tain their ſo juſt Requeſt, they would then aſſiſt his Majeſty to get that by the "Sword, which could be obtain'd no other way. To that purpoſe, they deſir'd leave "to put themſelves in Armes, to attend his Majeſty in the Journey. This Petition, how indigeſted, or impracticable ſoever in the manner, and way propoſed, was contriv'd by ſome Perſons of unqueſtionable Fidelity to the King; who thought, that under this ſpecious Title of Petitioners for Peace, they might draw even that whole Populous County to appear for the King; and therefore the King gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they deſir'd; believing it poſſible, that he might even from thence recruit his Foot; which he moſt deſir'd. But his Majeſty's ſpeedy march, left that deſign to be better weighed and digeſted.

Upon the firſt Fame of the Prince's being to viſit the Weſt, and to keep his Court there, ſome Gentlemen, of the beſt Quality in the Weſt, came to *Oxford*, as entruſted by the reſt to acquaint his Majeſty, "that they had now form'd the "Deſign, they had formerly preſented to him, much better than it was; and "that the four Weſtern Counties, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, had "reſolv'd to enter into an Aſſociation, and be joynt Petitioners to the Parliament "for Peace; and that their Petition ſhould be ſent by very many thouſands of "the moſt ſubſtantial Freeholders of the ſeveral Counties, who ſhould have Mo- "ney enough in their Purſes to defray their Charges, going and returning; and "whoſoever refuſed to joyn in the Petition, ſhould be look'd upon as Enemies to "Peace and their Country, and accordingly treated; ſo that this Addreſs could "not but have great influence upon the Parliament, being under the Style of One "and All; and could not but be look'd upon as ſuch. They deſir'd the King, "that the Prince might be made General of this Aſſociation; in order to which, "they would provide for his ſupport according to his Dignity; and, in the "firſt place, take care for the raiſing a good Guard of Horſe and Foot, for the "ſafety of his Perſon.

Though this deſign, in the Notions thereof, was as unpracticable as the former, yet his Majeſty thought not fit to diſcountenance, and reject it. It was very vehemently preſſed by many Perſons of Quality, in the name of the four Weſtern

Weſtern Counties, and among thoſe who took it moſt to heart, Sir *John Stawel* was the Chief; a Gentleman of one of the largeſt Eſtates, that any Man poſſeſſed in the Weſt, who had, from the beginning of the Parliament, ſhew'd very great Affection to the Perſon of the King, and to the Government that was ſettled, both in Church and State; and from the beginning of the War had engaged both his own Perſon, and his two Sons, in the moſt active part of it, with ſingular Courage; and had render'd himſelf as odious to the Parliament, as any Man of that condition had done. This Gentleman was aſſiſted, and counſell'd by Mr. *Fountain*, a Lawyer of Eminency, who had been impriſon'd, and baniſh'd *London*, for his declar'd Affection to the Crown; and they two had firſt entertain'd and form'd this project in their own thoughts, and then upon the Communication of it with ſome Gentlemen, and more of the Farmers, and Freeholders of the County, found ſuch a general concurrence with them, that they concluded it could not but have good Succeſs, and would bring the Parliament to be glad of Peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once reſolv'd, and believ'd all who objected againſt their undertaking to be averſe from Peace; ſo that the King concluded, that he would ſo far comply with them, as to make the Prince General of their Aſſociation; which he was ſure could do no harm; and they were ſo much delighted with the condeſcenſion, that they promiſed ſpeedily to make Proviſion for the Prince's ſupport, and for the raiſing his Guards of Horſe and Foot; and to that purpoſe made haſt to *Briſtol*, that all things might be ready againſt the Prince came thither.

The Prince of Wales made General of the King's Forces, and of the Weſtern Aſſociation.

Upon theſe reaſons, the Prince had two Commiſſions granted to him; one, to be General of the Aſſociation; and another, to be General of all the King's Forces in *England*. For when the King declar'd his Nephew Prince *Rupert* to be General, in the place of the Earl of *Brentford*, his Highneſs deſir'd, "that there "might be no General in *England* but the Prince of *Wales*, and that he might "receive his Commiſſion from Him; which his Majeſty took well; and ſo that Commiſſion of Generaliſſimo was likewiſe given to the Prince, when in truth it was reſolv'd he ſhould Act no part in either, but remain quiet in *Briſtol*, till the fate of all Armies could be better diſcern'd.

The Indiſpoſition and Melancholy which poſſeſſed the Court at *Oxford*, and all the King's Party, was preſerv'd from deſpair, only by the extraordinary Diſcontents and Animoſities in the Parliament; which kept them from purſuing the advantages they had had by united Counſels. Aſſoon as the Commiſſioners were return'd from *Uxbridge*, and that a Treaty could be now no farther urged, the Independent Party (for ſo they were now contented to be call'd, in oppoſition to the other which was ſtyl'd Presbyterian) appear'd bare-faced, and vigorouſly preſſed on their *Self-denying Ordinance*, that ſo they might proceed towards modelling their new Army, by putting out the old Officers; during the ſuſpenſion whereof, there was no care for providing for the Troops they had, or making recruits, or preparing any of thoſe Proviſions, which would be neceſſary for taking the Field. They were now enter'd into the Month of *March*, which was uſed as a ſtrong Argument by both Parties, the one urging, "from the Seaſon "of the year, the neceſſity of expediting their reſolution for the paſſing the "Ordinance, that the Army might be put into a poſture of marching; the other preſſing, "that ſo great an Alteration ought not to be attempted, when there "was ſo ſhort a time to make it in: That there would be apparent danger, "that the Enemy would find them, without any Army at all fit to take the "Field; and therefore deſir'd, "that all things might ſtand as they were, till "the end of the next Campagne; when, if they ſaw cauſe, they might reſume "this Expedient. The other Party were loud againſt the delay; and ſaid, "that was the way to make the War laſt; for managed as it had been, they "ſhould be found at the end of the next Campagne in the ſame poſture they "were now in; whereas they made no doubt but, if this Ordinance was paſs'd, "they ſhould proceed ſo vigorouſly, that the next Campagne ſhould put an "end to the War.

The Debate continued many days in the Houſe of Commons, with much paſſion, and ſharp reflections upon Things, and Perſons; whilſt the Houſe of Peers look'd on, and attended the reſolution below. Of the Presbyterian Party, which paſſionately oppoſed the Ordinance, the chief were, *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Glin*, *Waller* *Long*, and others, who believ'd their Party much Superior in Number; as the

Independent Party was led by *Nathaniel Fiennes*, *Vane*, *Cromwell*, *Haſlerig*, *Martin*, and others, who ſpoke more and warmer than they that oppoſed them. Of the Houſe of Peers, there was none thought to be of this laſt Party, but the Lord *Say*; all the reſt were ſuppoſed to be of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Party; and ſo, that it was impoſſible that the Ordinance ſhould ever paſs in the Houſe of Peers, though it ſhould be carried by the Commons: But they were in This, as in many other things, diſappointed; for many, who had ſat ſilent, and been thought to have been of one Party, appear'd to be of the other. They who thought they could never be ſecure in any Peace, except the King were firſt at their Mercy, and ſo obliged to accept the conditions they would give him, were willing to change the hand in carrying on the War; and many, who thought the Earl of *Eſſex* behaved himſelf too imperiouſly, were willing to have the Command in one who was more their equal. Many were willing he ſhould be anger'd, and humbled, that Himſelf might be more concern'd to advance a Peace, which he had not been forward enough to do, whilſt he held the Supreme Command.

When the Debate grew ripe, *Saint-John*, *Pierpoint*, *Whitlock*, and *Crew*, who had been thought to be of the Party of the Earl of *Eſſex*, appear'd for paſſing the Ordinance, as the only way to unite their Counſels, and to reſiſt the Common Enemy; ſaying, "they diſcover'd by what they heard abroad, and by "the Spirit that govern'd in the City, that there would be a general diſſatis- "faction in the People, if this Ordinance were not paſſed. Then they fell into a high Admiration of the Earl of *Eſſex*, extolling his great merit, and ſeem'd to fear, "that the War would never be carried on ſo happily, as it had been "under Him; or if it were, that the good ſucceſs muſt be ſtill imputed to his Con- "duct, and Courage, which had form'd their Armies, and taught them to "Fight. By this kind of Oratory, and profeſſing to decline their own inclinations and wiſhes, purely for Peace and Unity, they ſo far prevail'd over thoſe who were ſtill ſurpriſed, and led by ſome Craft, that the Ordinance was paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons, and tranſmitted to the Peers for their Conſent; where no body imagin'd it would ever paſs.

The Self denying Ordinance paſſes the Commons.

After the Battle at *York*, and that the Earl of *Mancheſter* was requir'd to march with his Army againſt the King, upon the defeat of the Earl of *Eſſex* in *Cornwal*, the *Scotiſh* Army march'd Northward, to reduce the little Garriſons remaining in thoſe parts; which was eaſily done. After which they march'd to *New-Caſtle*; which being defended only by the Townſmen, and in no degree fortified for a Siege, was given up to them, after as good a reſiſtance as could be made in ſuch a place, and by ſuch People. So that they having no more to do in thoſe parts, the Parliament thought not fit however to diſmiſs them to return into their own Country, not knowing yet, how far their new modell'd Army would be able to carry on all their deſigns. And therefore the *Scotiſh* Army was again advanced as far as *York*, and was to be applied as there ſhould be occaſion.

An account of the Earl of Mountroſs's *Expedition into* Scotland.

The King had formerly, towards the end of the year forty three, conſider'd how to give ſuch a diſturbance to *Scotland*, as might oblige their Army to ſtay at home to quench a Fire in their own Country; but all the Advance, which had been made towards the execution of that deſign, in the Conferences with the Earl of *Mountroſe* and in the Commitment of Duke *Hamilton*, had been check'd for ſome time, by the King's not being able to give any Troops to the Earl, by the Protection whereof the Loyal Party of that Kingdom might come to his Aſſiſtance, and diſcover their Affection to his Majeſty. Notwithſtanding which, the vigorous Spirit of the Earl of *Mountroſe*, had ſtirr'd him up to make ſome attempt, whether he had any help or no. The Perſon whom that Earl moſt hated, and contemn'd, was the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had then the Chief Government of *Scotland*; and though he was a Man endued with all the faculties of craft and diſſimulation, that were neceſſary to bring great deſigns to effect, and had, in reſpect of his Eſtate and Authority, a very great Intereſt in that Kingdom; yet he had no Martial Qualities, nor the reputation of more Courage, than inſolent and imperious Perſons, whilſt they meet with no oppoſition, are uſed to have

The Earl of *Mountroſe* believ'd that his getting ſafely into *Scotland*, was much more difficult than it would be to raiſe Men enough there to controul the Authority

thority of *Argyle*. There was, at that time, at *Oxford*, the Earl of *Antrim*, remarkable for nothing, but for having Married the Dowager of the great Duke of *Buckingham*, within few years after the death of that Favourite. By the poſſeſſion of Her ample Fortune, he had liv'd in the Court in great expence and ſome luſtre, until his Riot had contracted ſo great a debt, that he was neceſſitated to leave the Kingdom, and to retire to his own Fortune in *Ireland* (which was very fair) together with his Wife; who gave him reputation, being a Lady, beſides her own great extraction and Fortune, as Heireſs to the Houſe of *Rutland*, and Wife and Mother to the Dukes of *Buckingham*, of a very great wit and Spirit; and made the mean parts of her preſent Husband (a handſome Man too) well enough receiv'd in all places: ſo that they had liv'd in *Ireland* in ſplendour, as they might well do, till that Rebellion drove the Lady again from thence, to find a livelyhood out of her own Eſtate in *England*. And upon the Queen's firſt coming to *Oxford*, She likewiſe came thither; where She found great reſpect from all. The Earl of *Antrim*, who was a Man of exceſſive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow underſtanding, was no ſooner without the council and company of his Wife, than he betook himſelf to the Rebels, with an imagination that his Quality and Fortune would give him the ſupreme power over them; which, probably, he never intended to employ to the prejudice of the King, but deſir'd to appear ſo conſiderable, that he might be look'd upon as a greater Man than the Marquis of *Ormond*; which was ſo uneaſy and torturing an Ambition to him, that it led him into ſeveral faults and follies. The Rebels were glad of his preſence, and to have his Name known to be among them, but had no confidence in his abilities to adviſe or command them; but relied much more upon his Brother, *Alexander Macdonnel*, who was faſt to their Party, and in their moſt ſecret Counſels.

The Earl, according to his natural unſteadineſs, did not like his Station there, but, by diſguiſe, got himſelf into the Proteſtant Quarters, and from thence into *England*, and ſo to *Oxford*; where his Wife then was; and made his preſence not unacceptable; the King not having then notice of his having ever been among the *Iriſh* Rebels; but he pretended to have great credit and power in *Ireland* to ſerve the King, and to diſpoſe the *Iriſh* to a Peace, if he ſhould have any countenance from the King; which his Majeſty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the Earl of *Antrim* had his original Extraction in *Scotland*, or the Marquis of *Argyle* His in *Ireland*, muſt be left to the determination of thoſe that are skill'd in the Genealogy of the Family of the *Macdonnels*; to the ſuperiority whereof they both pretend; and the Earl of *Antrim*, to much of thoſe Lands in the Highlands of *Scotland*, which were poſſeſſed by *Argyle*; and the greateſt part of his Eſtate in *Ireland* was in that part of *Ulſter* that lies next *Scotland*, and his Dependents near of the ſame Language, and manner of living with the Highlanders of *Scotland*. The knowledge of this, diſpoſed the Earl of *Mountroſe* to make a great acquaintance with him aſſoon as he came to *Oxford*, and to conſult with him, whether it might not be poſſible to draw a Body of Men out of *Ireland* to be ſuch a foundation for raiſing Forces in *Scotland*, as might advance the Enterpriſe he had ſo long in his heart; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in *Scotland* had very good Affections for the King; and deſir'd nothing more than to free themſelves from the hard ſlavery, they had long endur'd under the Tyranny of *Argyle*. The Paſſage over the Sea in thoſe places, between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, is ſo narrow, that the People often make their Markets in the one and the other, in the ſpace of few hours; and the hardineſs of both People is ſuch, that they have no delight in the ſuperfluity of diet, or cloathing, or the great commodity of Lodging; and were very fit to conſtitute an Army that was not to depend upon any Supplies of Money, or Armes, or Victual, but what they could eaſily provide for themſelves, by the dexterity that is univerſally practiced in thoſe parts.

The Earl of *Antrim*, who was naturally a great Undertaker, and deſired nothing ſo much, as that the King ſhould believe him to be a Man of intereſt and power in *Ireland*, was highly exalted, when he diſcover'd by the Earl of *Mountroſe*, that he was thought to have credit enough in that part of *Ireland*, to perform a Service for the King, which he never before entertain'd a thought of. So that he preſently undertook to the Earl of *Mountroſe*, "that,

" if the King would grant him a Commiſſion, he would raiſe an Army in *Ire-*
" *land*, and tranſport it into *Scotland*: and would himſelf be in the head of it;
" by means whereof he believ'd all the Clan of the *Macdonnels* in the Highlands
" of *Scotland*, might be perſwaded to follow him. When the Earl of *Mountroſe*
had form'd ſuch a reaſonable undertaking, as he believ'd the Earl of *Antrim*
might in truth be able to comply with, he acquainted the Lord *Digby* with it,
who was a friend to all difficult deſigns, and deſired him " to propoſe it to the
" King, and to let his Majeſty know, that he was ſo confident of the Earl of
" *Antrim*'s being able to perform what ſhould be neceſſary (for he would be very
" well content, if he would ſend over a Body but of two thouſand Men into
" *Scotland*, which he well knew he could eaſily do) that he would himſelf be in
" the Highlands to receive them; and to run his fortune with them; if his Ma-
" jeſty would give him leave to gather up ſuch a Number of his Country-men
" about *Oxford*, as would be willing to accompany him; with whom he would
" make his way thither; and that, if no time were loſt in proſecuting this de-
" ſign, he did hope that by the time the *Scotiſh* Army ſhould be ready to take the
" Field, they ſhould receive ſuch an Alarm from their own Country, as ſhould
" hinder their advance.

Upon this Overture, the King conferr'd with the two Earls together; and finding the Earl of *Antrim* forward to undertake the raiſing as many Men as ſhould be deſir'd, if he might have the King's Commiſſion to that purpoſe; and knowing well, that he had, in that part of the Kingdom, Intereſt enough to do it; and the Earl of *Mountroſe* as confidently aſſuring his Majeſty, " that with two thouſand
" Men Landed in the Highlands, he would quickly raiſe an Army, with which he
" could diſquiet that Kingdom; and the deſign being more probable, than any other that could be propoſed to the ſame purpoſe, his Majeſty reſolv'd to encourage it all he could, that is, to give it countenance; for he had neither Money, nor Armes, nor Ammunition, to contribute to it in any degree. The great objection, that appear'd at the firſt entrance into it, was " that though
" the Earl of *Antrim* had power in *Ulſter*, and among the Roman Catholicks, he
" was very odious to the Proteſtants, and obnoxious to the State at *Dublin*, many
" things being diſcover'd againſt him of his correſpondence with the Rebels, which
" were not known when he came into *England*. But that which gave moſt Umbrage (for no body ſuſpected his conjunction with the Rebels) was his declar'd
" Malice to the Lord Lieutenant the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the contempt the Mar-
" quis had of him, who would therefore undervalue any Propoſition ſhould be made
" by him, being a Man of ſo notorious a levity and inconſtancy, that he did not
" uſe to intend the ſame thing long. There could be no truſting him with
" any Commiſſion independent upon the Marquis of *Ormond*, or allowing him
" to do any thing in *Ireland* without the Marquis's Privity, and ſuch a limita-
" tion would by no means be grateful to him. And though the benefit, the King's
" Friends in *Scotland* would receive by the carrying away any Body of Men
" out of *Ulſter*, would be a great leſſening and abatement of the ſtrength of
" the *Iriſh* Rebels, who had the Command over thoſe parts, yet if the Earl
" of *Antrim*, under any Authority from the King, ſhould indiſcreetly behave him-
" ſelf (as no Man who lov'd him beſt, had any confidence in his diſcretion) all
" the reproaches caſt upon his Majeſty, of his countenancing thoſe Rebels, would
" receive the greateſt confirmation imaginable.

The foreſight of theſe difficulties gave life to an Intrigue in the Court, which for ſome time had not ſucceeded. *Daniel O Neile* (who was in ſubtlety and underſtanding much ſuperior to the whole Nation of the old *Iriſh*) had long labour'd to be of the Bed-Chamber to the King. He was very well known to the Court, having ſpent many years between that and the Low Countries, the Winter Seaſon in the one, and the Summer always in the Army in the other; as good an Education towards advancement in the World, as that Age knew. He had a fair Reputation in both Climates, having a competent Fortune of his own, to ſupport himſelf without dependence, and a natural Inſinuation, and Addreſs, which made him acceptable in the beſt Company. He was a great obſerver, and diſcerner of Mens Natures and Humours, and was very dexterous in complyance where he found it uſeful. Aſſoon as the Troubles begun in *Scotland*, he had, with the firſt, the Command of a Troop of Horſe; to which he was by all Men held very equal; having had good experience in the moſt active Armies of that time,

time, and a Courage very notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to eaſe and luxury, his induſtry was indefatigable, when his Honour required it, or his particular Intereſt, which he was never without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it neceſſary or convenient.

In the ſecond Troubles in *Scotland*, he had a greater Command, and ſome part in moſt of the Intrigues of the Court, and was in great confidence with thoſe who moſt deſign'd the deſtruction of the Earl of *Strafford*; againſt whom he had contracted ſome prejudice in the behalf of his Nation; yet when the Parliament grew too imperious, he enter'd very frankly into thoſe new deſigns, which were contrived at Court, with leſs circumſpection than both the Seaſon, and the weight of the Affair required. And in this Combination, in which Men were moſt concern'd for themſelves, and to receive good recompence for the Adventures they made, he had either been promis'd, or at leaſt encourag'd by the Queen to hope to be made Groom of the Bed-chamber, when a vacancy ſhould happen. When the Civil War begun, he being then in the Low Countries, having made an eſcape out of the Tower, where he ſtood committed by the Parliament upon a Charge of High Treaſon, choſe rather to be Lieutenant Colonel of Horſe to Prince *Rupert*, than the Name of a greater Officer, which he might well have pretended to; preſuming that, by his dexterity, he ſhould have ſuch an Intereſt in that young Prince, as might make his relation to him Superior to thoſe who had greater Titles. He had the misfortune, at the firſt coming of the Prince, to have credit with him to make ſome impreſſions and prejudices, which he would have been glad afterwards to have removed, when he ſaw others had credit likewiſe to build upon thoſe Foundations, which he hoped to have had the ſole Authority to have ſuperviſed, and directed. When he ſaw ſome of his Fraternity promoted to Offices and Honours, who had not ventur'd, or ſuffer'd more than He (for if he had not made his eſcape out of the Tower very dextrouſly, in a Ladies dreſs, he had been in manifeſt danger of his Life) and whoſe pretences were not better founded, than upon the promiſes made at the ſame time, when he had promiſed himſelf to be of the Bed Chamber, he now preſſed likewiſe to be admitted into that attendance; and the Queen had been very ſollicitous with the King on his behalf, being conſcious to her ſelf, that he had been encouraged by Her to hope it. But the King could by no means be prevailed with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice againſt him with reference to the Earl of *Strafford*, or upon ſome other reaſon, which could not be removed by all his Friends, or by the Queen her ſelf; who therefore bid him expect a better conjuncture. This, *O Neile* took very heavily; and the more, becauſe his condition in the Army was leſs pleaſant to him, by Prince *Rupert*'s withdrawing his Graces from him.

The deſign of the Earls of *Mountroſe* and *Antrim*, which was yet wholely managed with the King by the Lord *Digby*, who was likewiſe of intimate Friendſhip with *O Neile*, gave him opportunity to ſet this pretence again on foot. It was generally known that *O Neile*, whether by Alliance, or Friendſhip, or long acquaintance, had more power with the Earl of *Antrim* than any Man; and that by the aſcendant he had in his underſtanding, and the dexterity of his Nature, in which he was Superior to moſt Men, he could perſwade him very much; and it was as notorious, that the Marquis of *Ormond* lov'd *O Neile* very well, and had much eſteem for him. Upon this ground the Lord *Digby* told the King, "that "he had thought of an expedient, which he did believe might relieve him in the "perplexities he ſuſtain'd concerning the Conduct of the Earl of *Antrim*; and then propoſed, "the ſending *O Neile* with him; who ſhould firſt diſſwade him "from affecting to have any Commiſſion Himſelf to Act in *Ireland*; and then "incline him to depend upon the Aſſiſtance and Authority of the Marquis of "*Ormond*; who ſhould be required by the King to contribute all he could, for "the making thoſe Levies of Men, and for impreſſing of Ships, and other Veſſels "for their Tranſportation into the Highlands; and then, that he ſhould go over "himſelf with the Earl, and ſtay with him during his abode in *Dublin*; by "which he might begin, and preſerve a good Intelligence between Him and the "Marquis of *Ormond*; and diſpoſe the Marquis of *Ormond* to gratify him, in "all things that might concern ſo important a Service; which, beſides the Letters he ſhould carry with him from the King, his own credit with the Marquis, and his ſingular Addreſs, would eaſily bring to paſs.

This Propoſition was very agreeable to the King, who knew *O Neile* was equal to this buſineſs; and the Lord *Digby* did not in the leaſt inſinuate any deſign for *O Neile*'s advantage in the Service, which would have diverted the Negotiation: thereupon his Majeſty himſelf ſpoke to him of the whole deſign, the Lord *Digby* deſiring he would do ſo, pretending that he had not communicated any part of it to him, being not ſure of his Majeſty's Approbation. He receiv'd it as a thing he had never thought of; and when the King asked him, " whether he " thought the Earl had intereſt enough in thoſe parts of *Ireland*, to Levy and " Tranſport a Body of Men into the Highlands? he Anſwer'd readily, " that " he knew well, that there were ſo many there, where the Earl's Eſtate lay, " who depended abſolutely upon him, that there would be Men enough ready to " go thither, or do what he required them: and that the Men were hardy and " ſtout for any Service: but the drawing a Body of them together, and Tranſ- " porting them, would require, he doubted, more power than the Earl himſelf " had, or could be Maſter of. He ſaid, there were two Objections in view, and " a third, that he was not willing, for many reaſons, to make. The firſt was " that nothing of that Nature could be done without the Authority and Power of " the Marquis of *Ormond*, which, no doubt, would be applied to any purpoſe " his Majeſty ſhould direct; yet that the Earl of *Antrim* had behav'd himſelf ſo " indiſcreetly towards the Marquis, and ſo unhandſomly diſobliged him, that it " could not but be the ſevereſt Command his Majeſty could lay upon the Mar- " quis, to enter into any kind of conjunction, or converſation with that Earl. " The ſecond was, that, though the Earl's Intereſt could make as many Men as " he deſir'd to enter into any Action of Engagement he would preſcribe, he " much doubted the *Iriſh* Commander in Chief, who had the Military power of " thoſe parts, would hardly permit a Body of thoſe Men, which they reckon'd " their beſt Soldiers to be Tranſported; and thereby their own ſtrength to " be leſſen'd; which was an objection of Weight; and not mention'd before to the King, nor conſider'd by him. He ſaid, " he was unwilling to make ano- " ther objection, which reflected upon a perſon ſo dear to him, and for whom " he would at any time lay down his Life; which was, that he much fear'd the " Earl of *Antrim* had not ſteadineſs of mind enough to go through with ſuch " an undertaking which otherwiſe would be as eaſy as honourable.

The King, well ſatisfied with the Diſcourſe he made, told him, " that he was " not Himſelf without the ſame apprehenſions he had, and knew but one way to " ſecure the buſineſs, if he would undertake the Journey with him, by which all his " fears would be compos'd; His Counſel would govern the Earl in all things, and " his credit with the Marquis of *Ormond*, which ſhould be improv'd by his Ma- " jeſty's recommendation, would prevent any prejudice in him towards the " Earl. The King added, " that the Service it ſelf was of ſo vaſt importance, " that it might preſerve his Crown, and therefore his conducting it without " which he ſaw little hope of Succeſs, would be a matter of great merit, and " could not be unrewarded. *O Neile* ſeem'd wonderfully ſurpris'd with the Pro- poſition, and in ſome diſorder (which he could handſomly put on when he would) ſaid, " that he would never diſobey any Command his Majeſty would poſitively " lay upon him; but that he ſhould look upon it as the greateſt misfortune that " could befall him, to receive ſuch a Command, as would deprive him of attend- " ing upon his Majeſty in the next Campagne, where he was ſure there muſt be " a Battle; from which he had rather loſe his life than be abſent. Then he ſaid, " though the Earl of *Antrim* was his Kinſman, and his Friend, and one who, " he thought, lov'd him better than he did any other Man, yet he was the laſt " Man in *England* with whom he would be willing to joyn in any Enterpriſe; mentioning his Pride, and Levity, and Weakneſs, and many infirmities, which made it appear more requiſite, that a Wiſer Man ſhould have the application of his Intereſt; which he knew muſt be himſelf. The King renew'd his deſire to him, to undertake the Service, as the greateſt he could perform for him; and commanded him to confer with the Lord *Digby* who ſhould inform him of all particulars, and ſhould find the beſt way to make the Earl of *Antrim* to communicate the Affair to him, and to wiſh his Aſſiſtance; which was eaſily brought to paſs; nor was there any thing relating to it that the Lord *Digby* had not before imparted to him; though the King ſuſpected it not.

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The Lord *Digby* had now brought the buſineſs to the ſtate he wiſh'd; and, within two or three days, told the King " how glad the Earl of *Antrim* was, " that he had leave to communicate the matter with *O Neile*; and deſir'd no- " thing more than that his Majeſty would command him to go over with him; " which was an excellent point gained, wherein he had himſelf choſen the Perſon, " who was only fit to be with him, whereas he might have been jealous, if " he had been firſt recommended to him. The Earl had, upon the firſt mention " of him, taken Notice of the Difficulty he might find to draw his Men out of the " *Iriſh* Quarters, by the oppoſition of thoſe who Commanded there in chief; but, he " ſaid, if the King would make *O Neile* go with him, all that difficulty would be " remov'd; for *Owen O Neile* who was Uncle to *Daniel*, was the General of all " the *Iriſh* in *Ulſter*, and incomparably the beſt Soldier, and the Wiſeſt Man that " was among the *Iriſh* Rebels, having long ſerv'd the King of *Spain* in *Flanders* in " very eminent Command; and the Earl ſaid, that he was ſure *Daniel* had that " credit with his Uncle, that he would not refuſe at his requeſt, to connive at " what was neceſſary for the Earl to do, which was all he deſir'd.

The Lord *Digby* left not this circumſtance, which he pretended never to have thought of before, unobſerv'd, to advance the Counſel he had given for employ- ing *O Neile*; whom he took occaſion then to Magnify again; and told the King, " that he had already convinced the Earl of *Antrim*, of the folly of deſiring any " other Commiſſion, than what the Marquis of *Ormond* ſhould find neceſſary to " give him; and how impoſſible it was for him to have any ſucceſs in that deſign, " without the chearful concurrence, and friendſhip of the Marquis: which the " Earl was now brought to confeſs, and ſolemnly promiſed to do all he ſhould be " adviſed, to compaſs it. But after all this, he lamented " *O Neile*'s obſtinate a- " verſion to undertake the Journey, for many reaſons; who, he ſaid, had enga- " ged him, under all the obligations of the Friendſhip that was between them, to " prevail with his Majeſty, that he might not be abſent from his charge in the " Army, in a Seaſon when there muſt be ſo much Action, and when his Majeſty's " Perſon, whom he ſo dearly lov'd, muſt be in ſo great danger; and that he had " told him freely, that he could not honeſtly move his Majeſty to that purpoſe, " whom he knew to be poſſeſſed of the neceſſity of his going into *Ireland* with " the Earl, that he ſhould deſpair of the whole Enterpriſe, which was the " moſt hopeful he had in his View, if he did not chearfully ſubmit to act his part " towards it: but that notwithſtanding all he had ſaid, by which he had ſhut out " all farther importunity towards himſelf, his Majeſty muſt expect to be very much " ſtruggled with; and that *O Neile* would lay himſelf at his feet, and get all his " Friends to joyn with him in a ſupplication for his Majeſty's excuſe; and that " there was no more to be done, but that his Majeſty, with ſome warmth, ſhould " Command him to deſiſt from farther importunity, and to comply with what he " ſhould expect from him; which, he ſaid, he knew would ſilence all farther oppo- " ſition: for that *O Neile* had that entire reſignation to his Majeſty's pleaſure, that " he would rather dye than offend him. Upon which, and to cut off all farther Me- diation, and Interpoſition, the King preſently ſent for him, and graciouſly conjur'd him, with as much paſſion as he could ſhew, " to give over all thoughts of excuſe, " and to provide for his Journey within three or four days.

All things being thus diſpoſed, and the King expecting every day that the Earl and *O Neile* would take their leaves, the Lord *Digby* came to him, and ſaid, " Mr. " *O Neile*, had an humble Suite to his Majeſty at parting; which to him did not " ſeem unreaſonable, and therefore he hoped his Majeſty would raiſe the Spirits of " the poor Man, ſince he did believe in his Conſcience, that he deſir'd it more for " the advancement of his Majeſty's Service, than to ſatisfy his own Ambition. He put him in mind of the " long pretence he had to be Groom of his Bed-Cham- " ber, for the which he could not chooſe but ſay, that he had the Queen's promiſe, " at the ſame time when *Piercy* and *Wilmot* had the like for their Honours, which " they had ſince receiv'd the accompliſhment of; That his Majeſty had not yet re- " jected the Suite, but only deferr'd the granting it; not without giving him leave " in due time to hope it: That there could not be ſo proper a Seaſon as this, for " his Majeſty to confer this Grace: That Mr. *O Neile* was without a Rival, and, " in the Eyes of all Men, equal to his pretence; and ſo no Man could be offended " at the Succeſs: That he was now upon an employment of great Truſt, choſen " by his Majeſty as the only Perſon who could bring an Enterpriſe of that vaſt ex-

" pectation to a good end, by his Conduct and Dexterity: That it muſt be a " Journey of great expence, beſides the hazard of it; yet he ask'd no Money, " becauſe he knew there was none to be had; he begged only, that he might de- " part with ſuch a Character, and Teſtimony of his Majeſty's favour and good " opinion, that he might be thereby the better qualified to perform the truſt " that was repoſed in him: That the conferring this Honour upon him, at this " time, would encreaſe the Credit he had with the Earl of *Antrim*, at leaſt " confirm his unconſtant Nature, in an abſolute confidence in him: It would " make him more conſiderable to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Council there, " with whom he might have occaſion often to confer about his Majeſty's Ser- " vice; but above all, it would give him that Authority over his Country-men, " and would be ſuch an obligation upon the whole *Iriſh* Nation (there having " never yet been any *Iriſh*-man admitted to a place ſo near the Perſon of the " King) that it might produce unexpected effects, and could not fail of diſ- " poſing *Owen O Neile*, the General, to hearken to any thing his Nephew ſhould " ask of him.

How much reaſon ſoever this diſcourſe carried with it, with all the inſinuations a very powerful Speaker could add to it in the delivery, the Lord *Digby* found an averſion, and wearineſs in the King all the time he was ſpeaking; and therefore, as his laſt effort, and with a Countenance as if he thought his Majeſty much in the wrong, he concluded, " that he doubted his Majeſty would too late " repent his averſion in this particular; and that Men ought not to be ſent upon " ſuch Errands, with the ſharp ſenſe of any diſobligation: That if his Majeſty " pleaſed, he might ſettle this Affair in ſuch a manner as *O Neile* might go " away very well pleaſed, and his Majeſty enjoy the greateſt part of his reſolu- " tion: That *O Neile* ſhould not be yet in ſo near an attendance about his Per- " ſon: That the Employment was full of hazard, and would require a great ex- " pence of time: That he was a Man of that Nature, as would not leave his " buſineſs half done, and would be aſhamed to ſee his Majeſty's face, before there " were ſome very conſiderable effect of his Activity and Induſtry; and con- " ſidering what was to be done in *Ireland*, and the poſture of Affairs in *Eng-* " *land*, it might be a very long time before *O Neile* might find himſelf again in " the King's preſence, to enter upon his Office in the Bed-Chamber; and there- fore propoſed, " that the hour he was to leave *Oxford*, he might be ſworn " Groom of the Bed-Chamber; by which he ſhould depart only with a Title, " the effect whereof he ſhould not be poſſeſſed of, before he had very well deſerv'd " it, and return'd again to his Majeſty's preſence; which, poſſibly, might re- " quire more time than the other had to live. This laſt prevail'd more than all the reſt, and the imagination that the other might be well ſatisfied with a place he ſhould never enjoy, made his Majeſty conſent, that, in the laſt Article of time, he ſhould be ſworn before his departure; with which the other was well ſatisfied, making little doubt but that he ſhould be able to diſpatch that part of the buſineſs which was incumbent on him, in ſo ſhort a time, as he might return to his attendance in the Bed-Chamber (where he longed to be) ſooner than the King expected; which fell out accordingly, for he was again with his Majeſty in the Summer following, which was that of forty four.

Whilſt this Intrigue was carrying on for Mr. *O Neile*, there was another, as unacceptable, ſet on foot on the behalf of the Earl of *Antrim*; for whoſe Perſon the King had as little regard or kindneſs, as for any Man of his rank. The Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*, his Wife, was now in *Oxford*, whom the King always heard with favour; his Majeſty retaining a moſt gracious memory of her former Huſband, whom, He thought, ſhe had forgotten too ſoon. This Lady, being of a great Wit and Spirit, when ſhe found that the King now thought her Husband good for ſomewhat, which he had never before done, was reſolv'd he ſhould carry with him ſome teſtimony of the King's eſteem; which, ſhe thought, would be at leaſt ſome juſtification of the Affection ſhe had manifeſted for him. She told the King, " that her Husband was ſo eclipſed in *Ireland*, by the no-counte- " nance his Majeſty had ever ſhew'd towards him, and by his preferring ſome " who were his equals, to degrees and truſts above him, and by raiſing others, " who were in all reſpects much inferior to him to the ſame Title with him, " and to Authority above him, that ſhe believ'd he had not Credit and Intereſt " enough to do the Service he deſir'd to do: That, in that Country, the Lords

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" and Greateſt Men had Reputation over their Tenants and Vaſſals, as they " were known to have Grace from the King; and when they were known to be " without that, they had no more power than to exact their own juſt Services. She lamented " the misfortune of her husband, which ſhe had the more reaſon " to do, becauſe it proceeded from Her; and that, whereas he had reaſon to " have expected that, by his Marriage with her, he might have been advan- " ced in the Court, and in his Majeſty's favour, he had found ſo little benefit " from thence, that he might well believe, as She did, that he ſuffer'd for it: " Otherwiſe, it would not have been poſſible for a Perſon of the Earl of *Antrim*'s " Eſtate, and Intereſt, and ſo well qualified, as ſhe had reaſon to believe him " to be in all reſpects, after the expence of ſo much Money in attendance " upon the Court, to be without any mark or evidence of his Majeſty's fa- " vour; and to return now again in the ſame forlorn Condition into *Ireland*, " would but give his Enemies more encouragement to inſult over him, and " to croſs any deſigns he had to advance his Majeſty's Service. In Concluſion ſhe " deſired, that the King would make her Husband a Marquis; without which, ſhe did as good as declare, that he ſhould not undertake that Employment. Though his Majeſty was neither pleaſed with the matter, nor the manner, he did not diſcern ſo great an inconvenience in the gratifying him, as might weigh down the benefit he expected with reference to *Scotland*; which the Earl of *Mountroſe*, every day, with great earneſtneſs, put him in mind of. Thereupon, he gave Order for a Warrant to make the Earl of *Antrim* a Marquis.

The Earl of Mountroſe *goes privately into* Scotland *and raiſes an Army; and has great ſucceſs.*

So He and *O Neile*, being well pleaſed, begun their Journey for *Ireland*; and at the ſame time the Earl of *Mountroſe* took his leave of the King with ſeveral Gentlemen, as if they meant to make their way together into *Scotland*. But the Earl of *Mountroſe*, after he had continued his Journey two or three days in that Equipage, which he knew could be no ſecret, and that it would draw the Enemies Troops together for the Guard of all Paſſes to meet with him, was found miſſing one Morning by his Company; who, after ſome ſtay and enquiry, return'd back to *Oxford*, whilſt that Noble Perſon, with incredible Addreſs and Fatigue, had not only quitted his Company, and his Servants, but his Horſe alſo, and found a ſafe paſſage, for the moſt part, on foot, through all the Enemies Quarters, till he came to the very Borders; from whence, by the aſſiſtance of Friends whom he truſted, he found himſelf ſecure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet without undertaking any Action, untill the Marquis of *Antrim*, by the Countenance and Aſſiſtance of the Marquis of *Ormond*, did make good ſo much of his undertaking, that he ſent over *Alexander Macdonnel*, a ſtout and an active Officer (whom they call'd by an *Iriſh* appellation *Calkito*) with a Regiment of fifteen hundred Soldiers; who Landed in the Highlands in *Scotland*, at, or near the place that had been agreed on, and where the Earl of *Mountroſe* was ready to receive them; which he did with great joy; and quickly publiſh'd his Commiſſion of being General for the King over all that Kingdom. With this handful of Men brought together with thoſe circumſtances remember'd, he brought in ſo many of his own Country-men to joyn with him, as were ſtrong enough to Arm themſelves at the Charge of their Enemies; whom they firſt Defeated; and every day encreaſed in power, till he Fought, and prevail'd in ſo many ſeveral Battles, that he made himſelf, upon the matter, maſter of the Kingdom; and did all thoſe ſtupendous Acts, which deſervedly are the Subject of a Hiſtory by it ſelf, excellently written in Latin by a Learned Prelate of that Nation. And this preamble to that Hiſtory was not improper for this relation, being made up of many ſecret paſſages known to few; in which the Artifices of Court were very notable, and as myſterious as the Motions in that Sphere uſe to be. There will be hereafter occaſion, before the concluſion of our Hiſtory, to mention that Noble Lord again, and his Zeal for the Crown, before he came to his ſad Cataſtrophe.

The King now found, that, notwithſtanding all the diviſions in the Parliament, and the Factions in the City, there would be an Army ready to march againſt him before he could put himſelf into a poſture ready to receive it; and was therefore the more impatient that the Prince ſhould leave *Oxford*, and begin his Journey to *Briſtol*; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. And ſince the King did at that time, within himſelf (for publickly he was contented that it ſhould be otherwiſe believ'd) reſolve that the Prince ſhould only keep his Court in the Weſt, that they might be ſeparated from each other, without engaging himſelf in any Martial Action, or being ſo much as preſent in any Army,

it had been very happy, and, to discerning Men, seem'd then a thing desirable, if his Majesty had remov'd his Court into the West too, either to *Bristol*, or, which it may be had been better, to *Exeter*. For since *Reading* and *Abingdon* were both possessed by the Parliament, and thereby *Oxford* become the Head Quarter, it was not so fit that the Court should remain there; which, by the multitude of Ladies, and Persons of Quality, who resided there, would not probably endure such an Attack of the Enemy, as the Situation of the place, and the good Fortifications which inclosed it, might very well bear. Nor would the Enemy have sate down before it, till they had done their business in all other places, if they had not presum'd, that the Inhabitants within, would not be willing to submit to any notable distress. If, at this time, a good Garrison had only been left there, and all the Court, and Persons of Quality, remov'd into the West with the Prince, it would probably have been a means speedily to have reduced to the King's Obedience those small Garrisons, which stood out; and the King himself might, by the Spring, have been able to have carried a good recruit of Men to his Army, and might likewise have made *Oxford* the place of Rendezvous, at the time when it should be fit for him to take the Field. But the truth is, not only the Ladies, who were very powerful in such consultations of State, but very few of the rest, of what degree, or Quality soever, who had excellent Accommodations in the Colleges, which they could not have found any where else, would, without extreme murmuring, have been content to have chang'd their Quarters. Besides, the King had that Royal Affection for the University, that he thought it well deserv'd the honour of his own Presence; and always resolv'd, that it should be never so expos'd to the extremity of War, as to fall into those barbarous hands, without making all necessary Conditions for the preservation of so Venerable a place from Rapine, Sacrilege, and destruction.

Thus that consideration of removing the Court from thence, was only secretly enter'd upon, and laid aside, without making it the subject of any Publick Debate: and since the other could not have been effected, it had been well if the whole Council which was assign'd to attend the Prince, had been obliged to have perform'd that Service. But both the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, Men of great Reputation and Authority, excus'd themselves to the King, for not submitting to that his Command, and for desiring to continue still about his person; the one thinking it some diminution to his greatness to be at any distance from his majesty; to whom he had adher'd with that signal Fidelity and Affection, when so many had deserted him; the other being newly Married, and engaged in a Family, which he could not, without great inconveniencies, have left behind him; nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the King difficult in admitting their excuses, having named them rather to obviate some jealousies, which were like to be entertain'd upon the first discourse of sending the Prince into the West, than that he believed they would be willing to be engaged in the Service. However, it was easy to be foreseen, that upon any ill accidents, which were like enough to fall out, they who were still oblig'd to that duty, would not have reputation enough to exact that general submission, and obedience, which ought to be paid to the Commands of the Prince of which there was shortly after too manifest evidence.

Sr John Hotham *and his Son tryed at a Court of war: Both are condemn'd and beheaded.*

There was an Act of Divine Justice about this time executed by those at *Westminster*, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the Affairs of this year; and which ought to have caused very useful reflections to be made by many who were equally engag'd; some of whom afterwards did undergo the same fate. There hath been often mention before of Sir *John Hotham*, who shut the Gates of *Hull* against the King, and refused to give him entrance into that Town, when he came thither attended only by his own Servants, before the beginning of the War; and was, in truth, the immediate cause of the War. It was the more wonderful, that a Person of a full and ample Fortune, who was not disturbed by any Fancies in Religion, had unquestion'd duty to the Crown, and reverence for the Government both of Church and State, should so foolishly expose Himself, and his Family of great Antiquity, to comply with the humours of those Men whose Persons he did not much esteem, and whose designs he perfectly detested. But as his particular Animosity against the Earl of *Strafford*, first engaged him in that Company so his Vanity and Ambition, and the Concessions the King had made to their unreasonable demands, made him concur farther with them than his own judgement disposed him to. He had taken upon him the Government of *Hull*, without any apprehension, or imagination, that it would ever make him accessary to Rebellion; but believ'd,

that,

that, when the King and Parliament ſhould be reconciled, the eminence of that Charge would promote him to ſome of thoſe rewards and honours, which that Party reſolv'd to divide among themſelves. When he found himſelf more dangerouſly and deſperately Embarked than he ever intended to be, he bethought himſelf of all poſſible ways to diſintangle himſelf, and to wind himſelf out of the Labyrinth he was in. His Comportment towards the Lord *Digby*, and *Aſhburnham*, and his Inclinations at that time, have been mention'd before at large; and from that time, the entire confidence the Parliament had in his Son, and the vigilance and jealouſy that he was known to have towards his Father, was that alone that preſerv'd him longer in the Government. Beſides that they had ſo conſtituted the Garriſon, that they knew it could never be in the Father's power to do him hurt. But, after this, when they diſcover'd ſome alteration in the Son's behaviour, and that the Pride and Stubborneſs of his Nature would not ſuffer him to ſubmit to the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*, and that ſuperiority over both his Father and Him, with which the Parliament had inveſted that Lord, and had ſome inkling of ſecret Meſſages between the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, and young *Hotham*, they cauſed both Father and Son to be ſuddainly ſeiſed upon, and ſent up Priſoners to the Parliament; which immediately committed them to the Tower, upon a charge of High Treaſon.

Though there was Evidence enough againſt them, yet they had ſo many Friends in both Houſes of Parliament, and ſome of that Intereſt in the Army, that they were preſerv'd from farther proſecution, and remain'd long Priſoners in the Tower without being brought to any Trial; ſo that they believ'd their Puniſhment to be at the higheſt. But when that Party prevail'd that reſolv'd to new Model the Army, and to make as many examples of their rigour and ſeverity, as might terrify all Men from falling from them, they call'd importunately, that the two *Hotham*'s might be tryed at a Court of War, for their Treachery and Treaſon; and they who had hitherto preſerv'd them, had now loſt their Intereſt; ſo that they were both brought to their Trial, ſome little time before the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, and both condemn'd to loſe their Heads. The principal Charge againſt the Father was, his ſuffering the Lord *Digby* to eſcape; and a Letter was produced, by the Treachery of a Servant, againſt the Son, which he had ſent to the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*. The vile artifices that were uſed both before and after their Trial, were ſo barbarous, and inhuman, as have been rarely practiced among Chriſtians.

The Father was firſt condemn'd to ſuffer upon a day appointed, and the Son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following: The Night before, or the very Morning, that Sir *John Hotham* was to dye, a Reprieve was ſent from the Houſe of Peers to ſuſpend his execution for three days. The Commons were highly incenſed at this preſumption in the Lords; and to prevent the like miſchief for the future, they made an Order "to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, "and other Miniſters of Juſtice, that no Reprieve ſhould be granted, or allow'd "for any Perſon againſt whom the ſentence of Death was pronounced, except "the ſame had paſſed, and had the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; and "that if it paſſed only by the Houſe of Peers, it ſhould be look'd upon as in-"valid and void, and execution ſhould not be thereupon forborne, or ſuſpended. By this accident the Son was brought to his Execution before his Father, upon the day on which he was ſentenced to ſuffer; who dyed with Courage, and reproaching "the ingratitude of the Parliament, and their continuance of the War; concluded, "that, as to them, he was very innocent, and had never been guilty "of Treaſon. The Father was brought to the Scaffold the next day: For the Houſe of Commons, to ſhew their Prerogative over the Lords, ſent an Order to the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he ſhould cauſe him to be Executed that very day, which was two days before the Reprieve granted by the Houſe of Peers was expired. Whether he had yet ſome promiſe from *Peters*, that he ſhould only be ſhew'd to the People, and ſo return'd ſafe again to the Tower, which was then generally reported, and believ'd, or whether he was broken with deſpair (which was more probable) when he ſaw that his Enemies prevail'd ſo far, that he could not be permitted to live thoſe two days which the Peers had granted him, certain it is that the poor Man appear'd ſo diſpirited, that he ſpoke but few words after he came upon the Scaffold, and ſuffer'd his ungodly Confeſſor *Peters*, to tell the People "that he had reveal'd himſelf to him, and confeſs'd his "Offences againſt the Parliament; and ſo he committed his Head to the block

This was the woeful Tragedy of theſe two unhappy Gentlemen; in which there were ſo many circumſtances of an unuſual Nature, that the immediate hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all Men who knew their Natures, Humours, and Tranſactions.

Since the laſt Office of a General, with reference to the King's Quarters, which the Earl of *Eſſex* perform'd before he found it neceſſary to ſurrender his Commiſſion to the Parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, both in reſpect of the Nature of the thing it ſelf, and the Circumſtances with which it was conducted, it being a Letter ſign'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*, and ſent by a Trumpet to Prince *Rupert*, but penn'd by a Committee of Parliament, and peruſed by both Houſes before it was ſign'd by their General; who us'd, in all diſpatches made by Himſelf, to obſerve all decency in the forms. It was a very inſolent Letter, and upon a very inſolent occaſion. The Parliament had, ſome Months before, made an Ordinance againſt giving Quarter to any of the *Iriſh* Nation which ſhould be taken Priſoners, either at Sea or Land; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the King, till long after; though the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Officers under him at Sea, had as often as he met with any *Iriſh* Frigats, or ſuch Freebooters as ſailed under their Commiſſion, taken all the Sea Men who became Priſoners to them of that Nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them over board into the Sea, without diſtinction of their condition, if they were *Iriſh*. In this cruel manner very many poor Men periſhed daily; of which, when it was generally known, the King ſaid nothing, becauſe none of thoſe Perſons were in his Majeſty's Service; and how barbarous ſoever the proceedings were, his Majeſty could not complain of it, without undergoing the reproach of being concern'd on the behalf, and in favour of the Rebels of *Ireland*.

But there had been lately, in ſome Service at Land, ſome Priſoners taken of the King's Troops, and upon pretence that they were *Iriſh*-men, as many as they thought to be of that Nation, were all hanged, to the Number of ten or twelve. Whereupon, Prince *Rupert*, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity, taken an equal Number of the Parliament Soldiers, cauſed Them likewiſe to be hanged upon the next Tree: which the Parliament declared to be an Act of great injuſtice, and cruelty; and appointed the Earl of *Eſſex* to expoſtulate it with Prince *Rupert* very rudely, in the Letter they had caus'd to be penn'd for him, and to ſend a Copy of their Ordinance, encloſed in the ſaid Letter, with expreſſions full of reproach, for his "preſumption in making an Ordinance of Theirs, "the Argument to juſtify an Action of ſo much inhumanity; which was the firſt knowledge the King had of any ſuch Declaration, with reference to the War in *England*; nor had there been, from the beginning of it, any ſuch example made. Prince *Rupert* return'd ſuch an Anſwer as was reaſonable, and with a ſharpneſs equal to the provocation, and ſent it to the Earl of *Eſſex*; who, the day before he receiv'd it, had given up his Commiſſion; but ſent it immediately to the two Houſes, who were exceedingly enraged at it; ſome of them ſaying, "that they "wonder'd it was ſo long on the way, for certainly it had been prepared at "*Uxbridge*.

The Prince of Wales *ſent by the King to reſide at* Briſtol.

It was upon the fourth of *March*, that the Prince parted from the King his Father; and, about a Week after, came to *Briſtol*; where he was now to act a part by Himſelf, as the Affairs ſhould require, or rather where he was to ſit ſtill without acting any thing; the end being, as was ſaid before, only that the King and the Prince might not be expoſed at the ſame time to the ſame danger; without any purpoſe that he ſhould raiſe any more ſtrength than was neceſſary to the ſecurity of his own Perſon; or that indeed he ſhould move farther Weſtward than that City. His Highneſs had not been there above two or three days, when Letters were intercepted that diſcover'd a deſign of *Waller*, who had paſs'd by the Lord *Goring*, and put relief into *Taunton*, and hoped to have ſurpriſed *Briſtol* in his return; whereupon two or three of his Correſpondents fled out of that City, and the reſt were ſo diſpirited with the diſcovery, that they readily conſented to any thing that was propoſed. So the Lord *Hopton* put all things into ſo good a Poſture, that there was no farther Cauſe to apprehend *Waller*; and he himſelf was required to return to *London*, to deliver up his Commiſſion upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*.

Thus ended the year 1644, which ſhall conclude this Book.

The END of the Eighth BOOK.

THE

THE
Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK IX.

Iſ. I. 15.

And when you ſpread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; Yea, when you make many Prayers, I will not hear. Your hands are full of blood.

Iſ. XXVIII. 15.

For we have made lies our refuge, and under falſhood have we hid our ſelves.

Introduction to the Ninth Book and the year 1645.

WE are now entring upon a time, the repreſentation and deſcription whereof, muſt needs be the moſt unpleaſant, and ungrateful to the Reader, in reſpect of the Subject matter of it; which will conſiſt of no leſs weakneſs and folly, on the one ſide, than of malice and wickedneſs, on the other; and the moſt unagreeable and difficult to the Writer, in regard, that he ſhall, probably, pleaſe very few who acted then upon the Stage of buſineſs, but muſt give very ſevere Characters of the Perſons, and ſeverely cenſure the Actions of many who wiſh'd very well, and had not the leaſt thought of diſloyalty or infidelity, as well as of thoſe, who, with the moſt deliberate impiety, proſecuted their deſign to ruin and deſtroy the Crown: A time, in which the whole ſtock of Affection, Loyalty, and Courage, which at firſt alone engaged Men in the Quarrel, ſeem'd to be quite ſpent, and to be ſucceeded by negligence, lazineſs, inadvertency, and dejection of Spirit, contrary to the Natural temper, vivacity, and conſtancy of the Nation: A time, in which they who pretended moſt publick-heartedneſs, and did really wiſh the King all the greatneſs he deſir'd to preſerve for

himſelf, did ſacrifice the publick Peace, and the ſecurity of their Maſter to their own paſſions and appetites, to their ambition, and animoſities againſt each other, without the leaſt deſign of Treachery, or damage towards his Majeſty : A time, in which want of diſcretion, and meer folly, produced as much miſchief, as the moſt bare faced Villany could have done ; in which the King ſuffer'd as much, by the irreſolution, and unſteadineſs of his own Counſels, and by the ill humour, and faction of his Counſellors, by their not foreſeeing what was evident to moſt other Men, and by their jealouſies of what was not like to fall out ; ſometimes by deliberating too long without reſolving, and as often reſolving without any deliebration, and moſt of all, not executing Vigorouſly what was deliberated and reſolv'd, as by the indefatigable induſtry, and the irreſiſtible power and ſtrength of his Enemies.

All theſe things muſt be very particularly enlarged upon and expoſed to the naked View, in the Relation of what fell out in this year, 1645, in which we are engaged, except we will ſwerve from that preciſe Rule of ingenuity, and integrity, we profeſs to obſerve ; and thereby leave the Reader more perplexed, to ſee the moſt prodigious accidents fall out, without diſcerning the no leſs prodigious cauſes which produced them ; which would lead him into as wrong an eſtimate of things, and perſwade him to believe, that an univerſal corruption of the hearts of the whole Nation had brought forth thoſe lamentable effects whereas they proceeded only from the folly and the frowardneſs, from the weakneſs and the wilfulneſs, the pride and the paſſion of particular Perſons, whoſe Memories ought to be charg'd with their own evil Actions, rather than that the Infamy of them ſhould be laid on the Age wherein they liv'd ; which did produce as many Men eminent for their loyalty and incorrupted fidelity to the Crown, as any that had preceded it. Nor is it poſſible to diſcourſe of all theſe particulars, with the clearneſs that is neceſſary to Subject them to Common underſtandings, without opening a door for ſuch reflections upon the King himſelf, as ſhall ſeem to call both his Wiſdom, and his Steadineſs into queſtion, as if he had wanted the one to apprehend and diſcover, and the other to prevent, the Miſchefs which threaten'd him. All which conſiderations might very well diſcourage, and even terrify me from proſecuting this part of the Work, with ſuch a freedom and openneſs, as muſt call many things to memory which are forgotten, or were never ſufficiently underſtood ; and rather perſwade me to ſatisfy my ſelf, with a bare relation of what was done, and with the known event of that miſerable year (which, in truth, produced all that followed in the ſucceeding years) without prying too ſtrictly into the cauſes of thoſe effects, and ſo let them ſeem rather to be the production of Providence, and the inſtances of Divine diſpleaſure, than ſhew how they proceed from the weakneſs and inadvertency of Men, not totally abandon'd by God Almighty to the moſt unruly luſts of their own appetite, and inventions.

But I am too far embarked in this Sea already, and have proceeded with too much ſimplicity and ſincerity with reference to Things, and Perſons, and in the examinations of the grounds, and overſights of Counſels, to be now frighted with the proſpect of thoſe Materials, which muſt be comprehended within the relation of this year's tranſactions. I know my ſelf to be very free from any of thoſe Paſſions which naturally tranſport Men with prejudice towards the Perſons whom they are obliged to mention, and whoſe Actions they are at liberty to cenſure. There is not a Man who acted the worſt part, in this enſuing year, with whom I had ever the leaſt difference, or Perſonal unkindneſs, or towards whom I had not much inclination of kindneſs, or from whom I did not receive all invitations of farther endearments. There were many who were not free from very great faults, and overſights in the Counſels of this year, with whom I had great Friendſhip, and which I did not diſcontinue upon thoſe unhappy overſights ; nor did flatter them when they were paſt, by excuſing what they had done. I knew moſt of the things my ſelf which I mention, and therefore can anſwer for the Truth of them ; and other moſt important particulars, which were tranſacted in places very diſtant from me, were tranſmitted to me, by the King's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the Enemy, out of his own Memorials, and Journals. And as he was always ſevere to himſelf, in cenſuring his own overſights, ſo he could not but well foreſee, that many of the misfortunes of this enſuing year, would reflect upon ſome want of reſolution in Himſelf, as well as upon the groſs errors, and overſights, to call them no worſe, of thoſe who

who were truſted by him. Wherefore as I firſt undertook this difficult work with His approbation, and by His encouragement, and for His vindication, ſo I enter upon this part of it, principally, that the world may ſee, (at leaſt if there be ever a fit ſeaſon for ſuch a Communication; which is not like to be in this preſent Age) how difficult it was for a Prince, ſo unworthily reduced to thoſe ſtreights his Majeſty was in, to find Miniſters, and Inſtruments, equal to the great Work that was to be done; and how unlikely it was for him to have better ſucceſs under their conduct whom it was then very proper for him to truſt with it; and then, without my being over ſollicitous to abſolve him from thoſe miſtakes, and weakneſſes, to which he was in truth ſometimes liable, he will be found not only a Prince of admirable Virtue, and Piety, but of great parts of Knowledge and Judgement; and that the moſt ſignal of his Misfortunes proceeded chiefly from the modeſty of his Nature, which kept him from truſting himſelf enough, and made him believe, that others diſcern'd better, who were much inferior to him in thoſe faculties; and ſo to depart often from his own reaſon, to follow the opinions of more unskilful Men, whoſe affections he believ'd to be unqueſtionable to his Service. And ſo we proceed in our relation of matter of *Fact*.

What expectation ſoever there was, that the *Self-denying Ordinance*, after it had, upon ſo long deliberation, paſſed the Houſe of Commons, would have been rejected and caſt out by the Peers; whereby the Earl of *Eſſex* would ſtill have remain'd General; it did not take up ſo long Debate there. The Marquis of *Argyle* was now come from *Scotland*, and ſate with the Commiſſioners of that Kingdom, over whom he had a great aſcendant. He was, in matters of Religion, and in relation to the Church, purely Presbyterian; but in matters of State, and with reference to the War, perfectly Independent. He abhorr'd all thoughts of Peace, and that the King ſhould ever more have the Government, towards whoſe Perſon, notwithſtanding the infinite obligations he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a faſt Friendſhip with Sir *Harry Vane*, during his late being in *Scotland*; and they both liked each others Principles in Government. From the time of his coming to the Town, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners were leſs vehement in obſtructing the *Ordinance*, or the new modelling the Army: ſo that after it came to the Houſe of Peers, though thereby the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Denbigh*, (whoſe power and authority, that is, the power, credit, and authority, of the three firſt named, had abſolutely govern'd and ſway'd that Houſe from the beginning) were to be diſpoſſeſſed of their Commands, and no Peer of *England* capable of any employment either martial, or Civil; yet the *Ordinance* found little Oppoſition, and the old Argument, "that the Houſe of Commons thought it neceſſary, and that "it would be of miſchievous Conſequence to diſſent from the Houſe of Commons, ſo far prevailed, that it paſſed the Houſe of Peers likewiſe; and there remain'd nothing to be done, but the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Surrender of his Commiſſion into the hands of the Parliament, from whom he had receiv'd it; which was thought neceſſary to be done with the ſame formality in which he had been inveſted with it. *Fairfax* was now nam'd, and declar'd General, though the Earl of *Eſſex* made not haſt to ſurrender his Commiſſion; ſo that ſome Men imagin'd, that he would yet have conteſted it: but he was not for ſuch enterpriſes, and did really believe that the Parliament would again have need of him, and his delay was only to be well adviſed, in all the circumſtances of the formality. In the end it was agreed, that, at a conference of both Houſes in the Painted-Chamber, he ſhould deliver his Commiſſion; which he did. And becauſe he had no very plauſible faculty in expreſſing himſelf, he choſe to do it in Writing; which he deliver'd to them; wherein he declar'd, "with what Affection and Fidelity he had ſerv'd them, and "as he had often ventur'd his Life for them, ſo he would willingly have loſt it in "their Service; and ſince they believ'd, that what they had more to do would be "better perform'd by another Man, he ſubmitted to their judgement, and reſtored "their Commiſſion to them; hoping they would find an abler Servant: concluding with ſome expreſſions which made it manifeſt that he did not think he had been well uſed, or that they would be the better for the change: and ſo left them, and return'd to his own Houſe; whither both Houſes, the next day, went to attend him, and to return their thanks for the great Service he had done the Kingdom; which they acknowledged with all the Encomiums, and Flattering Attributes they could deviſe.

The Self-denying Ordinance paſſes in the Houſe of Lords.

The Earl of Eſſex *reſigns his Commiſſion:*

And divers other Officers.

By this *Self-denying Ordinance*, together with the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Sir *William Waller*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, Major General *Maſſy*, loſt their Commands; as *Cromwell* ſhould likewiſe have done. But aſſoon as the Ordinance was paſſed, and before the Reſignation of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Party that ſteer'd, had cauſed him to be ſent with a Body of Horſe into the Weſt, to relieve *Taunton*, that he might be abſent at the time when the other Officers deliver'd their Commiſſions; which was quickly obſerv'd; and thereupon Orders were given, to require his preſent attendance in Parliament, and that their new General ſhould ſend ſome other Officer, to attend that Service; which was pretended to be done; and the very day named, by which, it was averr'd that he would be in the Houſe. A Rendezvous was then appointed, for their new General to take a View of their Troops, that he might appoint Officers to ſucceed thoſe who had left their Commands by Virtue of their Ordinance; and likewiſe in Their places who gave up their Commands, and refuſed to ſerve in the new Model, who were a great number of their beſt Commanders. From this Rendezvous, the General ſent to deſire the Parliament, "that they would give Lieutenant General *Cromwell* "leave to ſtay with him for ſome few days, for his better information, without "which, he ſhould not be able to perform what they expected from him. The requeſt ſeeming ſo reaſonable, and being for ſo ſhort a time, little oppoſition was made to it: and ſhortly after, by another Letter, he deſir'd with very much earneſtneſs, "that they would allow *Cromwell* to ſerve for that Campagne. Thus they compaſſed their whole deſign, in being rid of all thoſe whoſe affections they knew were not agreeable to Theirs, and keeping *Cromwell* in Command; who, in the Name of *Fairfax*, Modell'd the Army, and placed ſuch Officers as were well known to Him, and to no body elſe; and abſolutely govern'd the whole Martial Affairs; as was quickly known to all Men; many particulars whereof will be mention'd at large hereafter.

Cromwell *only finds means to keep his Commiſſion, and new Models the Army under* **Fairfax.**

Though the time ſpent in paſſing the *Self-denying Ordinance*, and afterwards in new modelling their Army, had exceedingly retarded the preparations the Enemy was to make, before they could take the Field, whereby the King had more breathing time than he had reaſon to expect; yet all the hopes he had of Recruits againſt that Seaſon, depended upon the Activity of thoſe to whoſe Care the providing thoſe Recruits was committed: ſo that there will be little Occaſion to mention any thing that was done at *Oxford*, till the Seaſon of the year oblig'd his Majeſty to leave that place, and to march with his Army into the Field. Of all the Action that was till that time, the Weſt was the Scene; where the Prince, aſſoon as he came to *Briſtol*, found much more to do (and in which he could not avoid to meddle) than had been foreſeen. One very great end of the Prince's Journey into the Weſt, beſides the other of more importance, which has been named before, was, that by His preſence, direction, and authority, the many Factions and Animoſities between particular Perſons of Quality, and Intereſt in thoſe Parts, equal in their affections to the King's Service (yet they miſerably infeſted and diſtracted it) might be compoſed, and reconcil'd; and that the endeavours of all Men who wiſh'd well, might be united in the advancing and carrying on that publick Service, in which all their joynt happineſs and ſecurity was concern'd. This Province, beſides the Prince's immediate countenance, and interpoſition, required great diligence and dexterity in thoſe about him, who were truſted in thoſe Affairs. But his Highneſs found quickly another task incumbent on him than had been expected, and a Miſchief much more difficult to be maſter'd, and which, if unmaſter'd, muſt inevitably produce much worſe effects, than the other could, which was, the ambition, emulation, and conteſt, between ſeveral Officers of the Army, and Parties, which were then in thoſe Countries, whereby their Troops were without any Diſcipline, and the Country as much expoſed to Rapine and Violence, as it could be under an Enemy, and in an Article of time when a Body of the Enemy was every day expected. That this may be the better underſtood, it will be neceſſary here, in the entrance upon this diſcourſe, to ſet down truly the Eſtate of the Weſtern Counties, at the time when the Prince firſt came to *Briſtol*.

The State of the Weſtern Counties, when the Prince of Wales *came to* Briſtol.

The Lord *Goring* had been ſent by his Majeſty, before the time of the Prince's coming into the Weſt, with ſuch a Party of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, and a Train of Artillery, as he deſir'd into *Hampſhire*, upon a deſign of his own, of making an Incurſion into *Suſſex*; where he pretended "he had correſpondence; "and

" and that very many well affected Perſons promiſed to riſe, and declare for the " King, and that *Kent* would do the ſame. And ſo a Commiſſion was granted to him, of Lieutenant General of *Hampſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Kent*, without the leaſt purpoſe or imagination that he ſhould ever be near the Prince. Some attempts he made, in the beginning, upon *Chriſt-Church*, in *Hampſhire*, a little unfortified Fiſher-Town; yet was beaten off with loſs: So that he was forced to retire to *Salisbury*; where his Horſe committed the ſame horrid outrages, and barbarities, as they had done in *Hampſhire*, without diſtinction of Friends or Foes; ſo that thoſe Parts, which before were well devoted to the King, worried by Oppreſſion, wiſh'd for the acceſs of any Forces to redeem them. Whilſt the Lord *Goring* lay fruitleſsly in thoſe Parts, a Party of Horſe and Dragoons under the Command of *Vandruske* a *German*, paſſed by him without interruption, to the relief of *Taunton*, then block'd up by Colonel *Windham*, and reduced to ſome ſtreights; and accordingly effected it. About the ſame time, Sir *Walter Haſtings* Governour of *Portland*, ſeconded by Sir *Lewis Dives* (who had the Command of *Dorſet-ſhire* as Colonel General) had ſurpriſed *Weymouth*, and poſſeſſed the Forts, and the upper Town, the Rebels having withdrawn themſelves into the lower Town, divided from the other by an Arm of the Sea, and of no conſiderable ſtrength: ſo that the ſpeedy reducing that ſmall place was not look'd upon as a matter of difficulty. However, leſt thoſe Forces which had reliev'd *Taunton*, and were conceiv'd to be much greater than in truth they were, ſhould be able to diſturb the work of *Weymouth*, and for the ſooner expediting the buſineſs there, the Lord *Goring*, now pretending that his Friends in *Suſſex* and *Kent* were not ready for him, was by Order from *Oxford*, upon his own deſire, ſent thither; whereby it was thought, both the work of *Weymouth*, and *Taunton*, would be ſpeedily effected. Thereupon the Lord *Hopton*, whoſe right it was to Command in thoſe Counties as Field-Marſhal of the Weſt, being ſent down by the King to compoſe the diſorders there, upon the relief of *Taunton*, was, by ſpecial Order, recall'd to *Briſtol*, leſt there might be diſpute of Command between Him and the Lord *Goring*; the one being General of the Ordnance, the other General of the Horſe; but the Lord *Hopton* was likewiſe Field-Marſhal of the Weſt, in which the Lord *Goring* had no Commiſſion to Command.

Shortly after the Lord *Goring*'s arrival about *Weymouth*, with his full ſtrength of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, and Artillery, conſiſting of above three thouſand Horſe, and fifteen hundred Foot, beſides what he found in thoſe parts, that place of ſo vaſt Importance, was, by moſt Supine Negligence at beſt, retaken by that contemptible Number of the Enemy, who had been beaten into the lower Town, and who were look'd upon as Priſoners at Mercy. The myſteries of which fatal loſs were never enquir'd into; but with great plainneſs, by the Vote of the Country, imputed to General *Goring*'s natural want of Vigilance; who thereupon retir'd with his whole ſtrength into *Somerſet-ſhire*. His Highneſs, upon his arrival at *Briſtol*, found the Weſt in this Condition; All *Dorſet-ſhire* entirely poſſeſſed by the Rebels, ſave only what Sir *Lewis Dives* could protect by his ſmall Garriſon at *Sherborne*, and the Iſland of *Portland*, which could not provide for its own Subſiſtence: the Garriſon of *Taunton*, with that Party of Horſe and Dragoons which reliev'd it, commanding a very large circuit, and diſturbing other parts in *Somerſet-ſhire*: *Devon-ſhire* intent upon the blocking up of *Plymouth*, at one end, and open to incurſions from *Lyme*, and prejudiced by *Taunton*, at the other end: The King's Garriſons, in all three Counties, being ſtronger in Fortifications (which yet were not finiſh'd in any place, and but begun in ſome) than in Men, or any Proviſions to endure an Enemy: whilſt the Lords *Goring*'s Forces equally infeſted the borders of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, and *Devon*, by unheard of Rapine, without applying themſelves to any Enterprize upon the Rebels. *Cornwal* indeed was entire; but being wholely aſſign'd to the blocking up of *Plymouth*, yielded no ſupply to any other Service, or to the providing its own Garriſons againſt the time that they might be viſited by an Enemy.

Sir *William Waller* and *Cromwell*, march'd together about this time towards the Weſt, and paſſing through *Wilt-ſhire*, had routed, and taken the whole Regiment of Horſe of Colonel *Long*, the High Sheriff of that County, by his great defect of Courage, and Conduct; and ſeem'd to intend an attempt upon General *Goring*; who was ſo much ſtartled with the noiſe, at a great diſtance, that he drew his Forces ſo far Weſt of *Taunton*, that *Vandruske* had an opportunity to retire with that Body of

Horſe and Dragoons with which he had reliev'd *Taunton*, to his fellows; whilſt the King's Forces repoſed themſelves upon the borders of *Devon-ſhire*, the Lord *Goring* himſelf, and moſt of his principal Officers, taking that opportunity to refreſh at *Exeter*, where they ſtay'd three or four days in moſt ſcandalous diſorder, a great part of of his Horſe lying upon free Quarter, and plundering to the Gates of the City; which, in the beginning of the year, was an ill Preſage to that People, what they were to expect. But finding that Sir *William Waller* made not that haſt he apprehended, having borrow'd ſuch Horſe and Foot as he could procure from *Exeter*, he return'd again towards *Taunton*, and gave his Highneſs an account of his Condition.

The Prince, being attended at *Briſtol* by the Commiſſioners of *Somerſet*, found no one thing provided, or one promiſe complied with, which had been made by them at *Oxford*: Of his Guards of Horſe and Foot, which they aſſured him, for the proportion of that County, ſhould be ready againſt his coming, not one Man or Horſe provided: Of the hundred pound a Week, to be allow'd by them towards his Highneſs's ſupport, not one penny ready, nor like to be. So that he was forced to borrow from the Lord *Hopton*'s own private ſtore to buy Bread. And, which was worſe than all this, we found plainly, that, what had been ſo particularly, and poſitively undertaken at *Oxford*, was upon the confidence only of three or four Men, who were govern'd by Sir *John Stawel*, and Mr. *Fountain*, without any concurrence from the reſt of the Commiſſioners of that, or the other three Aſſociated Counties; and that they who had been ſo confident, inſtead of forming and purſuing any deſign for raiſing of Men or Money, were only buſy in making Objections, and preparing Complaints, and purſuing their private Quarrels, and Animoſities againſt others. So they brought, every day, Complaints againſt this and that Governour of Garriſons, for the Riots and Inſolences of the Lord *Goring*'s Soldiers, and, "that thoſe parts of the Country "which were adjacent to *Sherborne*, and *Bridgewater*, were compell'd to work at "thoſe Fortifications; with other particulars, moſt of which, they well knew, in that conjuncture of time, could not be prevented; and ſome of which were in themſelves very neceſſary. Yet the Prince endeavour'd to give them all encouragement; told them, "that he was very ſenſible of all thoſe diſorders, of which they com-"plain'd; and would redreſs them, aſſoon as they ſhould diſcern it to be in his "Power: that the Forces under the Lord *Goring* were an Army by themſelves, "come down into thoſe Parts, before his Highneſs; and ſtay'd then there for "their Protection againſt the power of *Waller* (which was ready to Invade them) "and the Garriſon of *Taunton*, which they confeſſed infeſted their whole Country; "that he was very deſirous that Army might move Eaſtward, aſſoon as they "ſhould put themſelves in ſuch a poſture, as might render them ſecure againſt "their Enemies; wiſh'd them to propoſe any Expedients, how the Fortificati-"ons of the Garriſons might be finiſh'd, without ſome extraordinary help; or to propoſe the moſt convenient one; and he would joyn with them; and deſir'd "them to proceed in their Levies of Men and Money, in the ways agreed on "by themſelves; and they ſhould find all concurrence and aſſiſtance from him. But notwithſtanding all he could ſay or do, nothing was reaſonably propoſed, or admitted by them, for the advancement of the Publick Service.

By this time, towards the end of *March*, Sir *William Waller* having advanced with his Horſe and Dragoons, by *Bath* towards *Briſtol*, in hope, as hath been ſaid before, to have ſurpriſed that City by ſome Treachery within, and being diſappointed there, retired towards *Dorſet-ſhire*, and the edge of *Somerſet*, adjoyning to that County; where *Cromwell* expected him; the Lord *Goring* having, in the mean while, fallen into ſome of *Cromwell*'s Quarters about *Dorcheſter*, and taken ſome Priſoners, and Horſes, and diſorder'd the reſt. Upon a diſpute between themſelves or ſome other Orders, *Cromwell* retir'd to joyn with Sir *Thomas Fairfax* towards *Reading*; Sir *William Waller* ſtay'd in thoſe Parts, to intend the buſineſs of the Weſt, but made no haſt to advance, expecting ſome Supplies of Foot by Sea at *Weymouth*. So that the Lord *Goring* drew back to *Bruton*, and ſent to the Prince to deſire, "that two of his Council might meet him at *Wells* the next day to conſider, "what courſe was beſt to be taken: accordingly the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper*, the next day, met his Lordſhip at *Wells*. Where, after long conſideration of the whole State of the Weſt, and of the great importance of reducing *Taunton*, without which no great matter could be expected from *Somerſet-ſhire*, the Lord

Goring

Goring propoſed, and put the deſign in writing under his own hand, for the whole method and manner of his proceeding. " that he would leave the groſs " of his Horſe, and two hundred Foot mounted, in ſuch convenient place, up- " on the skirts of *Dorſet-ſhire*, and *Wilt-ſhire*, as they might be able to retire " to their Body, if the Enemy advanced powerfully; and that he would him- " ſelf, with all his Foot, and Cannon, and ſuch Horſe as were neceſſary, at- " tempt the taking, or burning of *Taunton*: and to that purpoſe, deſir'd his, Highneſs, " to ſend poſitive Orders to Sir *Richard Greenvil* (who, notwithſtand- ing his Highneſs's commands formerly ſent to him, and ſome Orders from the King himſelf, made not that haſt as might reaſonably be expected) to advance " and to direct the Commiſſioners of *Somerſet* to give their Perſonal attendance " upon that Service; and in the mean time to take care that ſufficient Magazines " of Victual, and Proviſions, were made for the Soldiers: all which was exactly perform'd by his Highneſs, the next Day after he receiv'd the deſires of General *Goring*.

But, within three or four days, and before the deſign upon *Taunton* was ready for Execution, it appear'd by conſtant Intelligence, that *Waller* was advancing with a great Body of Horſe, and Dragoons, and ſome Foot; and therefore the attempt upon *Taunton* was for the preſent to be laid aſide; and the Lord *Goring* very earneſtly deſir'd the Prince to Command Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who was now drawn near to *Taunton*, with eight hundred Horſe, and above two thouſand Foot, beſides Pioneers, with all poſſible ſpeed to march to him, that ſo he might be able to abide the Enemy, if they came upon him; or otherwiſe, to compel them to Fight, if they ſtay'd in thoſe faſt Quarters, where they then were; which was about *Shaftsbury*, *Gillingham*, and thoſe places. The Prince accordingly ſent his Commands poſitively to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, " to advance towards the Lord *Go-* " *ring*, and to obey all ſuch Orders, as he ſhould receive from his Lordſhip. But he as poſitively ſent his Highneſs word, " that his Men would not ſtir a foot; and " that he had promiſed the Commiſſioners of *Devon*, and *Cornwall*, that he would " not advance beyond *Taunton*, till *Taunton* were reduced; but that he made no " queſtion, if he were not diſturbed, ſpeedily to give a good account of that place. In the mean time, the Lord *Goring*, very gallantly and ſucceſsfully, by night, fell upon Sir *William Waller*'s Quarters twice, in leſs than a Week; and kill'd and took ſo good a Number, that it was generally believ'd, Sir *William Wal- ler* was leſſen'd near a thouſand Men by thoſe Rencounters; the Lord *Goring* ſtill declaring, " that he could neither purſue his advantages upon a Party, " nor engage the main of the Rebels, without the addition of *Greenvil*'s Foot; and he, notwithſtaning all Orders as peremptorily refuſing to ſtir, but profeſſing, " that, if he had and addition of ſix hundred Men, he would be in the Town within ſix days.

Whilſt things ſtood thus, Sir *William Waller*, much weaken'd with theſe di- ſaſters, and the time of his Command being near expir'd, drew back Eaſt- ward; and was, by night marches, retired as far as *Salisbury*, before the Lord *Goring* had notice of his Motion. Whereupon his Highneſs, upon conſidera- tion how impoſſible it was to overtake him, which General *Goring* himſelf confeſ- ſed by his Letters, or to engage the Forces under the Command of *Greenvil*, and the other Forces of thoſe parts, in any Action, before the buſineſs of *Taun- ton* ſhould be over (which indeed diſappointed all our hopes both of Men, and Money, in that great County) and on the other ſide, conſidering, if that place were reduced (as Sir *Richard Greenvil* undertook it ſhould be in ſix days, and others, who had view'd it, thought it not a work of time) beſides the Ter- ror it would ſtrike into their Neighbours, there would be an Army of four thouſand Horſe, and five thouſand Foot, ready to be apply'd to any ſervice they ſhould be directed to, and that then the Lord *Goring* might proſecute his Commiſſion in *Suſſex*, and *Kent*, with ſuch a reaſonable Recruit of Foot as ſhould be neceſſary, and yet his Highneſs enabled in a ſhort time, to be in the Head of a very good Army raiſed out of the four Aſſociated Counties, either for the redu- cing the few other places which were Garriſon'd by the Rebels, or to march towards his Majeſty: I ſay, upon theſe conſiderations, the Prince (with the privity and advice of Prince *Rupert*, who was then at *Briſtol*, and preſent at the whole conſultation, and the principal adviſer in it) writ, upon the eleventh of *April*, to the Lord *Goring*, being then about *Wells*, " that his Opinion was,

" that the Horſe and Dragoons under his Lordſhip's Command ſhould advance " from the Quarters where they then were, much to the prejudice of that County, " into *Dorſetſhire*, or *Wiltſhire*, or into both of them; and that the Foot and Cannon ſhould march directly towards *Taunton*, according to the deſign formerly " propoſed by his Lordſhip; and referr'd it to himſelf, whether his Lordſhip " in Perſon would ſtay with the Horſe, or go with the Foot; and deſir'd to " receive his Opinion, and reſolution upon the whole; there being nothing " propoſed to be acted in two days. This Letter was ſent by Colonel *Windham*, the Governour of *Bridgewater*, who came that Day, from before *Taunton*, from Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and could beſt inform him of the ſtrength of the Town, and the condition of Sir *Richard Greenvil*'s Forces.

The next day Colonel *Windham* return'd, with a ſhort ſullen Letter from the Lord *Goring* to the Prince, " that he had, according to his Command, ſent the " Foot and Cannon to *Taunton*; and the Horſe to the other places; and that, " ſince there was nothing for him to do, he was gone to *Bath* to intend his Health: " where he complain'd privately, that his Forces were taken from him at a time " when he meant to purſue *Waller*, and could utterly Defeat him; and much inveigh'd againſt the Prince's Council, for ſending Orders to him ſo prejudicial to the King's Service: whereas it was only an Opinion, and not Orders, grounded upon what himſelf had formerly propoſed, and to which he was deſir'd to return his preſent judgement, being within half a days Journey of the Prince, upon whom he ought to have attended in Perſon, or have ſent his advice to him, if what was then offer'd ſeem'd not convenient. But, after ſome day's frolickly ſpent at *Bath*, he return'd to his former Temper, and waiting on the Prince at *Briſtol*, was contented to be told, " that he had been more apprehenſive of Diſcourteſies than he had " cauſe; and ſo all miſunderſtandings ſeem'd to be fairly made up.

The Lord *Goring*'s Foot and Cannon being thus ſuddainly ſent to *Taunton*, under the Command of Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*; for the better preventing any Miſtakes, and Conteſts about Command, the Prince ſent the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper* to *Taunton*, to ſettle all diſputes that might ariſe, and to diſpoſe the Country to aſſiſt that Work in the beſt manner; which prov'd very fortunate; for the ſame day they came thither, Sir *Richard Greenvil*, having brought his Forces within Muſquet-ſhot, on one ſide of *Taunton*, went himſelf to view *Wellington*-Houſe, five Miles diſtant, in which the Rebels had a Garriſon; and was, out of a Window, ſhot in the Thigh; with which he fell, the wound being then conceiv'd to be Mortal: ſo that there was no Perſon who would pretend to Command; thoſe under *Greenvil*, having no experienced Officer of Reputation equal to that Charge, yet being Superior in number to the other, would not be Commanded by Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*; ſo that if the Lords had not very happily been preſent, it is probable, both thoſe Bodies of Foot, each being too weak for the attempt by it ſelf, would, if not disbanded, at beſt have retired to their former Poſts, and left thoſe of *Taunton* at liberty to have done what they thought beſt. But they being there, and Sir *John Berkley* being in that inſtant come thither to meet them, with an Account of the State of *Devon-ſhire*, they perſwaded him to undertake the preſent Charge of the whole (all the Officers of both Bodies having formerly receiv'd Orders from him) and to proſecute the former deſign upon the Town; all Perſons ſubmitting till the Prince's Pleaſure ſhould be farther known; thoſe Officers under Sir *Richard Greenvil*, preſently ſending away an Expreſs to *Briſtol*, to deſire the Lord *Hopton* to take the Command of them. But his Lordſhip had no mind to enter upon any particular Action with disjoynted Forces, till, upon the withdrawing of the Lord *Goring*, the whole Command might be Executed according to former eſtabliſhment. And ſo a ſpecial direction was ſent to all the Officers, and Soldiers, to obey Sir *John Berkley*, according to what had been formerly ſettled by the Lords. He, in few days, put the buſineſs in very good Order, and by Storm took *Wellington*-Houſe, where *Greenvil* had been hurt. I cannot omit here, that the Lords, coming to viſit *Greenvil*, in the inſtant that he was put into his Litter, and carrying to *Exeter*, told him, what they had thought neceſſary to be done in the point of Command; the which he ſeeming very well to approve, they deſir'd him to call his Officers (moſt of the principal being there preſent) and to Command them to proceed in the work in hand chearfully, under the Command of Sir *John Berkley*; the which he promiſed to do, and immediately ſaid ſomewhat to his Officers, at the ſide of his Litter, which the Lords conceived to be what he had

had promiſed: but it appear'd after, that it was not ſo; and, very probably, was the contrary; for neither Officer, nor Soldier, did his duty after he was gone, during the time Sir *John Berkley* Commanded in that Action.

The Prince, finding the Publick Service in no degree advanced by the Commiſſioners of *Somerſet*, and that though there was no progreſs made in the Aſſociation affected, and undertaken by them, yet it ſerv'd to croſs, and oppoſe all other attempts whatſoever; thoſe who had no mind to do any thing, ſatisfying themſelves with the viſible impoſſibility of that deſign, and yet the other, who had firſt propoſed it, thinking themſelves engaged to conſent to no alteration; and his Highneſs being inform'd by a Gentleman (ſent by him, at his firſt coming to *Briſtol*, to the two fartheſt Weſtern Counties to preſs the execution of whatſoever was promiſed in order to the Aſſociation) "that thoſe two Counties of *Devon* and *Corn-*
"*wal*, were entirely devoted to ſerve the Prince, in what manner ſoever he ſhould
"propoſe; he thought fit, to ſummon the Commiſſioners of all the Aſſociated Counties, to attend upon him in ſome convenient place, where, upon full conſideration, ſuch concluſions might be made, as might beſt advance the work in hand, both for the reduction of *Taunton*, and raiſing a marching Army; which Counſel had been ſooner given, and had in truth been fit to be put in practice upon his firſt coming to *Briſtol*, when he diſcern'd the flatneſs, peremptorineſs, and unactivity of the Gentlemen of *Somerſet*; from whom it was evident nothing was to be expected, till, by the unanimity and ſtrength of the two Weſtern Counties, that County could be driven and compelled to do what was neceſſary, and to recede from their own ſullen and poſitive determinations; which had been eaſy to do, but that ſhortly after his Highneſs came to *Briſtol*, upon what apprehenſions no Man knew, there was great jealouſy at *Oxford* of his going farther Weſt; and thereupon direction given "that he ſhould not remove from *Briſtol*, but upon
"weighty reaſons, and with which his Majeſty was to be firſt acquainted. Whereas, by his inſtructions, "he was to make his reſidence in ſuch a place, as by the
"Council ſhould be thought moſt conducing to his Affairs. However, ſuch a meeting with all the Commiſſioners being demonſtrably neceſſary, and *Briſtol* thought at too great a diſtance from the Weſt, beſides that the Plague begun to break out there very much, for the time of the year, his Highneſs reſolv'd to go to *Bridgewater* for a few days, and to ſummon thither the Commiſſioners, the rather to give ſome countenance to the buſineſs of *Taunton*, then cloſely Beſieged by Sir *John Berkley*; and to that purpoſe, directed his Letters to the ſeveral Commiſſioners to attend him there, on *Wedneſday* the three and twentieth of *April*; the King being then at *Oxford*, preparing for the Field, Prince *Rupert* at *Worceſter*, levying Men, and the Rebels at *London* in ſome diſorder and confuſion about their new Model, having newly removed the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Earl of *Mancheſter*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and Sir *William Waller* from any Command, and Subſtituted Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General; who was, out of the other broken and almoſt diſſolv'd Forces, to mould a new Army which was then in no very hopeful forwardneſs.

The Prince ſummons the Commiſſioners of the four Aſſociated Weſtern Counties to Bridgewater.

Upon the day, the Prince came to *Bridgewater*; and was attended by a great body of the Commiſſioners of *Somerſet*, that place being near the center of that great County; there appear'd for *Dorſet-ſhire*, as ſent from the reſt, Sir *John Strangwaies*, Mr. *Anchetil Grey*, and Mr. *Ryves*; for *Devon-ſhire*, Sr. *Peter Ball*, Sr. *George Parry*, Mr. *Saint Hill*, and Mr. *Muddyford*; and for *Cornwal*, Sr. *Henry Killegrew*, Mr. *Coriton*, Mr. *Scawen*, and Mr. *Roſcorroth*. The whole Body waited on the Prince the next morning; and were then told, "that his coming
"thither was to receive Their Advice, and to give His Aſſiſtance, in what might
"concern the Peace and welfare of each particular County; and might beſt ad-
"vance the General ſervice of the King; that if the Aſſociation which had been
"propos'd, ſeem'd to them, by the accidents and mutations which had happen'd
"ſince the time of that firſt propoſal (as in truth very notable ones had happen'd)
"not fit now to be further proſecuted, he was ready to conſent to any alteration
"they ſhould propoſe, and to joyn with them in any other expedient; and wiſh-
"ed them therefore to confer together, what was beſt to be done; and when
"they were ready to propoſe any thing to him, he would be ready to receive it. After two or three days conſultation amongſt themſelves, they were unanimouſly of opinion (except Sr *John Stawel*, who, againſt all the reſt, and againſt all that could be ſaid to him, continued poſitive for the general riſing of One and All, and for that alone)

" that That deſign was for the preſent to be laid aſide and that inſtead thereof, thoſe " Counties, according to their ſeveral known proportions, would in a very " ſhort time (as I remember a Month was the utmoſt) raiſe and Arme, ſix thou- " ſand Foot, beſides the Prince's Guards, which would be full two thouſand more; " not reckoning thoſe of the Lord *Goring*'s which were fifteen hundred, but " including the Foot of Sir *John Berkley*, and Sir *Richard Greenvil* then before " *Taunton*; which all Men concluded, would be reduced in leſs than a Month. This Propoſition being approv'd by the Prince, all particulars were agreed upon: the ſeveral days for the Rendezvous of the new levies, and the Officers to whom the Men were to be deliver'd, named; and Warrants iſſued out accordingly: all things requiſite for the ſpeedy reduction of *Taunton* order'd, and directed; ſo that towards the taking that place, and the raiſing an Army ſpeedily, all things ſtood ſo fair, that more could not be wiſhed.

As this Journey to *Bridgewater* wrought this good effect, ſo it produced one notable inconvenience, and diſcover'd another. The Prince, having before his coming from *Oxford* been very little converſant with buſineſs, had been perſwaded from his coming out, to ſit frequently, if not conſtantly, in Council, to mark, and conſider the ſtate of Affairs, and to accuſtom himſelf to a habit of ſpeaking, and judging upon what was ſaid; to the which he had with great ingenuity apply'd himſelf; but coming to *Bridgewater*, and having an extraordinary kindneſs for Mrs. *Windham*, who had been his Nurſe, he was not only diverted by her folly, and petulancy, from applying himſelf to the ſerious conſideration of his buſineſs, but accuſtom'd to hear her ſpeak negligently and ſcornfully of the Council; which though at firſt it made no impreſſion in Him of diſreſpect towards them, encouraged other People who heard it, to the like liberty; and from thence grew an irreverence towards them; which reflected upon himſelf, and ſerv'd to bring prejudice to their Counſels throughout the whole courſe. She had many private deſigns of benefit and advantage to her ſelf, and her Children, and the qualifying her Husband to do all Acts of power without controul upon his Neighbours, and labour'd to procure Grants, or Promiſes of Reverſions of Lands from the Prince; and finding that the Prince was not to tranſact any ſuch thing, without the Advice of the Council, and that They were not like to comply in thoſe enterpriſes, ſhe contrived to raiſe jealouſies and diſlikes between them, and kindled ſuch a faction in the Prince's Family, as produced many inconveniencies. For from hence Sir *Charles Berkley*, who had a promiſe to be made Controller of the Prince's Houſehold, and Mr. *Long*, who had the like promiſe to be his Secretary, when he ſhould be created Prince of *Wales* (till which time thoſe Officers were never made) began to think they had injury done them, that they were not preſently of the Prince's Council, to which the places they were to have, gave them Title; though they knew well, that the Lords who then attended upon the Prince were of the King's Privy Council, and in that capacity only, waited upon his Highneſs; and that the other were only of the Prince's own Council, for his Revenue, and for the adminiſtration of the Dutchy of *Cornwal*, for which his Highneſs had now his Livery.

However, theſe Fancies, thus weakly grounded, and entertain'd, made ſuch an impreſſion upon thoſe Perſons, that they united themſelves into a Faction, and prevail'd over the weakneſs of the Earl of *Berk-ſhire* to joyn with them; and, by degrees, all of them joyn'd with all other diſcontented Perſons, to render the Council to be much neglected and undervalued. Laſtly, ſhe being a Woman of no good breeding, and of a Country pride; *Nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, valued her ſelf much upon the Power, and Familiarity, which her Neighbours might ſee ſhe had with the Prince of *Wales*; and therefore, upon all occaſions, in company, and when the Concourſe of the People was greateſt, would uſe great boldneſs towards him; and, which was worſe than all this, ſhe affected in all Companies, where ſhe let her ſelf out to any freedom, a very negligent and diſdainful mention of the Perſon of the King; the knowledge of which humour of hers, was one reaſon that made His Majeſty unwilling his Son ſhould go farther Weſt than *Briſtol*; ſince he knew *Bridgewater* muſt be a Stage in that motion. This her ill diſpoſition was no ſooner known to the Lords, who were all abſolute ſtrangers to her before, than they took care that his Highneſs ſhould make no longer reſidence in that Garriſon.

The

The other inconvenience, that it diſcover'd, was the deſign of the Lord *Goring* to have the Command of the Weſt. For when it grew very apparent, that, whatever had been pretended for *Kent* or *Suſſex*, he had, from the beginning, affected that Charge; and, I fear, had ſome other encouragement for it, than was then avowed. And therefore, from his firſt coming into thoſe Parts, he had with great induſtry careſſed the Commiſſioners of *Somerſet*, and *Devon*, and eſpecially thoſe, whom he thought not well inclin'd to the Lord *Hopton*; whom, by all ill Arts, he endeavour'd to undervalue; inveighing againſt "the "too great Contribution, aſſign'd to the Garriſon of *Briſtol*; and that any "ſhould be allowed to the unneceſſary Garriſon (as he call'd it) at *Lamport*; "which had been lately ſettled by the Lord *Hopton*; and, as appear'd afterwards, was of vaſt importance: thoſe diſcourſes being moſt Popular to the Country, though moſt pernicious to the King: and promiſed "great ſtrictneſs "and ſeverity of Diſcipline, if that Power under the Prince might be devolv'd "to him. To *Bridgewater* he came at the ſame time from *Bath*, upon pretence of "viſiting *Taunton*, and ſeeing whether the work were like to be "ſoon done, that it might be worth the intending it. But, in truth, to drive on his Project for Command with the Commiſſioners; who were invited by Sir *Peter Ball* to make it one of the Propoſitions to the Prince, "that the Lord "*Goring* might be conſtituted his Lieutenant-General; which he himſelf had ſo abſolutely digeſted, that, if the matter it ſelf had been out of queſtion, he propoſed privately to moſt of the Prince's Council, the Rules that ſhould be obſerv'd between them in the Government of the Army, and the Adminiſtration of the Civil part. Some, of no extraordinary kindneſs to *Goring*, wiſhed the agreement made, and Him ſettled in the Command, as the beſt, if not the only Expedient, for advancement of the King's Service, and for the ſpeedy forming an Army worthy of the Prince's own Perſon in the Head of it; apprehending, that the dividing his Forces from the New Levies, would leave a good Body of Foot without an equal Power of Horſe, and without a Train, except a longer time were given for the making it, than the ſtate of Affairs promiſed to permit. But when *Goring* diſcover'd by his diſcourſe with ſeveral of the Council (with whom he communicated upon the Argument very freely, and expreſſed in plain Engliſh, "that except he might be ſatisfied in "the particulars he propoſed, he ſhould have no heart to proceed in the pub-"lick Service) that they would not conſent to any Act that might reflect upon the Lord *Hopton*; and that ſome of them had ſuch a prejudice to his Perſon, that they would make no conjunction with him, he reſolv'd to compaſs his ends ſome other way; and ſo preſſed it no farther in any publick addreſs to the Prince at that time. It is not to be omitted, that he was then offer'd, and aſſur'd, that, "aſſoon as the buſineſs of *Taunton* ſhould be "over, he ſhould have ſuch a Recruit out of the New Levies, as would make "up his own Foot three thouſand Men, beſides Officers; with which he might well proſecute his former deſign; and, in the mean time, he had the abſolute Command; the Lord *Hopton* not at all interpoſing, or meddling with the Army.

It was now concluded by all Men who had well conſider'd his carriage and behaviour from his firſt coming into the Weſt, that, as he had form'd that deſign in his own thoughts from the firſt, of being about the Prince, and reſolv'd never to march with the Army under Prince *Rupert* (whoſe nature was not agreeable to him) ſo that he had purpoſely and willingly ſuffer'd *Vandrusk* to relieve *Taunton*, and even *Weymouth* to be again recover'd by that handful of Men who had been beaten out of it, leſt the buſineſs of the Weſt might be done without him, by other Men; and that his preſence there might not be thought neceſſary. For if *Taunton* had been reduced, as it muſt have been if that ſmall Party had not Reliev'd it even in the laſt Article, he could have had no pretence to have ſtay'd in thoſe Parts, but muſt immediately have purſued his former deſign upon *Suſſex*, and thoſe other Counties, for which he had never any reaſonable foundation; or have continued his march to the King; which he had leſs mind to do. When he firſt left *Oxford*, and went into *Hamp-ſhire*, which was before the end of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, he had, in his jovial Fits, where he was always very unreſerv'd, declared, with great Reſentment, "that his Father was ill treated by the Queen "in *France*, and that he hoped ſhortly to be in ſuch a poſture, that the King

" ſhould find it reaſonable to uſe both his Father and Himſelf better. And yet the King had even then, upon his Suit, made his Father Captain of his Guard of Halberteers, and Created him Earl of *Norwich*, whereby himſelf had the Appellation of Lord, which he enough affected: and in his firſt debauches at *Exeter*, his brother *Porter*, who was Lieutenant General of his Horſe, inform'd ſome Perſons of Honour in confidence, " that *Goring* reſolv'd to make himſelf Lieutenant " General to the Prince, or elſe to be very diſcontented. This Advertiſement was ſent to ſome of the Council, upon his Highneſs's firſt coming to *Briſtol*; and was the firſt hint that ever they receiv'd, that he had affected that Charge; and was not, with the reſt of his behaviour, like to diſpoſe them to wiſh that he might obtain his deſire; but to do all that was in their power to prevent it.

The Commiſſioners of Devon *complain of Sr* Richard Greenvil.

The general buſineſs concerning the four Counties being agreed and ſettled at *Bridgewater*, the Commiſſioners for *Devon*, deſir'd to be heard in what concern'd that particular County; and then inform'd his Highneſs, " that upon Sir *Richard* " *Greenvil*'s firſt entring upon the Work of *Plymouth*, and his aſſurance under his " hand, that he would take the Town before *Chriſtmas* day, and that he would " forthwith Raiſe, Arme, and pay twelve hundred Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, " they had aſſign'd him above one half of their whole Contribution, amounting " to above eleven hundred pounds a Week; and, for providing Armes and Ammunition, had aſſign'd him the Arrears of the Contribution due from thoſe hundreds allotted to him; which amounted to near 6000 l; he having likewiſe the " whole Contribution of *Cornwal*, being above ſeven hundred pound weekly; and " had receiv'd moſt part of the Letter and Subſcription Money of that County, " towards the ſame Service: that he had, from his firſt entring upon the charge, " quietly enjoy'd thoſe Contributions in *Devon*, which were duly paid; and had " receiv'd the greateſt part of the Arrears aſſign'd to him for the Proviſion of " Armes, and Ammunition: Notwithſtanding all which, he had never bought " above twenty Barrels of Powder, or any Armes, but had receiv'd both the " one and the other from Them, out of their Magazines; and had never maintain'd, or raiſed, near half the Number of Men to which he was obliged, till " the Week before he was required to march to *Taunton*; when he had called the " *Poſſe Comitatus*, and out of Them forced almoſt the whole Number of Foot, " which march'd with him thither, bringing them with him, as far as *Exeter*, unarm'd; and there compell'd the Commiſſioners to ſupply him with Armes, and " Ammunition; that having left ſcarce two thouſand Foot, and four hundred " Horſe, before *Plymouth*, he continued ſtill to receive the whole Contribution " formerly aſſign'd when he was to have twelve hundred Horſe, and ſix thouſand " Foot; and would not part with any of it: ſo that he received more out of *Devon-ſhire* for the blocking up of *Plymouth* (having all *Cornwal* to himſelf likewiſe) " than was left for the Garriſons of *Exeter*, *Dartmouth*, *Barnſtable*, and *Tiverton*, " and for the finiſhing thoſe Fortifications, Victualling the Garriſons, providing " Armes and Ammunition; with which they had before not only ſupplied themſelves, but had ſent great quantities to the King's Army to the Lord *Goring*, " and to the Siege of *Taunton*: That he would not ſuffer them to ſend any Warrants to collect the Letter and Subſcription Money; to ſettle the Exciſe, or " meddle with Delinquents Eſtates in the hundreds aſſign'd to him for Contribution; and had thoſe continual conteſts with Sir *John Berkley*, being Colonel " General of the County, and the other Governours of Garriſons; pretending " that He had power to Command them; that there was ſuch an Animoſity " grown between them, that they very much apprehended the danger of thoſe " diviſions; there having been ſome blood ſhed, and Men kill'd, upon their private Conteſts: and therefore beſought his Highneſs, " by his Authority, to " ſettle the limits of their ſeveral juriſdictions, in order to the Martial Affairs; " and likewiſe to order Sir *Richard Greenvil* to receive no more Contribution, " than would ſuffice for the maintenance of thoſe Men, who continued before " *Plymouth*; whereby they could be only enabled to perform Their parts of the " Aſſociation.

This was preſſed with ſo much earneſtneſs, and reaſon, that it was thought very adviſeable for his Highneſs himſelf to go to *Exeter*, where both the Commiſſioners and Sir *Richard Greenvil* were; and there, upon the hearing of all that could be ſaid, to ſettle the whole diſpute. But, at the ſame time, and whilſt that matter was in conſideration, Letters came from his Majeſty to his Highneſs and the Lords, expreſly

expreſly inhibiting his going farther Weſtward; upon what reaſons I cannot imagine; and thereupon the Prince himſelf return'd to *Briſtol* on *Wedneſday* the thirtieth of *April*, having ſtaid at *Bridgewater* only ſeven days; and ſent the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to *Exeter*, with inſtructions " to examine all the Complaints, and allegations of the Commiſſioners, and to " ſettle the buſineſs of the Contribution; and upon view of the ſeveral Commiſ- " ſions of Sir *John Berkly*, and Sir *Richard Greenvil*, ſo to agree the matter of " Juriſdiction, that the publick Service might not be obſtructed.

Upon which the Prince ſends three Commiſſioners of his own to Exeter, *and ſo to return to* Briſtol.

Aſſoon as the Lords appointed by his Highneſs to go to *Exeter*, came thither, they went the ſame hour to Viſit Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who was ſtill bedrid of his hurt. They intended it only as a Viſit, and ſo would not reply, at that time, to many very ſharp, and bitter complaints and invectives he made againſt Sir *John Berkley* (who was then at the Leaguer before *Taunton*) but told him, " that " they would come to him again the next day, and conſider of all buſineſſes. Accordingly they came, when, with great bitterneſs, he again complain'd of the Governour, and ſome diſreſpects from his Lieutenant Governour: but when he was preſſed to particulars, he mention'd principally ſome high and diſdainful Speeches, the moſt of which were denied by the other, and the withholding ſome Priſoners from him, which he had ſent his Marſhal for near *Taunton*. The truth of which, was this; whilſt Sir *Richard* was before *Taunton*, he had ſent for one Mr. *Syms*, a Juſtice of Peace of the County, a rich and decrepit Man, who liv'd within three miles of that Town. He charg'd him with ſome inclinations to the Rebels, and of favouring their proceedings. The Gentleman ſtood upon his juſtification, and innocency, and deſired to be put upon any Trial. However, Sir *Richard* told him, " he was a Traytor, and ſhould redeem himſelf at a thouſand " pound, or elſe he would proceed in another way; and gave him three days to provide the Money. Before the time expired, Sir *Richard* was hurt, and carried to *Exeter*; whither he no ſooner came; but he diſpatch'd his Marſhal to fetch Mr. *Syms* to him; who appeal'd to Sir *John Berkley* (who had then the Command) and deſired to be put upon any Trial; and (beſides that he was of a very infirm body, and unfit for Travel) many Gentlemen of the beſt Quality gave him a very good Teſtimony, and undertook for his Appearance, whenever he ſhould be call'd upon. Upon this, Sir *John Berkley* diſcharged the Marſhal, and writ a very civil Letter to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, of the whole matter; " and that he " would ſee the Gentleman forth coming upon the leaſt warning; but that it " would be an act of great cruelty, to carry him a Priſoner, in that indiſpoſition " of health, from his Houſe. Sir *Richard* look'd upon this as the robbing him of a thouſand pounds, and writ ſuch a letter to Sir *John Berkley*, ſo full of ill Language, and reproach, as I have never ſeen the like Form, and to a Gentleman; and complain'd to us of the Injury. We told him, " that neither He, nor Sir " *John Berkley*, had any Authority to meddle with Mr. *Syms*, or any Perſons of " that Quality; who could not be look'd upon as Priſoners of War; but if in " truth he ſhould prove to be a Delinquent, and guilty of thoſe crimes objected " againſt him, his Fine and Compoſition was due to the King, who had aſſign'd " the ſame to the Prince for the publick Service; and that there were Commiſ- " ſioners, before whom he was regularly to be tried, and with whom he might " only compound. He would not underſtand the reaſon of this, but inſiſted upon " Sir *John Berkley*'s protecting *Syms*, as a great indignity to himſelf, On the other hand, Sir *John Berkley* complain'd by his Letters, " that thoſe Soldiers brought " to *Taunton* by *Greenvil*, every day moulder'd away, and he had reaſon to be- " lieve it was by His direction; for that thoſe that ſtaid, and the Officers, were " very backward in performing their duties; and that, after the taking of *Wel-* " *lington*-Houſe, he had commanded that nothing ſhould be done towards the " defacing it, becauſe it might poſſibly be fit to put a Garriſon into it, if the Siege " ſhould be raiſed from *Taunton*; but that the Officer, who was under *Greenvil*, " had, notwithſtanding ſuch Command, burn'd it: That he proceeded in the levy- " ing Monies, and ſending out extravagant Warrants throughout the County; " and many other particulars.

Sir *Richard Greenvil* denied, " that the Soldiers left the Leaguer, or that *Welling-* " *ton*-Houſe was burn'd, by any direction of His: though it appear'd, that all ſuch Soldiers as left their Colours and came to him, were kindly uſed, and had Money given to them by him; and that Lieutenant Colonel *Robinſon*, after he had

receiv'd Orders from Sir *John Berkley* not to ſlight *Wellington*-Houſe, rode to *Exeter* to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and immediately, upon his return from him, cauſed it to be burnt. *Greenvil* ſaid, " that he levyed no Monies, nor iſſued out any Warrants, but what he had Authority to do by his Commiſſion. In the end they ſhewed him their Inſtructions from the Prince, " throughly to examine all dif- " ferences between them; and, upon view of both their Commiſſions, to agree " what limits each of them ſhould obſerve. Thereupon he ſhew'd them his Commiſſion in Paper, under his Majeſty's Sign Manual, atteſted by the Lord *Digby*, by which he was authorized " to Command the Forces before *Plymouth*; and in order thereunto, with ſuch clauſes of latitude and Power, as he might both raiſe the *poſſe*, and command the Train'd-bands, and indeed the whole Forces of both Counties; and was to receive Orders from his Majeſty, and his Lieutenant General; and was likewiſe at that time High Sheriff of *Devon*. Sir *John Berkley*'s Commiſſion was precedent, and more formal, being under the great Seal of *England*, " of Colonel General of the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, and to command the " whole Forces of both Counties, as well Train'd-bands, as others; ſo that, though their Commiſſions were not in intention all one, yet they included clauſes, and powers, ſo much the ſame, that either of them had Authority enough to diſturb the other; and he that only ſaw his own, might reaſonably think he had power over the other: which, between Perſons ſo diſinclined one to the other as they were grown to be, might have prov'd very fatal, if the remedy had not been ſo near by his Highneſs's Authority.

After the peruſal of their Commiſſions, they ſhew'd him their Inſtructions, concerning the regulating the Contributions, in proportionable aſſignments for the ſeveral Services; and deſir'd his opinion, " what Forces were now neceſſary for the " blocking up of *Plymouth*, ſince any attempt for the taking it was to be laid " aſide, at leaſt for a time? And that thereupon, ſuch aſſignation might be " made to that purpoſe, as was ſufficient, and the reſt otherwiſe diſpoſed of. He told them, " that the Forces then there (being about fifteen hundred Foot " and four hundred Horſe, of the *Devon-ſhire* ſide) were ſufficient; and propoſed allowance little enough for the Service; and then ſaid, " that it troubled " him to be confined to ſuch an employment, as the blocking up a place, " whilſt there was like to be ſo much Action in the Field; and therefore " he hoped, his Highneſs would give him leave to wait on him in the Ar- " my; where he thought he might do him much better Service. They told him, " they had Authority from the Prince (for ſome of his Friends had mention'd the ſame, ſoon after he had received his wound) " if they found his " health able to bear it, and his inclination led him that way, to let him know, " that his Highneſs would be glad of his Service, in the moulding that Army " which was then raiſing; which, allowing two thouſand Foot to the recruiting " the Lord *Goring*. would be in view ſix thouſand Foot, and above two thou- " ſand Horſe with the Guards: in which he had deſign'd Him the Second Place " of Command. But then, they ſaid, " they knew not where to place the Command before *Plymouth*. Sir *Richard* very chearfully receiv'd the Propoſition for himſelf in the Army; and for *Plymouth*, he ſaid, " no Man was fit to undertake " the work There, but Sir *John Berkley*, who had the Command of both Coun- " ties: that it was viſible by the differences and breaches that had been be- " tween Them, how inconvenient it would be to have that Charge independent; " whereas, if it were in one hand, the unanimous conſent of both Counties, and all " the Forces in them, would more eaſily do the buſineſs.

All things being thus agreed upon, as far as they could be without Sir *John Berkley*'s conſent, who was then before *Taunton*; the Lords reſolv'd to return to the Prince, and in their way to diſpoſe Sir *John Berkley* to what had been propoſed; and left the Chancellor of the Exchequer at *Exeter*, to agree with the Commiſſioners, upon the ſettlement of the Contributions, and to ſettle ſome other partilars which they had reſolv'd upon. The whole Contribution of the County of *Devon* amounted to two thouſand pound Weekly; whereof ſo many hundreds were aſſign'd by the Commiſſioners, for the maintenance of the Forces before *Plymouth*, as amounted to the juſt proportion and eſtabliſhment propoſed by Sir *Richard Greenvil* himſelf; and then ſo many to the Garriſons of *Exeter*, *Dartmouth*, *Barnſtable*, and *Tiverton*, as amounted to the payment of ſuch Forces, as, on all hands, were agreed to be abſolutely neceſſary for their defence, at the loweſt eſtabliſhment.

All

All which being done, upon ſuppoſition that the whole Contribution, being two thouſand pound Weekly, would be according to the aſſignments, exactly paid, there remain'd not a penny overplus, for the buying Ammunition and Armes, for the finiſhing Fortifications, for Victualling the Garriſons, or for blocking up of *Lyme*; which if it were not done, all that part of the Country would be liable to that preſſure; and ſo, unable to pay Contribution where it was aſſign'd. But it was ſuppoſed, that the laſt might be done by drawing out ſome Numbers from the ſeveral Garriſons, if there were no diſturbance from abroad; and the reſt muſt be ſupplied out of the Exciſe (the Major part whereof was by the King aſſign'd for the Support of the Princeſs *Henrietta* left at *Exeter*) and ſome other extraordinary ways to be thought of; the Letter Money, and Subſcription Money, being almoſt exhauſted.

The Lord Goring *joyns the King at* Oxford.

His Highneſs was no ſooner return'd to *Briſtol* from *Bridgewater*, which was on the laſt day of *April*, than General *Goring* was ſent for by the King, to draw his Horſe and Dragoons towards *Oxford*; that thereby his Majeſty might free himſelf from *Cromwell*; who, with a very ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons, lay in wait, to interrupt his joyning with Prince *Rupert* about *Worceſter*. How unwelcome ſoever theſe Orders were to the Lord *Goring*, yet there was no remedy but he muſt obey them: and it was now hoped, that the Weſt ſhould be hereafter freed from him, where he was at that time very ungracious. He march'd with that Expedition towards the King, who was then at *Woodſtock*, that he fell upon a Horſe Quarter of *Cromwell*'s, and another Party of *Fairfax*'s Horſe, as they were attempting a paſſage over the River of *Iſis*, ſo proſperouſly (the very Evening before he came to the King) that he broke and defeated them with a great ſlaughter, which gave him great Reputation, and made him exceedingly welcome: and it was indeed a very ſeaſonable Action, to diſcountenance, and break ſuch a Party, in the Infancy of their new model; and did break their preſent meaſures, and made *Fairfax* to appoint a new place of Rendezvous for his new Army, at a greater diſtance from the King's Forces.

Reſolutions taken at Oxford.

Prince *Rupert*, who now met with very little oppoſition in Council, had, throughout the Winter, diſpoſed the King to reſolve "to march Northwards, "and to fall upon the *Scotiſh* Army in *York-ſhire*, before *Fairfax* ſhould be a-"ble to perfect his new model to that degree, as to take the Field. This deſign was not unreaſonable; nor the Prince to blame for deſiring to take revenge on them for what paſſed the laſt year; which, now they were ſeparated from the *Engliſh*, who had indeed defated him, he believ'd was eaſy to be done. That purpoſe of marching Northward was now the more haſten'd, that, in the way, *Cheſter* might be reliev'd; which was cloſely beſieg'd; and then they might come ſoon enough to *Pontefract*-Caſtle, before which the *Scotiſh* Army then was; and if they could defeat that, the King would be again, upon the matter, Maſter of the North: which, by the inſolence of the *Scots*, and the diſlike they had of the new model, was conceiv'd to be better affected than ever. The next day after *Goring* came to the King, the Army was drawn to a Rendezvous, and conſiſted then of five thouſand Foot, and above ſix thouſand Horſe; an Army not to be reaſonably leſſened in the beginning of a Campagne when the King was to expect he ſhould have ſo much to do; and if it had been kept together, it is very probable, that the Summer might have been crown'd with better ſucceſs.

Fairfax was then about *Newbury*, not in readineſs to march; yet reported to be much more unready than he was. It was ſaid, that his deſign was to carry his whole Army to the relief of *Taunton*, brought almoſt to extremity; which if he could bring to paſs, would give him great Reputation, and would make the Parliament near Sharers with the King in the intereſt of the Weſt. Upon this proſpect, it was thought reaſonable, and accordingly propoſed, "that "the King himſelf would march with his Army into the Weſt; and there-"by not only prevent the relief of *Taunton*, but compel *Fairfax* to Fight, be-"fore he ſhould be able to joyn with *Cromwell*; who had not gathered his "Troops together. This was the concurrent advice of the whole Council with which the King uſed to conſult, Prince *Rupert* only excepted, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who Commanded the Northern Horſe; which were impatient to be in their own Country. Now the very contrary Affections towards each other, between Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Goring*, began to co-

operate to one and the ſame end. The Prince found that *Goring*, as a Man of a ready Wit, and an excellent Speaker, was like to have moſt Credit with the King in all debates; and was jealous, that by his Friendſhip with the Lord *Digby*, he would quickly get ſuch an intereſt with his Majeſty, that his own Credit would be much Eclipſed. Hereupon, he did no leſs deſire that *Goring* ſhould return again into the Weſt, than *Goring* did, not to remain where Prince *Rupert* Commanded. This produced a great Confidence and Friendſhip between them, and the Prince told him all that any of the Council had ſpoken freely to him, when his Highneſs abhorr'd nothing more than that *Goring* ſhould be near the Prince of *Wales*; and *Goring* ſaid all of the Council, which he believ'd would moſt irreconcile him to them. So they both agreed to do all they could, to leſſen the Credit and Authority of the Council. The King was deſir'd to receive the Information, and State of the Weſt, from *Goring*; who, upon the late good Fortune he had, and by the Artifices of the Lord *Digby*, was too eaſily believ'd. He inform'd the King with all imaginable confidence, "that if, by the poſitive Com-
"mand of the Prince, contrary to his opinion and advice, his Forces had not been
"taken from him, and applied to the Siege of *Taunton*, he had doubtleſs totally
"ruin'd all *Waller*'s Forces, and prevented the coming of thoſe Parties who had
"given his Majeſty ſo much trouble at *Oxford*: that he had been always uſed,
"upon his reſort to the Prince, with great diſreſpect, being not call'd into the
"Council, but put to an attendance without, amongſt inferior Suiters; and then told many particular paſſages at *Bridgewater*, of which he raiſed advantage to himſelf, upon the prejudice he begot to others.

Whereas the truth of the deſign upon *Taunton* is before ſet down, with all the circumſtances; and *Waller* was march'd beyond *Salisbury*, before the Lord *Goring* knew where he was; and confeſſed, there was no overtaking him; and he had always receiv'd as much reſpect from the Prince, and Council, as could be given to a Subject; being conſtantly call'd, and admitted to Council when he was preſent; and when abſent, opinions and advices ſent to him from the Council, upon ſuch particulars as himſelf propoſed, with a full reference to his diſcretion, to do, upon the place, as he judged moſt meet: yet, I ſay, he got ſo much Credit, that the King, by his Letter of the tenth of *May* to the Prince, directed, "that General *Goring* ſhould be admmitted into all conſultations and
"Debates, and adviſed withal, as if he were one of the eſtabiſh'd Council;
"that Prince *Rupert* having granted him Power, to give Commiſſions in that Ar-
"my, all Commiſſions to be granted ſhould paſs by General *Goring*; and that
"none ſhould be granted by the Prince, in his own Name, otherwiſe than in
"ſuch Caſes as were of relation meerly to the Aſſociation: that the Council
"ſhould contribute their opinions and advices to General *Goring*, but that his
"Highneſs ſhould careſully forbear to give unto the Lord *Goring* any poſitive or
"binding Orders; whereas, by his Inſtructions, when he came from *Oxford*, he was to put both his Commiſſions, of Generaliſſimo, and of General of the Aſſociation, in execution as he found moſt convenient; his Majeſty himſelf then entertaining very little hope of the Aſſociation, as it was propoſed; and therefore, by his Letters to the Prince of the twentieth of *April*, which came to him at *Bridgewater*, all the aſſignations formerly made towards the Aſſociation, were directed to be diſpoſed, and converted to ſuch uſes as by the advice of his Council ſhould be found moſt advantageous to the Service of thoſe Parts; and thereupon the Levies were conſented to, and directed as is before mention'd. With theſe triumphant Orders, the Lord *Goring* return'd into the Weſt; where we ſhall now leave him, and wait upon his Majeſty, in his unfortunate march, untill we find cauſe enough to lament that Counſel, which ſo fatally diſmiſſed *Goring* and his Forces, at a time, in which, if he had been born to Serve his Country, his preſence might have been of great uſe and benefit to the King; which it was never after in any occaſion.

The Lord Goring *ſent back into the Weſt.*

When *Goring* was thus ſeparated from the King's Army, his Majeſty march'd to *Eveſham*; and in his way, drew out his Garriſon from *Cambden*-Houſe; which had brought no other benefit to the Publick, than the enriching the licentious Governour thereof; who exerciſed an illimited Tyranny over the whole Country, and took his leave of it, in wantonly burning the Noble Structure, where he had too long inhabited, and which, not many years before, had coſt above thirty thouſand pounds the building. Within few days after the King left *Eveſham*, it was

ſurpriſed

ſurpriſed by the Enemy, or rather ſtorm'd and taken for want of Men to defend the Works; and the Governour, and all the little Garriſon made Priſoners. The loſs of this place was an ill Omen to the ſucceeding Summer, and, upon the matter, cut off all the intercourſe between *Worceſter*, and *Oxford*; nor was it at all repair'd by the taking of *Hawkeſly*-Houſe in *Worceſter-ſhire*; which the Rebels had fortified, and made ſtrong, and which the King's Army took in two days, and therein the Governour, and one hundred and twenty Priſoners; who ſerv'd to redeem thoſe who were loſt in *Eveſham*. And ſo, by eaſy and ſlow marches the Army proſecuted their way towards *Cheſter*. But, in *Stafford-ſhire*, the Lord *Byron*, who was Governour of *Cheſter*, met the King; and inform'd him, "that the Re- "bels, upon the noiſe of his Majeſty's advance, were drawn off; and ſo there was no more to be done, but to proſecute the Northern deſign; which was now intended, and the Army upon its march accordingly, when Intelligence was brought, "that *Fairfax* had ſent a ſtrong Party to relieve *Taunton*, and was Himſelf, with "his Army, ſate down before *Oxford*. This could not but make ſome alteration, at leaſt a pauſe in the Execution of the former Counſels: and yet *Oxford* was known to be in ſo good a Condition, that the loſs of it could not in any degree be apprehended, and nothing could more reaſonably have been wiſh'd, than that *Fairfax* ſhould be throughly engaged before it: And it was concluded, "that the "beſt way to draw him from thence, would be to fall upon ſome place poſſeſſed "by the Parliament.

Marches of the King's Army towards the North, whilſt Sir Thomas Fairfax *with his, ſate down before* Oxford.

They had no Town ſo conſiderable near the place where the King then was, as *Leiceſter*; in which there was a good Garriſon, under the Command of Sir *Robert Pye*; and Prince *Rupert*, who was always pleaſed with any brisk attempt, chearfully entertain'd the firſt motion, and ſent Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* forthwith to ſurround it (which was of great extent) with his Horſe; and the next day, being the laſt of *May*, the whole Army was drawn about the Town, and the Prince, having taken a view of it, Commanded a Battery to be forthwith raiſed againſt an old high ſtone Wall, on the South ſide of the Town; which, by his own continued preſence, was finiſh'd with admirable diligence: which done, he ſent a Summons to the Governour; who return'd not ſuch an Anſwer as was required. Thereupon, the Battery began to play; and in the ſpace of four hours, made ſuch a Breach, that it was thought Counſelable, the ſame Night to make a general Aſſault with the whole Army, in ſeveral places; but principally at the Breach; which was defended with great Courage, and Reſolution; inſomuch, that the King's Forces were twice repulſed with great loſs, and ſlaughter; and were even ready to draw off in deſpair: when another Party, on the other ſide of the Town, under the Command of Colonel *Page*, ſeconded by a Body of Horſe that came but that day from *Newark*, and, putting themſelves on Foot, advanced, with their Swords and Piſtols, with the other, enter'd the Town; and made way for their Fellows to follow them: ſo that, by the break of day, the Aſſault having continued all the Night, all the King's Army enter'd the Line. Then the Governour, and all the Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of twelve hundred, threw down their Armes, and became Priſoners of War: whilſt the Conquerors purſued their advantage, with the uſual Licence of Rapine, and Plunder, and miſerably ſack'd the whole Town, without any diſtinction of Perſons, or Places; Churches, and Hoſpitals, as well as other Houſes, were made a Prey to the enraged, and greedy Soldier, to the exceeding regret of the King; who well knew, that, how diſaffected ſoever that Town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wiſh'd might be diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt: but thoſe Seaſons admit no difference of Perſons. Though the place was well gotten, becauſe ſo little time had been ſpent in the getting it, yet it was not without very conſiderable loſs on the King's ſide; there being near two hundred Soldiers dead upon the places of Aſſault, with many Officers; Colonel *Saint George*, and others of Name; beſides many more wounded, and maimed. The King preſently made the Lord *Loughborough*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Huntington*, and one who had ſerv'd him eminently from the beginning of the War, Governour of *Leiceſter*; and Sir *Matthew Appleyard*, a Soldier of known Courage and Experience, his Lieutenant Governour.

The King ſtorms, and takes Leiceſter.

The taking of *Leiceſter*, the chief Town of that Province, even as ſoon as he came before it, and in that manner, purely by an Act of great Courage, gave the King's Army great reputation, and made a wonderful impreſſion of terror upon

the hearts of thoſe at *Weſtminſter*; who now revolv'd the conditions, which were offer'd at *Uxbridge*; which they had refuſed. They began to curſe their new model; and to reproach thoſe who had perſwaded them "ſo ingratefully to throw "off their old General, who was ready to foment all their diſcontents. It was "not above twenty days, that the King's Army had been in the Field, and in "that ſhort time, it had reduced two ſtrong Garriſons of Theirs, without giving "the Soldiers any conditions, *Hawkeſly*-Houſe in *Worceſter-ſhire*, and the Town "of *Leiceſter*: whilſt their new General *Fairfax* had only faced *Oxford* at a di-"ſtance, to try whether the Ladies would prevail for the giving up of the Town, "to pacify their fears, and had attempted to take a poor Houſe that lay near, "*Borſtall*-Houſe, and had been beaten from thence with conſiderable loſs, and had "drawn off from both, very little to his Honour. Theſe diſcourſes were ſo pub-lick in the City, and had ſo much Credit in both Houſes of Parliament, that they exceedingly deſired Peace, and exerciſed their thoughts only how they might revive the old Treaty, or ſet a new one on Foot; when the evil Genius of the Kingdom in a moment ſhifted the whole Scene.

Leiceſter was a Poſt, where the King might, with all poſſible Convenience and Honour, have ſate ſtill, till his Army might have been recruited, as well as throughly refreſhed. Colonel *Gerrard* was upon his march towards him from *Wales*, with a Body of three thouſand Horſe and Foot: and he had reaſon to expect, that the Lord *Goring* would be very ſhortly with him with his Horſe; for he was not departed from the King above four or five days, with thoſe Orders which are mention'd before (and with which he was ſo well pleaſed) but that the King ſaw cauſe to repent his ſeparation, and ſent other Orders to recal him as ſoon as was poſſible. But the King's fate, and the natural unſteadineſs, and irreſolution of thoſe about him, hurried him into Counſels very diſagreeable to the poſture he was in. He knew not that *Fairfax* was gone from *Oxford*; and the Intelligence which ſome Men pretended to have receiv'd from thence, was, "that it was in diſtreſs. The Duke of *York* remain'd there; the Council, many Lords and Ladies, who ſent Intelligence to their Friends, and all the Magazines were there; and if all theſe ſhould fall into the Enemies hands, *Leiceſter* would appear a very poor recompence. Theſe particulars being unskilfully, yet warmly preſſed by thoſe who could not be underſtood to mean amiſs, the King reſolv'd to march directly for *Oxford*; and in order thereunto, within five days after the taking of *Leiceſter*, he appointed the Rendezvous for his Army; where he might yet very reaſonably have been diſcouraged from proſecuting that intention; for it then appear'd evidently, how very much it was weaken'd by, and ſince that Action, by the loſs of thoſe who were killed and wounded in the Storm; by the abſence of thoſe who were left behind in the Garriſon; and by the running away of very many with their Plunder, who would in few days have return'd.

The King marches back towards Oxford.

The number of the King's Foot which remain'd, did not amount to above three thouſand five hundred; which was not a Body ſufficient to Fight a Battle for a Crown. Then, all the Northern Horſe, who had promiſed themſelves, and were promiſed by the King, that they ſhould go into their own Country, were ſo diſpleaſed with this new Reſolution, that they were with great difficulty reſtrain'd from Disbanding; and, though they were at laſt prevail'd with to march, were not enough recover'd to be depended upon in any ſuddain Action. Notwithſtanding all this, the march was continu'd; the next day, at *Harborough*, the Intelligence came "that *Fairfax* was drawn off from *Oxford*, "without having ever approached ſo near it, as to diſcharge one Peice of Can-"non upon it; that he had been beaten off from *Borſtal*-Houſe with the loſs "of Officers, as well as Soldiers; and that, he was marched with his whole "Army to *Buckingham*. But this kindled a greater appetite to find him out, than there was before. Indeed there was leſs reaſon to march Northward, ſince they might well apprehend the *Scotiſh* Army in their Face, and *Fairfax* in their Rear. But there was the ſame reaſon ſtill for their retiring back to *Leiceſter*, or to *Worceſter*, where they might expect, and could not fail of an Addition of Forces to the Army; and where the Enemy, who muſt now be oblig'd to find them out, muſt come with many diſadvantages. Theſe Conſiderations were all laid aſide, and every body believ'd, that *Fairfax* his Army was much diſpirited, by having fail'd in their two firſt Enterprizes; and that

Sir Thomas Fairfax *draws off from* Oxford.

it

it was now led out of the way, that it might recover Courage, before it ſhould be brought to Fight with ſo Victorious Troops, as the King's were: and therefore, that it was beſt to find them out, whilſt their fear was yet upon them: all Men concluding that to be true, which their own wiſhes ſuggeſted to them. So the Army marched to *Daventry* in *Northampton-ſhire*: where, for want of knowing where the Enemy was, or what he intended to do, the King remain'd in a quiet poſture the ſpace of five days.

Upon the thirteenth of *June*, the King receiv'd Intelligence, that *Fairfax* was advanced to *Northampton*, with a ſtrong Army; much ſuperior to the Numbers he had formerly been advertiſed of. Whereupon, his Majeſty retir'd the next day to *Harborough*; and meant to have gone back to *Leiceſter*, that he might draw more Foot out of *Newark*, and ſtand upon his defence, till the other Forces which he expected, could come up to him. But, that very Night, an Alarm was brought to *Harborough*, that *Fairfax* himſelf was Quarter'd within ſix Miles. A Council was preſently call'd, the former Reſolution of retiring preſently laid aſide, and a new one as quickly taken, "to Fight; to which there was always an immoderate appetite, when the Enemy was within any diſtance. They would not ſtay to expect his coming, but would go back to meet him. And ſo, in the Morning early, being *Saturday* the fourteenth of *June*, all the Army was drawn up, upon a riſing ground of very great advantage about a Mile South from *Harborough* (which was left at their back) and there put in order to give or receive the Charge. The main Body of the Foot was led by the Lord *Aſtely* (whom the King had lately made a Baron) conſiſting of about two thouſand and five hundred Foot; the right Wing of Horſe, being about two thouſand, was led by Prince *Rupert*; the left Wing, conſiſting of all the Northern Horſe, with thoſe from *Newark*, which did not amount to above ſixteen hundred, was commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; in the Reſerve, were the King's Life-Guard, commanded by the Earl of *Lindſey*, and Prince *Rupert*'s Regiment of Foot (both which did make very little above eight hundred) with the King's Horſe-Guards, Commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stuart* (newly made Earl of *Lichfield*) which made that day above five hundred Horſe.

The Army, thus diſpoſed in good order, made a ſtand on that ground to expect the Enemy, About eight of the Clock in the Morning, it began to be doubted, whether the Intelligence they had receiv'd of the Enemy was true. Upon which the Scoutmaſter was ſent to make farther diſcovery; who, it ſeems went not far enough; but return'd and averr'd, "that he had been three or four Miles "forward, and could neither diſcover, nor, hear any thing of them: preſently, a report was raiſed in the Army, "that the Enemy was retir'd. Prince *Rupert* thereupon drew out a Party of Horſe and Muſqueteers, both to diſcover, and engage them, the Army remaining ſtill in the ſame place, and poſture they had been in. His Highneſs had not march'd above a mile, when he receiv'd certain Intelligence of Their advance, and in a ſhort time after, he ſaw the Van of their Army, but it ſeems not ſo diſtinctly, but that he conceiv'd they were retiring. Whereupon, he advanced nearer with his Horſe, and ſent back, "that the Army ſhould march up to him; and the Meſſenger who brought the Order, ſaid, "that the Prince deſired "they ſhould make haſte. Hereupon the advantage ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the Enemy, as well as might be. By that time they had march'd about a mile and half, the Horſe of the Enemy was diſcern'd to ſtand upon a high ground about *Naſeby*; whence, ſeeing the manner of the King's march, in a full Campagne, they had leiſure and opportunity to place themſelves, with all the Advantages they could deſire. The Prince's natural heat, and impatience, could never endure an Enemy long in his view; nor let him believe that they had the courage to endure his Charge. Thus the Army was engaged before the Cannon was turn'd, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to Fight: ſo that Courage was only to be relied upon, where all Conduct failed ſo much.

The Battle of Naſeby.

It was about ten of the Clock, when the Battle began: The firſt Charge was given by Prince *Rupert*; who, with his own, and his Brother Prince *Maurice*'s Troop, perform'd it with his uſual vigour; and was ſo well ſeconded, that he bore down all before him, and was Maſter of ſix pieces of the Rebels beſt Cannon. The Lord *Aſtley*, with his Foot, though againſt the Hill, advanced upon Their Foot; who diſcharged their Cannon at them, but over-ſhot them, and ſo did their

Muſqueteers too. For the Foot on either ſide hardly ſaw each other till they were within Carabine-ſhot, and ſo only gave one Volley; the King's Foot, according to their uſual cuſtom, falling in with their Swords, and the But-ends of their Muſquets; with which they did very notable execution, and put the Enemy into great diſorder and confuſion. The right Wing of Horſe and Foot being thus fortunately engaged and advanced, the left Wing, under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, in five Bodies, advanced with equal reſolution; and was encounter'd by *Cromwell*, who Commanded the right Wing of the Enemies Horſe, with ſeven Bodies greater, and more numerous than either of the other; and had, beſides the Odds in number, the advantage of the ground; for the King's Horſe were obliged to march up the Hill, before they could Charge them: yet they did their duty, as well as the place, and great inequality of Numbers would enable them to do. But being flanked on both ſides by the Enemies Horſe, and preſſed hard, before they could get to the top of the Hill, they gave back, and fled farther and faſter than became them. Four of the Enemies Bodies, cloſe, and in good order, follow'd them, that they might not rally again; which they never thought of doing; and the reſt Charg'd the King's Foot, who had till then ſo much the advantage over Theirs; whilſt Prince *Rupert*, with the right Wing, purſued thoſe Horſe which he had broken and defeated.

The King's Reſerve of Horſe, which was his own Guards, with himſelf in the head of them, were even ready to Charge thoſe Horſe who purſued his left Wing, when on a ſuddain, ſuch a Pannick fear ſeiſed upon them, that they all run near a quarter of a mile without ſtopping; which happen'd upon an extraordinary accident, that hath ſeldom fallen out, and might well diſturb and diſorder very reſolute Troops, as thoſe were, and the beſt Horſe in the Army. The King, as was ſaid before, was even upon the point of Charging the Enemy, in the head of his Guards, when the Earl of *Carnewarth*, who rode next to him (a Man never ſuſpected for infidelity, nor yet one from whom the King would have receiv'd Counſel in ſuch a caſe) on a ſuddain, laid his hand on the bridle of the King's Horſe, and ſwearing two or three full Mouthed *Scotiſh* Oaths (for of that Nation he was) ſaid, "will you go upon your death in an inſtant? and before his Majeſty underſtood what he would have, turn'd his Horſe round; upon which a word run through the Troops, "that they ſhould *march* to the right hand; which led them both from Charging the Enemy, and aſſiſting their own Men. Upon this they all turn'd their Horſes, and rode upon the Spur, as if they were every Man to ſhift for himſelf.

It is very true that, upon the more Soldierly word *ſtand*, which was ſent after them, many of them return'd to the King; though the former unlucky word carried more from him. By this time, Prince *Rupert* was return'd with a good Body of thoſe Horſe, which had attended him in his proſperous Charge on the right Wing; but they having, as they thought, acted their parts, could never be brought to rally themſelves again in order, or to Charge the Enemy. That difference was obſerv'd all along, in the diſcipline of the King's Troops, and of thoſe which march'd under the Command of *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* (for it was only under Them, and had never been remarkable under *Eſſex*, or *Waller*) that, though the King's Troops prevail'd in the Charge, and routed thoſe they Charg'd, they ſeldom rallied themſelves again in order, nor could be brought to make a ſecond Charge again the ſame day: which was the reaſon, that they had not an entire Victory at *Edge-hill*: whereas the other's Troops, if they prevail'd, or thought they were beaten, and routed, preſently rallied again, and ſtood in good order, till they receiv'd new Orders. All that the King and Prince could do, could not rally their broken Troops, which ſtood in ſufficient Numbers upon the Field, though they often endeavour'd it, with the manifeſt hazard of their own Perſons. So that, in the end, the King was compell'd to quit the Field; and to leave *Fairfax* Maſter of all his Foot, Cannon, and Baggage; amongſt which was his own Cabinet, where his moſt ſecret Papers were, and Letters between the Queen and Him; of which they ſhortly after made that barbarous uſe as was agreeable to their Natures, and publiſh'd them in Print; that is, ſo much of them, as they thought would aſperſe either of their Majeſties, and improve the prejudice they had raiſed againſt them; and conceal'd other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aſperſed them.

I ſhall

I ſhall not ſtay, in this place, to mention the Names of thoſe Noble Perſons who were loſt in this Battle; when the King, and the Kingdom were loſt in it; though there were above one hundred and fifty Officers, and Gentlemen of prime Quality, dead upon the ſpot; whoſe Memories ought to be preſerv'd. The Enemy left no manner of Cruelty unexerciſed that day; and in the purſuit kill'd above one hundred Women, whereof ſome were the Wives of Officers of Quality. The King and Prince *Rupert*, with the broken Troops, march'd by *Leiceſter* that Night to *Aſhby de la Zouch*; and the next day to *Lichfield*; and continued two days march more, till they came to *Bewdley* in *Worceſter-ſhire*; where they reſted one day; and then went to *Hereford*, with ſome disjoynted imagination, that they might, with thoſe Forces under *Gerrard*, who was General of South *Wales*, and was indeed upon his march, with a Body of two thouſand Horſe and Foot, be able to have raiſed a new Army. At *Hereford*, Prince *Rupert*, before any form'd Counſel was agree'd upon, what the King ſhould do next, left the King, and made haſt to *Briſtol*, that he might put that place into a condition to reſiſt a Powerful and Victorious Enemy; which, he had reaſon to believe, would in a ſhort time appear before it. Nothing can be here more wonder'd at, than that the King ſhould amuſe himſelf about forming a new Army in Counties which had been vexed, and worn out with the oppreſſions of his own Troops, and the Licence of thoſe Governours, whom he had put over them; and have not immediately repaired into the Weſt, where he had an Army already form'd, and a People, generally, well devoted to his Service, whither all his broken Troops, and General *Gerrard*, might have tranſported themſelves, before *Fairfax* could have given them any interruption; who had ſomewhat to do, before he could bend his courſe that way: of which unhappy omiſſion we ſhall have too much occaſion to take more notice, after we have again viſited the Weſt.

The King retires by Lichfield *to* Bewdley: *thence to* Hereford.

Thence Prince Rupert *retires to* Briſtol.

The Sickneſs which infeſted *Briſtol*, and which was thought to be the Plague, had made it neceſſary for the Prince of *Wales* to remove from thence: and no place was thought ſo convenient for his reſidence as *Barnſtable*, a pleaſant Town in the North part of *Devon-ſhire*, well Fortified, with a good Garriſon in it, under the Command of Sir *Allen Apſley*. And as his Highneſs was upon his way thither, he receiv'd the Orders which the Lord *Goring*, who was now return'd, had procured from the King; which he carefully tranſmitted to his Highneſs, aſſoon as he arrived. At the ſame time, the Lord *Colepepper* receiv'd another Letter from the Lord *Digby*, dated four days after the former Orders, by which he ſignified "the King's expreſs pleaſure, that the Lord *Goring* ſhould Command "thoſe Forces in Chief; that Sir *Richard Greenvil* ſhould be Major General of "the whole Army; that Sir *John Berkley*, as Colonel General of *Devon* and *Corn-*"*wal*, ſhould intend the work before *Plymouth*; and that Prince *Rupert* would "ſend his Ratification of all theſe; that the Lord *Hopton* ſhould attend his Charge "at the Army, as General of the Artillery. To which purpoſe, his Majeſty with his own hand writ to the Lord *Hopton*; "and that the Prince ſhould not be in the "Army, but keep his reſidence in a ſafe Garriſon; and There, by the advice "of his Council, manage and improve the buſineſs of the Weſt, and provide re-"ſerves, and reinforcements for the Army: with an Intimation, "that Mr. "*Smith*'s Houſe, near *Briſtol*, would be a convenient place for his reſidence.

The Affairs of the Weſt *in the mean time.*

The Prince and Council were much amazed at theſe Orders and Reſolutions, ſo different from thoſe which had been made; and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them, till they might repreſent faithfully to his Majeſty the ſtate and condition of thoſe parts, and their advice thereupon: well knowing, that if it were believ'd in the County, that the Prince's Authority was in the leaſt manner ſuperſeded, or diminiſhed, beſides other inconveniences, the hopeful Levies, upon the agreement at *Bridgewater*, would be in a moment determin'd; the Gentlemen who were to raiſe Regiments, profeſſing, "that they would receive no Commiſ-"ſions but from his Highneſs. But whatever care They us'd to conceal the matters of thoſe Letters, and to haſten away a diſpatch to the King concerning them, the Lord *Goring* took as much care to publiſh them; and from that time expreſſed all poſſible contempt at leaſt of the Council attending the Prince. However, within three days, there was another change; for the Lord *Digby* (ſending at the ſame time expreſs Orders from the King to the Lord *Goring* to that purpoſe) by his Letters to the Lords of the Council, of the nineteenth of *May*, within five days after the former, ſignified "his Majeſty's pleaſure, that the Lord

" *Goring* ſhould march forthwith towards *Northampton-ſhire* with all the Forces " could be ſpared; and that the Prince himſelf ſhould ſtay at *Dunſtar*-Caſtle, and " encourage the new Levies: it being (I preſume) not known at Court, that the Plague, which had driven him from *Briſtol*, was as hot in *Dunſtar* Town, juſt under the Walls of the Caſtle. At the ſame time, a Letter to the Lord *Hopton* from the King, order'd him " to Command the Forces under the Prince. The Prince was then, as was ſaid before, in his way to *Barnſtable*; having left five hundred of his Guards to keep the Fort in *Briſtol*, the Garriſon being then very thin there, by reaſon of ſo many drawn from thence for the Service before *Taunton*.

General *Goring*, upon his return from the King, found *Taunton* reliev'd by a ſtrong Party of two thouſand Horſe, and three thouſand Foot, which unhappily arriv'd in the very Article of reducing the Town, and after their Line was enter'd, and a third part of the Town was burned. But this Supply raiſed the Siege, the Beſiegers drawing off without any loſs; and the Party that reliev'd them, having done their work, and left ſome of their Foot in the Town, made what haſt they could, to make their Retreat Eaſtward; when *Goring* fell ſo opportunely upon their Quarters, that he did them great miſchief; and believ'd that, in that diſorder, he had ſo ſhut them up between narrow paſſes, that they could neither retire to *Taunton*, nor march Eaſtward: and doubtleſs he had them then at a great advantage, by the opinion of all Men that knew the Country. But, by the extreme ill diſpoſing his Parties, and for want of particular Orders (of which many Men ſpoke with great licence) his two Parties ſent out, ſeveral ways, to fall upon the Enemy at *Petherton*-Bridge, the one Commanded by Colonel *Thornhill*, the other by Sir *William Courtney* (both diligent, and ſober Officers) they fell foul on each other, to the loſs of many of their Men; both the chief Officers being dangerouſly hurt, and one of them taken, before they knew their Error; through which the Enemy with no more loſs got into, and about *Taunton*; notwithſtanding which untoward accident, General *Goring* was, or ſeem'd, very confident that he ſhould ſpeedily ſo diſtreſs them, that the place would be the ſooner reduced, by the relief that had been put into it, and that in few days they would be at his Mercy.

This was before the latter end of *May*; when, upon the confidence of ſpeedily diſpatching that work, all poſſible and effectual care was taken to ſupply him with Proviſions, and to ſend all the new Levied Men, and his Highneſs's own Guards thither. Inſomuch, as he had within few days a Body of full five thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe; which he Quarter'd at the moſt convenient places; rather for eaſe, than duty; having publiſh'd Orders, under pretence of preſerving the Country from plunder, and with a promiſe of moſt exemplary Diſcipline, " that ſix pence a day ſhould be collected for the payment of each Trooper; to which he got the Commiſſioners conſent; by virtue whereof he raiſed great Sums of Money, without the leaſt abatement of the former diſorders: yet he proceeded with ſuch Popular circumſtances, ſending moſt ſpecious Warrants out, and Declarations for Reformation; ſometimes deſiring " that ſolemn Prayers " might be ſaid in all Churches for him; and to deſire God to bleſs ſome at- " tempt he had then in hand; always uſing an extreme Courtſhip to the Commiſſioners (whom he barefaced inform'd, " that he was to have, or rather, that " he had the abſolute Command of the Weſt under the Prince, without refe- " rence to his Council) that with his Promiſes, Proclamations, and Courtſhip, together with laughing at thoſe Perſons they were angry at, he had wrought himſelf into very Popular conſideration; till they found, that he promiſed and publiſhed Orders, to no other purpoſe than to deceive them; and that, whilſt he ſeem'd with them to laugh at other Men, he made them Properties only to his own ends.

In this conjuncture, the King's Letter came to the Lord *Goring*, to march towards *Northampton-ſhire*; to which he return'd an Anſwer by an Expreſs, before he deſir'd the Prince's directions; though he was diligent enough to procure his Highneſs's opinion for the reſpit of his march. The truth is, the aſſurance that he gave of his reducing thoſe Forces within very few days; the leaving all the Weſt to the Mercy of the Rebels, if he went before they were redue'd; the danger of their marching in his Rear, and carrying as great an addition of ſtrength to the Enemy, as General *Goring* could carry to the King,

except

except he carried with him the Forces of the ſeveral Garriſons, which were then joyn'd to him, made it very Counſelable to ſuſpend a preſent Obedience to thoſe Orders, till his Majeſty might receive the full and true State of his Affairs in thoſe parts; to which purpoſe, an expreſs was ſent likewiſe by his Highneſs to the King. In the mean time, General *Goring* was ſo far from making any advance upon *Taunton*, that he grew much more negligent in it, than he had been; ſuffer'd Proviſions in great quantities, to be carried into the Town, through the midſt of his Men; neglected and diſcouraged his own Foot ſo much, that they ran away faſter than they could be ſent up to him; and gave himſelf wholely to Licence: inſomuch that ſome times he was not ſeen abroad, in three or four days together. At this time came the news of the fatal blow at *Naſeby*, which freed him from any fear of being drawn out of the Weſt; yet he uſed no expedition to attempt any thing upon the Enemy, who were exceedingly diſhearten'd; but ſuffer'd the Guards to be more negligently kept; inſomuch that his Quarters were often beaten up even in the day time; whilſt ſome Principal Officers of his Army, as Lieutenant General *Porter*; and others, with His leave, had ſeveral Parley's with the Officers of the Rebels, to the very great ſcandal of the reſt; who knew not what interpretation to make of it, at a time that he uſed to mention the Perſon of the King with great contempt, and avow'd in all places a virulent diſlike of the Prince's Council. Thus, after about ſix Weeks lying about *Taunton*, the Forces whereof he promiſed to confound (I mean thoſe that marched to the relief of it) within few days, he was forced himſelf to retire, and ſuffer them to joyn with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; who in the beginning of *July* march'd towards thoſe parts.

The Prince of Wales comes to Barnſtable.

After the Prince came to *Barnſtable*, though he very ſeldom receiv'd any account from the Lord *Goring* of what happen'd, he was inform'd by ſeveral Perſons of Credit, "that he was much diſcontented; and expreſſed a great ſenſe of diſreſpect, and unkindneſſes that he had receiv'd. Therefore it was wiſh'd by them, "that ſome means might be found out, to ſettle a good underſtanding with him, "whereby he might be encouraged to an Alacrity in ſo important a Seaſon: and he having appointed to be at *Tiverton* on ſuch a day, the Prince ſent thither Sir *John Berkley*, Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and Colonel *Aſhburnham*, to confer with him, and to know what he deſir'd; the Prince having never denied to aſſiſt him, in any one particular he had ever propoſed, or to grant him any thing he had expreſſed a deſire of. Upon their meeting there, he carried himſelf very high; talked only of "general neglects put upon him by the Prince's Council; that he "had been promiſed by the King to have the Command of the Weſt, but that they "had hinder'd it; which affront he requir'd to have repair'd, before he would do "any Service upon the Enemy; with many bitter Invectives againſt particular Perſons; "whereof, he ſaid, Prince *Rupert* had told him that ſome thought "him not a Man fit to be truſted. They had indeed ſpoken freely to his Highneſs to that purpoſe, upon his very frankly diſcourſing of him. In the end, theſe three Perſons preſſing him as Friends to deal particularly with them, what would ſatisfy him; he told them, "if he might be preſently made Lieutenant-General "to the Prince, and admitted of his Council, and be promiſed to be Sworn of "the Privy Council, aſſoon as might be, and to be Gentleman of the Prince's "Bed-Chamber, he would then proceed roundly and chearfully in the buſineſs; "otherwiſe, the Prince's Council ſhould do the work themſelves for Him. All this being ſo extravagant, it cannot be thought any Anſwer could be given to it, eſpecially it being ſaid to them as Friends, and not expreſsly ſent to the Prince.

When the Prince firſt apprehended the advance of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to the Weſt, he very earneſtly recommended to the Lord *Goring* the ſtate of the Garriſons about *Bridgewater*, eſpecially the Garriſon of *Lamport*, which was of ſo great importance, that, being well ſupplied it had ſecured *Bridgewater*, and all that part of the Country. This Garriſon had been ſettled by the Lord *Hopton*, upon his firſt coming down to *Taunton*, after *Vandruske* had raiſed the Blockade that Colonel *Windham* had laid to it; and Sir *Francis Mackworth* (who, having been formerly Major-General to the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, was now, that Army being diſſolv'd, returning to his Command in the Low Countries by his Majeſty's leave) was engaged by him, to take the Command of it till, upon the Prince's coming into thoſe Parts, a worthier Command could be provided for him; and be-

fore the Lord *Goring*'s coming to *Taunton*, he had Fortify'd it to a good degree. This Garriſon, from the firſt Eſtabliſhment, had been much malign'd by Colonel *Windham*, who deſir'd not to have another Governour ſo near him, who was to receive ſome of the fruit that he had before look'd on as his own, though never aſſign'd to him : and then upon ſome differences between Sir *John Stawel*, and Sir *Francis Mackworth*, it was more inveighed againſt : inſomuch as at the firſt coming down of the Prince to *Briſtol*, moſt of the time was ſpent in complaints from Sir *John Stawel* of this Garriſon, and of the forcing the Country to work, and contribute to thoſe Fortifications. After the Lord *Goring*'s coming to *Taunton*, he had, as a compliment to *Bridgewater*, and to all the Gentlemen, who were grown angry with my Lord *Hopton*, upon their own fancies, beſides the former unkindneſſes he had to Sir *Francis Mackworth* upon ſome diſputes they had Had in the North (where they were both General Officers) very much neglected, and oppreſſed that Garriſon ; not only by countenancing all complaints againſt it, but by taking away all the Contribution aſſign'd for the ſupport of it, for the ſupplying his own Army ; and expreſly inhibiting him by force to Levy thoſe Rates, which the Prince himſelf had aſſign'd to him. Inſomuch as when the Club-men of the County aſſembled together in great Numbers, and, having taken ſome Officers and Soldiers of that Garriſon Priſoners, for requiring their juſt Contributions in Money, or Proviſions, came up to the Walls of *Lamport*, and diſcharged their Muſquets upon the Works, and Sir *Francis Mackworth* thereupon with his Horſe Charged them, and killing one or two of them, forced the reſt to run away, the Lord *Goring* ſent him a very ſtrict reprehenſion for ſo doing, and poſitively Commanded him " to do ſo no more ; nor in any Caſe to diſturb or injure thoſe " People. This brought that Garriſon ſo low, that when it might have preſerv'd that Army, it had not two days Proviſions in it ; Sir *Francis Mackworth* having been call'd to wait on the Prince's Perſon, as well by his own choice (when he ſaw the carriage towards him, believing that ſome prejudice to his Perſon brought a diſadvantage to the place) as by Prince *Rupert*'s advice ; who promiſed, when he left the Prince at *Barnſtable*, and viſited *Goring*, and *Bridgewater*, " to ſettle " that Garriſon of *Lamport*, and make Colonel *Windham* Governour of it.

Of the Club-men in Somerſet *and* Dorſetſhire.

Here I cannot but ſay ſomewhat of the Club-men ; who began then to riſe in great Numbers, in ſeveral parts of the Country, about the time that the Prince went from *Bath* to *Bridgewater*, in his Journey to *Barnſtable* ; and that Night his Highneſs lay at *Wells*, which was the ſecond of *June*, a Petition was deliver'd to him, which had been agreed upon that day at *Marſhals Elme*, where there had then aſſembled five or ſix thouſand Men, moſt in Armes ; and the Petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at *Bridgewater* for an Anſwer. It was evident, though the avow'd ground for the riſing, was the intolerable Oppreſſion, Rapine, and Violence, exerciſed by the Lord *Goring*'s Horſe, that, in truth, they receiv'd encouragement from many Gentlemen of the Country ; ſome of them thinking, it would be a good Expedient to neceſſitate a Reformation of the Army ; others believing it would be a profitable riſing for the King, and would grow into the matter of the firſt Aſſociation, One and All. Therefore ſome principal Agents of Sir *John Stawel*'s were very active in thoſe Meetings ; and he himſelf was very ſollicitous, that a very gracious Anſwer might be return'd to their Petition ; which was follow'd by ſome Farmerly Men, and others of the Clergy, both which had good Reputations of affection, and integrity to the King's Service. The Prince expreſſed a great ſenſe of the Oppreſſions they ſuffer'd, by the diſorder of the Army, which he promiſed to do his beſt to reform ; to which end, he writ many earneſt Letters to the Lord *Goring*. But his Highneſs told them, " that " this unwarrantable courſe of aſſembling together, and being their own Judges, " would prove very pernicious : for though many of them might mean well, yet " ſome active Miniſters would mingle with them, on the behalf of the Rebels, " and having once brought them to a kind of Neutrality, and Unconcernedneſs " for the King, would, in a moment, be able, againſt all their good wiſhes, to " apply them againſt him ; and therefore ſtreightly inhibited them to meet any more in that manner, except they firſt liſted themſelves in Regiments, and choſe " Gentlemen of the Country to Command them ; to whom his Highneſs offer'd to grant Commiſſions to that purpoſe.

This Anſwer ſeem'd to ſatisfy thoſe who attended on the behalf of the Petitioners, until they were perſwaded by ſome Gentlemen not to ſubmit to it ; and ſo they

they continued their meetings; many inferior Officers of the Army quitting their Charges, and living amongſt them, and improving their diſcontents. When the Prince went to *Barnſtable*, he gave General *Goring* Advertiſements "of the "great danger that might ariſe out of the licence that People took to them-"ſelves; and therefore adviſed him, "as on the one hand, to ſuppreſs and reform "the crying diſorders of the Army by good Diſcipline, and ſeverity upon enor-"mous Tranſgreſſors; ſo on the other, ſeaſonably to diſcountenance, and puniſh "thoſe Aſſemblies of Club-men; which would otherwiſe, in time, prove as dan-"gerous to him, as any other ſtrength of the Rebels. But, whether it were to ſhew his greatneſs, and ſo, Popularly to comply with what the Prince had diſ-countenanced, or whether in truth he believ'd he ſhould be able to make uſe of them, and perſwade them to become a part of his Army, he did uſe all poſſible compliance with them, and would not ſuffer any force to be uſed againſt them. So that they grew to be ſo powerful, that they kept Proviſions from the Army, and the Garriſons; and when he mov'd from *Taunton*, upon the coming down of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, they kill'd many of his Soldiers; and did him more miſchief, than all the power of the Rebels.

When the Prince came to *Barnſtable*, he receiv'd the fatal news of the Battle of *Naſeby*, by the noiſe and triumphs which the Rebels made in thoſe parts for their Victory, without any particular information, or account from *Oxford*, or any Credible Perſons; which left ſome hope that it might not be true, at leaſt not to that degree that diſaffected People reported it to be. However, at the worſt, it concern'd him the more to be ſollicitous to put the Weſt into ſuch a poſture, that it might be able to repair any loſs the King had receiv'd; which he might have done, if the Jealouſies and Animoſities between particular Perſons could have been reconciled, and a Union been made amongſt all Men who pretended to wiſh, and really did wiſh, proſperity to the King's Affairs; which were diſturbed, and even render'd deſperate, by the intolerable Pride of incorrigible Faction. Notwithſtanding the Orders, which had been made by the Commiſſioners of *Devon-ſhire*, for diſtributing the Contributions of that County, which have been mention'd before, and in which ſuch a proportion was aſſign'd for the maintenance of the Forces before *Plymouth*, as in Sir *Richard Greenvil*'s own judgment was ſufficient for them; he had ſtill continued to Levy the whole Contribution, which he had done formerly, for ſix thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe; and ſaid, "he could not ſubmit to the other diviſion and retrenchment; for that "there was nothing aſſign'd, or left for the payment of his Men before *Taunton*. He was told by the Commiſſioners, "that they were now a part of the Army, "and liv'd as their fellows did; that they had receiv'd no Money from him ſince "their going thither, but had Had free Quarter as the reſt of the Army; and "that it would prove of ill Conſequence, and beget a mutiny, if they ſhould re-"ceive a Weekly pay, when none of the reſt did, nor any Army the King had "in *England*: that he could not but confeſs, by the State of the whole, that the "diſpenſation was very reaſonable; and that it could not be expected that the "County would be contented to pay their Contribution for the payment of other "Forces, not of their own County, when their own Garriſons, that were kept "for their defence, ſhould be compell'd for want of pay, to diſorders, or to diſ-"band. But that, if he thought any thing in thoſe Eſtabliſhments unneceſſary, or "that he thought Proviſion could be otherwiſe made for them, they would be "contented that the Overplus ſhould be diſpoſed as he deſired. He Anſwer'd none of their reaſons; but poſitively ſaid, "He would ſpare none of the Contri-"butions formerly aſſign'd to him; though the Commiſſioners had the ſame Au-thority now to take it away, as they had then to diſpoſe it to him; and though it appear'd to be aſſign'd for the maintenance of ſo great a Force, as was before ſpoken of, and upon his undertaking, under his hand, "to take the Town before "*Chriſtmas*-day.

Tranſactions at Barnſtable: *eſpecially complaints againſt Sir* R. Greenvil.

When this Account was preſented to the Prince, he found it neceſſary, and reſolv'd, to confirm what was propoſed by the Commiſſioners, without which thoſe Garriſons could not be ſupported; yet deferr'd the ſettling thereof, till he came to *Barnſtable*, being reſolv'd ſpeedily to go thither; and, before his coming thither, had ſent to the Commiſſioners both of *Devon* and *Cornwal* to attend him; which they did within a day two or after he came thither, together with Sir *John Berkley*, and Sir *Richard Greenvil*. The Commiſſioners for *Devon* very earneſtly

preſſed the ſettling the Contributions in the manner before propoſed, and the regulating the Exorbitant Power of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who raiſed what Money he pleaſed, and committed what Perſons he pleaſed; and the Commiſſioners from *Cornwal* preſented a very ſharp complaint againſt him, in the Name of the whole County, for ſeveral Exorbitances, and ſtrange Acts of Tyranny exerciſed upon them: "That "he had committed very many honeſt ſubſtantial Men, and all the Conſtables of the "East part of the County, to *Lydford* Priſon in *Devonſhire*, for no offence, but to com- "pel them to Ranſom themſelves for Money; and that his Troops had committed "ſuch outrages in the Country, that they had been compell'd, in open Seſſions, to de- "clare againſt him; and to Authorize the Country, in caſe that he ſhould ſend his "Troops in ſuch manner, to riſe, and beat them out; which Declaration was produced, ſign'd by all the Commiſſioners, who were moſt eminently and zealouſly affected to his Majeſty; and was indeed no other than a denouncing War againſt *Greenvil*; and was excuſed by them "as an act of neceſſity to compoſe the Peo- "ple, who would otherwiſe in the inſtant have riſen, and cut the Throats of all "his Men. So that, whoever would have made a judgment, upon what he heard from the Commiſſioners of *Devon* and *Cornwal* at that time, muſt have concluded, that Sir *Richard Greenvil* was the moſt juſtly odious to both Counties, that can be imagin'd. And no doubt he had behaved himſelf with great Pride, and Tyranny over them; though the Diſcipline he exerciſed over his Men at *Plymouth*, in keeping them from committing any diſorder, or offering the leaſt prejudice to any Man (which, conſidering the great aſſignment of Money he had, and the ſmall Numbers of Men, was no hard matter to do) had raiſed him much Credit among the Country People, who had liv'd long under the Licence of Prince *Maurice*'s Army; and the fame of it had extended his Reputation to a greater diſtance.

There hath been too much ſaid already, to diſcover the nature and the temper of this Gentleman, if the current of this diſcourſe did not make it abſolutely neceſſary to mention many particulars, with which the Prince was troubled almoſt in all places, and which exceedingly diſorder'd the whole buſineſs of *Devon* and *Cornwall*; and, indeed, thereby the whole Weſt. There was one particular that made a great noiſe in the Country: ſhortly after he was deputed to that Charge before *Plymouth*, upon the hurt of Mr. *Digby*, one *Brabant*, an Attourney at Law (who had heretofore ſollicited the great Suit againſt Sir *Richard* in the Star-Chamber, on the behalf of his Wife and the Earl of *Suffolk*, living in thoſe parts, and having always very honeſtly behav'd himſelf towards the King's Service) knowing, it ſeems, the nature of the Gentleman, reſolv'd not to venture himſelf within the Precincts where he Commanded; and therefore intended to go to ſome more ſecure Quarter; but was taken in his Journey, having a Mountero on his head. Sir *Richard Greenvil* had laid wait to apprehend him; and he likewiſe had conceal'd his Name; but, being now brought before Sir *Richard*, was immediately, by his own direction, without any Council of War, becauſe he ſaid he was diſguiſed, hanged as a Spie: Which ſeem'd ſo ſtrange and incredible, that one of the Council ask'd him, "whether it was true? And he anſwer'd very unconcernedly, "yes, he had hanged him, for he was a Traytor, and againſt the King; and that "he had taken a Brother of his, whom he might have hanged too, but he had "ſuffer'd him to be exchanged. He ſaid, "he knew the Country talk'd, that he "hanged him for revenge, becauſe he had ſollicited a cauſe againſt him; but "that was not the cauſe; though, having play'd the Knave with him, he ſaid ſmiling, "he was well content to find a juſt occaſion to puniſh him.

The Prince was very unwilling to enter ſo far, and ſo particularly upon the paſſionate complaint of either County, as thereby to be compell'd to cenſure, or to diſcountenance Sir *Richard Greenvil*; who, he thought, might be applied very uſefully to the Publick Service. Therefore his Highneſs reſolv'd, according to the former deſign, to commit the buſineſs of *Plymouth* to Sir *John Berkley*; who, might, without any reproach to the other, diſcharge ſuch from Impriſonment as had lain long enough there, and who made no other pretence to the Contribution, than according to the Aſſignments made by the Commiſſioners; and to diſpoſe Sir *Richard Greenvil* to the Field, according to his own Propoſition; for which there was now the more ſeaſonable opportunity, the Lord *Goring* having then written to the Prince, "to deſire him, that, in regard very many of Sir *Richard Greenvil*'s "Soldiers before *Taunton* were run away, inſomuch that of the two thouſand two "hundred brought thither by him, there were not ſix hundred left, and that

"there

" there could be no ſuch expedient to bring them back, or to encourage the " new Levies, as by his preſence in that Army, that he would ſend Sir *Richard* " *Greenvil* thither; where he ſhould Command as Field-Marſhal: To which purpoſe he had likewiſe written to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, perſwading him, " that " he ſhould fix a Quarter towards *Lyme*, and have the whole managing of " that Province: and ſo a very good correſpondence was begun between them. Thereupon, his Commiſſion of Field-Marſhal of the Aſſociated Army was deliver'd to him, with direction, " in the mean time to abide with the Lord *Goring*; who deputed him to Command in the ſame place. It is true that he then deſir'd, " to continue the Command before *Plymouth* in *Commendam*, and to execute the " ſame by his Major General; but, he was told, " that it was otherwiſe ſet- " tled by his own Propoſition, and Advice, and therefore that it could not be " alter'd: And indeed would have prevented the ſatisfaction, which was to be given to the two Counties. Then he inſiſted very much upon ſome Aſſignment of Contribution for the Army; for, he ſaid, " he neither would, nor could " Command Men who were not paid. But after ſome ſharp invectives againſt the exceſs and lazineſs of Governours, and the needleſs Contribution aſſign'd to Garriſons, finding that the ſubſiſtence for the Army muſt be provided out of *Somerſet* and *Dorſet*, he took his leave of the Prince; and with his Commiſſion of Field-Marſhal, went to the Lord *Goring* before *Taunton*; Sir *John Berkley* being at the ſame time diſpatched to *Plymouth*.

Sir Thomas Fairfax *with his Army enters* Somerſet-ſhire.

About the beginning of *July* Sir *Thomas Fairfax* enter'd into *Somerſet-ſhire*; ſo that General *Goring* found it convenient to draw off from *Taunton*, and ſeem'd to advance towards him, as if he intended to Fight; fixing his Quarters between the Rivers about *Lamport*, very advantagiouſly for defence, having a Body of Horſe and Foot very little inferior to the Enemy, although by great negligence he had ſuffer'd his Foot to moulder away before *Taunton*, for want of Proviſions, and Countenance; when the Horſe enjoy'd Plenty, even to Exceſs and Riot. He had been there very few days, when the Enemy, at Noon day, fell into his Quarters, upon a Party of Horſe of above a thouſand, Commanded by Lieutenant General *Porter*; who were ſo ſurpriſed, that though they were in a bottom, and could not but diſcern the Enemy coming down the Hill, half a Mile at the leaſt, yet the Enemy was upon them, before the Men could get upon their Horſes; they being then feeding in a Meadow; ſo that this Body was entirely routed, and very many taken; and, the next day, notwithſtanding all the Advantages of Paſſes, and Places of Advantage, another Party of the Enemies Horſe and Dragoons fell upon the whole Army; roured it; took two pieces of Cannon; and purſued *Goring*'s Men through *Lamport* (a place, which if it had not been with great induſtry diſcountenanced, and oppreſſed, as is ſaid before, might well have ſecured his, and reſiſted their Army) and drove them to the Walls of *Bridgewater*; whither the Lord *Goring* in great diſorder retir'd; and ſpending that Night there, and leaving with them the Cannon, Ammunition, and Carriages, and ſuch Soldiers as were deſired, in equal diſorder, the next day, he retir'd into *Devon-ſhire*; the Club-men and Country People infeſting his march, and knocking all Straglers, or wearied Soldiers, on the head. Upon that rout, which was no leſs than a defeat of the whole Army, the Lord *Goring* retir'd to *Barnſtable*: from whence (the Prince being gone ſome days before to *Launceſton* in *Cornwal*) he writ to the Lord *Digby*, " that there was ſo great a terror, and diſtraction among his Men, " that he was confident, at that preſent, they could not be brought to Fight a- " gainſt half their number. In the Letter he writ, " that he had then (being within three days after their rout, when very many Straglers were not come up) " between three and four thouſand Foot (Prince *Rupert*'s Regiment being left in *Bridgewater*, conſiſting of above five hundred Men, and two hundred in *Burrow*, and five and twenty hundred Horſe, beſides Sir *Lewis Dives*'s Regiment, and all the Weſtern Horſe) ſo that, by this Account, conſidering that there were not leſs than one thouſand Men kill'd, and taken Priſoners, in thoſe two unlucky days, and that very many were run to *Briſtol*, and others not come to him, it appears, that, when he roſe from *Taunton*, he had a ſtrength little inferior to the Enemy.

Beats Goring *near* Lamport.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* then no more purſued them, after this running away, but left them time enough to refreſh, and recover themſelves; whilſt he himſelf intended the recovery of *Bridgewater*; which was exceedingly wonder'd at; though

it was quickly diſcern'd, he had good reaſon to ſtop there. In the mean time General *Goring* ſpent his time at *Barnſtable*, and thoſe parts adjacent; his Army Quartering at *Torrington*, and over the whole North of *Devon*, and his Horſe commiting ſuch intolerable inſolences and diſorders, as alienated the hearts of thoſe who were beſt affected to the King's Service. Inſtead of endeavouring to recruit his Army, or to put himſelf in readineſs and poſture to receive the Enemy, he ſuffer'd all, who had a mind, to depart; inſomuch, as he writ to the Lord *Colepepper*, on the 27th of *July*, "that he had not above thirteen hundred "Foot left. When he was at *Barnſtable*, he gave himſelf his uſual Licence of drinking; and then, inveighing againſt the Prince's Council, ſaid, "he would "juſtify that They had been the cauſe of the loſs of the Weſt; inveighing likewiſe in an unpardonable dialect againſt the Perſon of the King, and diſcourſing much of the revenge he would take upon thoſe who had affronted him; and in this manner he entertain'd himſelf to the end of *July*, writting Letters of diſcontent to the Prince, and the Lords; one day complaining for want of Money, and deſiring the Prince to ſupply that want, when he well knew he wanted Supply for his own Table; and never receiv'd penny of the publick Collections, or Contributions: Another day, deſiring, "that all Stragling Soldiers might be "ſent out of *Cornwal*, and drawn from the Garriſons, that he might advance "upon the Enemy; and the next day propoſing, "that all the Foot might be "put into Garriſons, for that they could not be fit for the Field; ſo that before an Anſwer could be ſent to his laſt Letter, another commonly arriv'd of a different temper.

Sir *Richard Greenvil* grew again no leſs troubleſom and inconvenient, than the Lord *Goring*. He had left the Prince at *Barnſtable*, well pleaſed with his Commiſſion of Field-Marſhal, and more that he ſhould Command alone the blocking up of *Lyme*; which, he reſolv'd, ſhould bring him plenty of Money; and in order to that, it was agreed, that, on ſuch a day appointed, "ſo many "Men from the Garriſons of *Dartmouth*, *Exeter*, and *Barnſtable*, ſhould be "drawn to *Tiverton*; where they ſhould receive Orders from Sir *Richard Green-*"*vil*, and joyn with ſuch as he ſhould bring from the Lord *Goring*, for making "a Quarter towards *Lyme*; and Orders iſſued from his Highneſs accordingly. Thoſe from *Exeter*, according to order, appear'd, at the time; and thoſe from *Barnſtable* and *Dartmouth*, march'd a day's Journey and more, towards *Tiverton*; but then, hearing that the Lord *Goring* was riſen from *Taunton*, made a halt; and ſent back to the Prince for Orders; who conceiv'd that, upon the riſing of the Lord *Goring*, the deſign of fixing a Quarter upon *Lyme*, would be diſappointed, and that it would be neceſſary to ſtrengthen *Barnſtable*, where his own Perſon was; and recall'd thoſe Men back thither; having diſpatched Letters to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, to acquaint him with the accidents that had diverted thoſe from *Dartmouth* and *Barnſtable*; but letting him know, "that, if the deſign held, thoſe of *Barnſtable* ſhould meet, where and when he would appoint.

Sir *Richard Greenvil* took an occaſion, from the Soldiers failing to meet at the day appointed, at *Tiverton* (though if they had met, there could have been no progreſs in the former deſign) to exclaim againſt the Prince's Council; and, the next day, in a Cover directed to Mr. *Fanſhaw*, who was Secretary of the Council, without any Letter, return'd the Commiſſion of Field-Marſhal, formerly given him by the Prince; and within two or three days after, on the fifth of *July*, he ſent a very inſolent Letter to the Lords of the Council, complaining of "many "undeſerv'd abuſes offer'd to him, implying, "that the ſame were faſten'd "on him by Them, on the behalf of Sir *John Berkley*; told them, that when "they moved him to give over the Command of the Forces before *Plymouth* "to Sir *John Berkley*, they had promiſed him the Principal Command of the "Army under the Prince: whereas the truth is before ſet down, that the Propoſition was made by himſelf, both of quitting that Charge, and of Sir *John Berkley*'s taking it, as the only fit Perſon. He ſaid, "he had hitherto ſerv'd "the King upon his own Charge, and upon his own Eſtate, without any allow-"ance; and that, when he went from *Barnſtable*, he was promiſed a Protection "for his Houſe and Eſtate; but when, after he was gone, his Servant brought "a Protection ready drawn, all the Clauſes that comprehended any thing of "favour, were left out; and ſuch a Protection ſent him as he cared not for. He concluded, "that he would ſerve as a Voluntier, till he might have oppor-

"tunity

tunity to acquaint his Majeſty with his Sufferings. Here it will be neceſſary upon the mention of this Protection (which he took ſo ill to be denied) and the mention of Serving the King, without allowance, upon his own Eſtate, which he very often, and very inſolently objected both in his Letters, and in his diſcourſe to the Prince himſelf, to ſay ſomewhat of his Eſtate, and what ſmall allowance, as he pretended, he had from the King for his Service.

When he came firſt into that Country, he had no Command at all; arm'd only with a Commiſſion to raiſe a Regiment of Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot; of which, he never raiſed Horſe or Man, till long after, that he came to the Command about *Plymouth*. Eſtate he had none, either there, or, that I have heard, any where elſe. It is true, his Wife had an Eſtate, of about five hundred Pounds a year, about *Taviſtock* and other parts of *Devon*; but it is as true, that it was Convey'd before Marriage, as hath been ſaid, in ſuch a manner, to Friends in truſt, that upon long Suits in Chancery, and in other Courts, in the time of Peace, there were ſeveral Judgments and Decrees in Chancery againſt him. So that he had never, ſince the difference with his Wife, which was many years before, receiv'd the leaſt benefit, or advantage from it. The firſt thing the King granted to him, was the Sequeſtration of all his Wife's Eſtate to his own uſe (ſhe living then in the Rebels Quarters) upon which Title he ſettled himſelf in her Houſe near *Taviſtock*; and, by virtue of that Grant, took all the Stock upon the Ground; and compell'd the Tenants to pay him all the Arrears of Rent, or as much as he ſaid was in Arrear; which amounted to a very conſiderable value. When Colonel *Digby* receiv'd his unfortunate hurt, which render'd him for that time uncapable to exerciſe his Command, Sir *John Berkley* very earneſtly, and He only, mov'd Prince *Maurice*, to conſer that Charge upon Sir *Richard Greenvil*; and, though it was within a County of which he himſelf had the principal Charge as Colonel General, procur'd a full Commiſſion for the other to Command thoſe Forces in Chief; and deliver'd, or ſent the ſame to him; having, from the time of his firſt coming down, uſed him with much kindneſs. He had not then Commanded long, when the Earl of *Eſſex* came into thoſe Parts; whereupon he was compell'd to riſe; and after join'd with the King.

When the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Forces were diſſolv'd, he was again deſign'd for that Service; and before the King left the Country, he granted him the Sequeſtration of all the Eſtate of the Earl of *Bedford* in *Devon-ſhire*, all the Eſtate of Sir *Francis Drake* (by which he had *Buckland Monacorum*, which was his Quarter whilſt he block'd up *Plymouth*; and *Worrington* by *Launceſton*) in *Devon*, and the Lord *Roberts* his Eſtate in *Cornwal*; all which, and his Wife's Eſtate, he enjoy'd by the Sequeſtration granted from his Majeſty, and of which he made a greater Revenue than ever the owners did in time of Peace. For, beſides that he ſuffer'd no part of theſe Eſtates to pay Contribution (whereby the Tenants very willingly paid their full Rents) he kept very much ground, about all the Houſes, in his own hands; which he ſtocked with ſuch Cattle as he took from Delinquents; for though he ſuffer'd not his Soldiers to plunder, yet he was, in truth, himſelf the greateſt plunderer of this War; for when ever any Perſon had diſobey'd, or neglected any of his Warrants, or when any Man fail'd to appear at the *Poſſe* (which he ſummon'd very frequently after he was Sheriff of *Devon*, and for no other end but the penalty of Defaulters) he ſent preſently a Party of Horſe to apprehend their Perſons, and to drive their Grounds. If the Perſons were taken, they were very well content to remit their Stock to redeem their Perſons. For the better diſpoſing them thereto, he would now and then hang a Conſtable, or ſome other poor fellow, for thoſe faults of which a hundred were as guilty: and if, out of the terror of this kind of Juſtice, Men hid themſelves from being apprehended, they durſt not ſend to require their Stock; which was from thence quietly enjoy'd: ſo that he had a greater Stock of Cattle, of all ſorts, upon his Grounds, than any perſon whatſoever in the Weſt of *England*. Beſides this, the ordering of Delinquents Eſtates in thoſe Parts being before that time not well look'd to, by virtue of theſe Sequeſtrations, he ſeiſed upon all the Stock upon the Grounds, upon all the Furniture in the ſeveral Houſes, and compell'd the Tenants to pay to him all the Rents due from the beginning of the Rebellion. By theſe, and ſuch like means, he had not only a vaſt Stock, but receiv'd great Sums of Money, and had as great ſtore of good Houſehold-Stuff, as would Furniſh well thoſe Houſes he looked upon as his own. This was his

own Eſtate, upon which, he ſaid, he had maintain'd himſelf, without any allowance from the King; which, I am confident, beſides what he got by his Contributions, which would always pay double the Men he had, and were ſtrictly levied, and by his other Arts, and Extortions of ſeveral kinds, was more, and more worth in Money to him, than his Majeſty beſtow'd upon all his General Commanders of Armies, and upon all his Officers of State, ſince the beginning of the Rebellion to that time. This computation would ſeem too enviouſly made, if I ſhould proceed here to take any view of the Services he ever did; and therefore (though they that are very good Witneſſes, ſay, that notwithſtanding all the bold promiſes of taking *Plymouth* within few days, "his "farther Guards were never nearer the Town, than the Lord *Hopton*'s Head "Quarter was the firſt day that he came thither) I ſhall leave that to other Men to make the particular Eſtimate.

Now when Sir *Richard Greenvil* deſir'd at *Barnſtable* a Protection for his Houſes and Eſtates, it was conceived, that he apprehended there might, under pretence of Claim, ſome attempt be made upon his Stock by the Owners; or that he feared, that there might be too ſtrict an enquiry, by him that ſucceeded, for ſuch things as being deſign'd for the Publick Service, had been applied to his particular private Uſe; as having, with great importunity (as a thing upon which the Service depended) gotten from the Commiſſioners of *Devon* above a thouſand Dealboards, to make huts for the Soldiers, he employed them all in the building a great riding Houſe at *Buckland*, for his own Pleaſure. However, ſo ſevere and terrible a Perſon might eaſily be thought lyable to many treſpaſſes, when he ſhould be remov'd from the place where he govern'd ſo abſolutely. The Protection was no ſooner asked by him, than promiſed by the Prince; but after his departure, his Servant bringing ſuch a Protection drawn, as exempted all thoſe Eſtates which the King had granted to him in Sequeſtration, from the payment of any Contributions (the which had been already ſo ſcandalous, that moſt of the principal Perſons of *Cornwal* had by that example, and with indignation at it, forborn to pay their Rates; and he was told the ill conſequence of it; and, "that no Perſon "there in Council, whereof ſome had Had very much greater Commands in "Armies than He, and though others thought their Services deſerv'd any rea-"ſonable Privilege, had been ever freed from Contribution) thereupon thoſe clauſes were ſtruck out, and the Protection in a fuller manner ſtill than ordinary, ſign'd by the Prince; and Sir *John Berkley*, then preſent, declared (of which his Servant was advertiſed, though it was not fit, for the Example, to put it in writing) "that he would not require any Contribution for that Eſtate which was "his Wife's, and enjoy'd by him only by virtue of the Sequeſtration; and the denying of this Protection was his great grievance. And yet he did not only never pay a penny Contribution before, or after, for all theſe Eſtates, but refus'd to pay the Fee-farm Rent, due to the King out of the Earl of *Bedford*'s Eſtate, being two hundred Marks *per annum*, though the Auditor was ſent to him to demand it; but this was meerly an Act of his own Soveraignty.

After this angry Letter to the Lords, and the throwing up his Commiſſion without a Letter, and ſo having no Commiſſion at all to meddle in Martial Affairs, he fixed a Quarter, with his own Horſe and Foot, at St. *Mary Ottree*, within nine or ten Miles of *Exeter*; where he govern'd as imperiouſly as ever; raiſed what Money he would, and impriſon'd what Perſons he pleaſed. In the end Sir *John Berkley*, having appointed the Conſtables of thoſe Hundreds which were aſſign'd for *Plymouth*, to bring in their Accounts of what Money they paid to Sir *Richard Greenvil* (which, he proteſted, he did only that thereby he might ſtate the Arrears, without the leaſt thought of reproach to the other) he cauſed a Warrant to be read in all Churches in the County (that is, order'd it to be read in all, and in ſome it was read) "that all Perſons ſhould bring him an "Account of what Monies or Goods had been plunder'd from them by Sir "*John Berkley*, or any under him; with ſeveral Clauſes very derogatory to his Reputation. This, as it could not otherwiſe, begot great Reſentments; inſomuch as the Commiſſioners of *Devon* ſent an Expreſs to the Prince, who was then in *Cornwal*, beſeeching him "to call Sir *Richard Greenvil* from thence, and "to take ſome Order for the ſuppreſſing the Furious inclinations of both ſides, "or elſe they apprehended, the Enemy would quickly take an advantage of "thoſe Diſſentions, and Invade the Country before they otherwiſe intended;

and,

and, in their Letter, ſent one of the Warrants that Sir *Richard* had caus'd to be read in the Churches; which indeed was the ſtrangeſt I ever ſaw.

Hereupon, the Prince ſent for Sir *Richard Greenvil* to attend him; who accordingly came to him at *Liskard*; where his Highneſs told him "the ſenſe he "had of his diſreſpect towards him, in the ſending back his Commiſſion in that "manner; and of his carriage after; and asked him, "what Authority he "now had either to Command Men, or to publiſh ſuch Warrants? He anſwer'd, "that he was High Sheriff of *Devon*, and by virtue of that Office he might "ſuppreſs any Force, or enquire into any grievance his County ſuffer'd; "and, as far as in Him lay, give them remedy. He was told, "as Sheriff "he had no power to raiſe or head Men, otherwiſe than by the *Poſſe Commitatus*; "which he could not neither upon his own head raiſe, without Warrant from "the Juſtices of Peace: that, in times of War, he was to receive Orders, "upon occaſions, from the Commander in Chief of the Kings Forces; who "had Authority to Command him by his Commiſſion. He was asked, "what he himſelf would have done, if when he commanded before *Ply-*"*mouth*, the High Sheriff of *Cornwal* ſhould have cauſed ſuch a Warrant con-"cerning Him to be read in Churches? He anſwer'd little to the Queſtions, but ſullenly extolled his Services, and enlarged his Sufferings, Afterwards, being reprehended with more ſharpneſs than ever before, and being told, "that, what-"ever diſcourſes he made of ſpending his Eſtate, it was well underſtood, that he "had no Eſtate by any other Title than the meer bounty of the King; that he had "been courted by the Prince more than he had reaſon to expect; and that he had "not made thoſe returns on His part which became him; In ſhort, if he had incli-"nation to ſerve his Highneſs, he ſhould do it in that manner he ſhould be direct-"ed; if Not, he ſhould not, under the Title of being Sheriff, ſatisfy his own Pride, "and Paſſion (Upon which reprehenſion being become much gentler, than upon all the gracious Addreſſes which had beenmade to him) he Anſwer'd, "he would ſerve "the Princein ſuch manner, as heſhould Command; and thereupon he was diſcharged, and return'd to his Houſeat *Worrington*, one of thoſe places he had by Sequeſtration. (It belong'd to Sir *Francis Drake*) where he liv'd privately, for the ſpace of a Fortnight, or thereabouts, without interpoſing in the Publick buſineſs. Let us now ſee how thisTragedy was acted in other places.

We left the King at *Hereford*, not reſolv'd what courſe to ſteer; Prince *Rupert* gone to *Briſtol*, from whence he had made a ſhort viſit to the Prince at *Barnſtable*, to give him an Account of the ill poſture he had left the King in, and from thence went to *Goring* to conſult with Him: and it was exceedingly wondered at, that when he ſaw in what condition he was (for he was then before *Taunton*) and the number of his Horſe and Foot (which every body then thought had been his buſineſs to be inform'd of) he did not then haſten advice to the King, for his ſpeedy repair thither; but his chief care was to ſecure *Briſtol*; which, ſure, at that time he made not the leaſt queſtion of doing; and believ'd the Winter would come ſeaſonably for future Counſels.

The King goes to Abergaveny *to meet the Commiſſioners of South* Wales.

The King quickly left *Hereford*, and went to meet the Commiſſioners for South *Wales* at *Abergaveny*, the chief Town in *Monmouth-ſhire*. As they were for the moſt Part Perſons of the beſt Quality, and the largeſt Fortunes of thoſe Counties, ſo they had manifeſted great Loyalty and Affection, from the beginning of the War, by ſending many good Regiments to the Army, and with their Sons, and Brothers, and neareſt Kindred; many of whom had loſt their lives Bravely in the Field: They now made as large and ample Profeſſions as ever, and ſeem'd to believe, that they ſhould be able, in a very ſhort time, to raiſe a good Army of Foot, with which the King might again look upon the Enemy; and accordingly agreed what Numbers ſhould be levied upon each of the Counties. From thence his Majeſty went to *Ragland*-Caſtle, the Noble Houſe of the Marquis of *Worceſter*; which was well Fortify'd, and Garriſon'd by him; who remain'd then in it. There he reſolv'd to ſtay, till he ſhould ſee the effect of the Commiſſioners mighty promiſes. But he found in a ſhort time, that either by the continued ſucceſſes of the Parliament Armies in all Places, the particular information whereof was every day brought to them, by Intelligence from their Friends, or the Triumphs of their Enemies in *Monmouth* and *Gloceſter*, or by the renewed troubles, which the preſence of their Governour, General *Gerrard* gave them (who had been, and continued to be, a paſſionate and unskilful mana-

Thence to Ragland *Caſtle.*

ger of the Affections of the People; as having govern'd them with extraordinary rigour, and with as little courteſie and civlity towards the Gentry, as towards the Common People) there was little probability of raiſing an Army in thoſe parts: where all Men grew leſs affected, or more frighted, which produced one and the ſame effect. The King ſtay'd at *Ragland*, till the News came "that *Fairfax* after "he had taken *Leiceſter* (which could not hold out longer than to make honourable conditions) "was marched into the Weſt, and had defeated *Goring*'s Troops "at *Lamport*; and at the ſame time, that the *Scotiſh* Army was upon its march "towards *Worceſter*, having taken a little Garriſon that lay between *Hereford* and *Worceſter* by Storm; and put all within it to the Sword. And Prince *Rupert* ſent for all thoſe Foot which were levied towards a new Army, and part of thoſe which belonged to General *Gerrard*, to ſupply the Garriſon of *Briſtol*: ſo that his Majeſty ſeem'd now to have nothing in his Choice, but to tranſport himſelf over the *Severn* to *Briſtol*, and thence to have repair'd to his Army in the Weſt; which would have been much better done Before, yet had been well done Then; and the King reſolv'd to do ſo; and that the Horſe under *Gerrard*, and *Langdale*, ſhould find a Tranſportation over *Severn* (which might have been done) and then find the way to him, wherever he ſhould be.

Thence to Chepſtow:

This was ſo fully reſolv'd, that his Majeſty went to the Water ſide near *Chepſtow*; where Veſſels were ready to Tranſport him, and where Prince *Rupert* from *Briſtol* met him, very well pleaſed with the Reſolution he had taken, though he had not been Privy to the Counſel. Here again the unhappy diſcord in the Court, raiſed new obſtructions; they who did not love Prince *Rupert*, nor were lov'd by him, could not endure to think that the King ſhould be ſo wholely within his power; and he himſelf was ſo far from being importunate that his Majeſty ſhould proſecute his purpoſe, which he had not adviſed, though he liked it well enough; and ſo would not be anſwerable for any ſucceſs. His Majeſty himſelf being too irreſolute, the Counſel was again changed, and the King marched to *Cardiff*; where he had been very little time, when he was inform'd, that *Bridgewater* was loſt: and then they, who had diſſwaded the King's Embarkation for *Briſtol*, were much exalted, and thought themſelves good Counſellors; though, in truth, the former reſolution had been even then much better purſued; for nothing could have hinder'd his Majeſty from going to *Exeter*, and joyning all his Forces; which would have put him in a poſture much better than he was ever afterwards. Indeed the taking *Bridgewater*, which the King had been perſwaded to believe a place impregnable, could not but make great impreſſions upon him, to think that he was betrayed, and conſequently not to know whom to truſt, It was in truth matter of amazement to all Men, nor was it any excuſe, that it was not of ſtrength enough againſt ſo ſtrong an Army; for it was ſo ſtrongly Situated, and it might well have had all thoſe additions which were neceſſary, by Fortifications, that it was inexcuſable in a Governour (who had enjoy'd that Charge above three years, with all allowances he had himſelf deſired, and had often aſſured the King, "that it was not to be Taken) that it did not reſiſt any the greateſt ſtrength that could come before it for one Week; and within leſs than that time, it was Surrender'd, and put into *Fairfax*'s hands,

Thence to Cardiff.

Sr. T. Fairfax *takes* Bridgewater.

That this prodigious ſucceſs on the Enemies ſide, ſhould break the Spirits of moſt Men, and even caſt them into deſpair, is not at all to be wonder'd at; but that it ſhould raiſe the hopes of any that it would produce a Peace, is very ſtrange; yet this immagination did ſo much harm, that Men generally neglected to make that preparation againſt a powerfull and inſulting Enemy, that was in their power to have made, out of confidence that the offer of a Treaty would now prevail, and produce a Peace; and every Man abounded ſo much in his own ſenſe on this point, that they were not capable of any reaſon that contradicted it. The Commiſſioners of all Counties, which were the beſt Gentlemen, and of beſt Affections, upon whom the King depended to apply the Common People to his Service, were ſo fully of this opinion, that they made Cabals with the principal Officers of the Army, to concur with them in this judgment, and to contrive ſome way how it might be brought to paſs; and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or ſo much aſhamed of not having done it, that they profeſſed themſelves to deſire it, at leaſt as much as the reſt. This temper ſpread it ſelf ſo univerſally, that it reach'd to Prince *Rupert* himſelf; who writ his Advice to that purpoſe to the Duke of *Richmond*, to be preſented to the King; who took

took that occaſion, to write the enſuing Letter to the Prince, with his own hand; which was ſo lively an expreſſion of his own Soul, that no Pen elſe could have written it, and deſerves to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, as a part of the Portraiture of of that excellent Perſon, which hath been diſguiſed by falſe, or erroneous Copies from the true Original; and follows in theſe words.

From Cardiff in the beginning of the Month of Aug. 1645.

The King's Letter to Pr. Rupert against Treating of Peace at that time.

Nephew;

" This is occaſion'd by a Letter of yours, that the Duke of *Richmond* ſhew'd " me yeſternight. And firſt, I aſſure you, I have been, and ever will be very " careful to advertiſe you of my reſolutions, aſſoon as they are taken; and if I en- " joyn'd ſilence to that which was no ſecret, it was not my fault; for I thought " it one, and I am ſure it ought to have been ſo now. As for the opinion of my " buſineſs, and your Council thereupon, if I had any other Quarrel but the de- " fence of my Religion, Crown and Friends, you had full reaſon for your ad- " vice. For I confeſs, that ſpeaking either as to meer Soldier, or States-man, I " muſt ſay, there is no probability but of my ruin; but as to Chriſtian, I muſt " tell you, that God will not ſuffer Rebels to proſper, or His Cauſe to be over- " thrown: and whatſoever Perſonal puniſhment it ſhall peaſe him to " inflict upon me, muſt not make me repine, much leſs to give over this Quar- " rel; which by the Grace of God, I am reſolv'd againſt, whatſoever it coſt me; " for I know my obligations to be both in Conſcience, and Honour, neither to aban- " don God's Cauſe, injure my Succeſſors, nor forſake my Friends. Indeed I can- " not flatter my ſelf with expectation of good ſucceſs more than this, to end my " days with Honour, and a good Conſcience; which obliges me to continue my " endeavour, as not deſpairing that God may in due time avenge his own Cauſe. " Though I muſt avow to all my Friends, that he that will ſtay with me at this time, " muſt expect, and reſolve, either to dye for a good Cauſe, or, which is worſe, to live " as miſerable in the maintaining it, as the violence of inſulting Rebels can make him. " Having thus truly and impartially ſtated my Caſe unto you, and plainly told " you my poſitive reſolutions, which, by the Grace of God, I will not alter, they " being neither lightly nor ſuddainly grounded, I earneſtly deſire you not in any " ways to hearken after Treaties; aſſuring you, as low as I am, I will not go " leſs than what was offer'd in my Name at *Uxbridge*; confeſſing that it were as " great a Miracle that they ſhould agree to ſo much reaſon, as that I ſhould " be, within a Month, in the ſame Condition that I was immediately before the " Battle of *Naſeby*. Therefore, for God's ſake, let us not flatter our ſelves with " theſe Conceits; and, believe me, the very imagination that you are deſirous of " a Treaty, will loſe me ſo much the ſooner. Wherefore, as you love me, what- " ſoever you have already done, apply your diſcourſe according to my reſolu- " tions, and judgment. As for the *Iriſh*, I aſſure you they ſhall not cheat me; " but it is poſſible they may couzen themſelves: for be aſſured, what I have " refuſed to the *Engliſh*, I will not grant to the *Iriſh* Rebels, never truſting to " that kind of People (of what Nature ſoever) more than I ſee by their Actions; " and I am ſending to *Ormond* ſuch a diſpatch, as I am ſure will pleaſe You, and " all honeſt Men; a Copy whereof, by the next opportunity, you ſhall have. " Laſtly, be confident I would not have put you, nor my ſelf, to the trouble of " this Letter, had I not a great eſtimation of you, and a full confidence of " your Friendſhip to

Your &c.

When the King came to *Cardiff*, he was entertain'd with the News, " that the " *Scotiſh* Army was ſet down before *Hereford*, and that, if it were not reliev'd " within a Month, it muſt fall into their hands. To provide for this, there could be no better way found out, than to direct the Sheriff's of thoſe *Welſh* Counties to ſummon their *poſſe Comitatus*, whereby the King was perſwaded to hope, that there would be Men enough to wait upon him in that expedition; who with the Horſe he had, would have been equal to any Attempt they could make upon the *Scots*. But it was quickly diſcover'd, that this Expedient had raiſed an unruly Spirit, that could not eaſily be ſuppreſs'd again; for the diſcontented Gentlemen of thoſe Counties, now they had gotten the People legally together, put them in mind of

" the Injuries they had receiv'd from General *Gerrard*, and the intollerable exacti-
" ons they lay under, which would undoubtedly be increaſed, if he continued in
" that Government. So that, inſtead of providing Men to march with the King,
they provided a long liſt of grievances; from all which they deſir'd to be reliev'd before they would apply themſelves towards the relief of *Hereford*. All this was ſo ſturdily urg'd that a Body of no leſs than four thouſand Men, of thoſe who were thus called together, continued together many Days and would not be ſeparated, till the King was even compell'd to give them ſatisfaction in the particular they moſt inſiſted upon; which was the removal of General *Gerrard* from having any Command over them; and that Charge was preſently conferr'd upon the Lord *Aſtly*, the Major General of the Army; who was moſt acceptable to them; and they afterwards conform'd themſelves as much to his directions, as from the diſtraction of the time, and the continual ill Succceſſes, could be expected by him.

But it was the hard fate of the King, that he could not provide what was fit for his own Service, except he provided likewiſe for the ſatisfaction of other Men's Humours and Appetites. *Gerrard* had now, upon the matter, the Command of all the Forces the King had to truſt to in thoſe Parts; and he was of too impetuous a Nature to ſubmit to any thing for Conſcience, or Diſcretion, or Duty; ſo that the King was compell'd to ſatisfie his Ambition for this preſent degradation, by making him a Baron; and which was an odd and a very fantaſtical circumſtance that attended it, for no other reaſon, than becauſe there was once an eminent Perſon, call'd *Charles Brandon*, who was afterwards made a Duke, he would be created Baron of *Brandon*, that there might be another *Charles Brandon*, who had no leſs aſpiring thoughts than the former; when he had no pretence to the Lands of *Brandon*; which belonged to, and were, at that time, in the poſſeſſion of a Gallant and Worthy Gentleman Sir *Thomas Glemham*; who at the ſame time (very unluckily upon that account) came to the King at *Cardiff*, with about two hundred Foot, which he had brought with him out of the Garriſon of *Carliſle*; which Place he had defended for the ſpace of eleven Months, againſt *David Leſley*, and till all the Horſes of the Garriſon were eaten, and then had render'd, upon as honourable Conditions, as had been given upon any Surrender; *David Leſley* himſelf convey'd him to *Hereford*; where he joyn'd with the other part of that Army, and from thence Sir *Thomas Glemham* (who was by his Conditions to march to the King wherever he was) came to his Majeſty at *Cardiff*, at the time when the Title of his own Land, which came to him by Inheritance, was conferr'd upon a Gentleman of another Family: who, how well extracted ſoever, was of leſs Fortune, and, as many thought, of no greater Quality or Merit. This unſeaſonable Preferment more irritated the Country, from which the King then expected Aſſiſtance, that when they believ'd they had accuſed him of Crimes which deſerv'd the higheſt Cenſure, they ſaw him pretend to, and rewarded in, an higher degree than he could ever probably have arriv'd to, but for that Accuſation. Here the King, after all his endeavours were render'd fruitleſs, entertain'd a new imagination, that he might get into *Scotland* to the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, who had done wonders there; and thereupon left *Cardiff*; and, over the Mountains of *Brecknock* and *Radnor*, paſſed the *Scotiſh* Quarters, and came to *Ludlow*, before that Army had any notice of his march.

When the King came firſt to *Ragland*, he had ſent an Expreſs to the Prince, by which he wiſh'd " that the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might, aſſoon as was poſſible, attend his Majeſty. The Danger of the way was ſuch, and the paſſage ſo difficult, that the Meſſenger came not quickly to his Highneſs. The Chancellor being then unfit to travel by reaſon of the Gout, the Lord *Colepepper* made all poſſible haſt out of *Cornwal* where the Prince then was, and found his Majeſty at *Cardiff*, when he was departing from thence; and waited on him to *Brecknock*; from whence he was again diſpatch'd with this Letter, to the Prince; which, being the firſt direction the King gave of that Nature, is neceſſary to be here inſerted in ſo many words.

Brecknock,

Brecknock, 5th *Auguſt*. 1645.

Charles,

" It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worſt, in order to which I ſpoke " with *Colepepper* this Morning concerning you; judging it fit to give it you un- " der my hand, that you may give the readier Obedience to it. Wherefore " know that my Pleaſure is, whenſoever you find your ſelf in apparent danger " of falling into the Rebels hands, that you convey your ſelf into *France*, and " there to be under your Mother's care; who is to have the abſolute full Power " of your Education in all things, except Religion; and in That, not to meddle " at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your Tutor, the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, " or to whom he ſhall appoint to ſupply his place, in time of his neceſſitated " abſence. And for the performance of this, I Command you to require the " Aſſiſtance and Obedience of all your Council; and, by their Advice, the ſer- " vice of every one whom You and They ſhall think fit to be employ'd in this " buſineſs; which I expect ſhould be perform'd, if need require, with all Obe- " dience, and without grumbling: This being all at this time, from

Your loving Father, *Charles R.*

The King's Letter to the Prince of Wales *from* Brecknock.

After the Lord *Goring* had lain ſome time in the ill humour we left him at *Barnſtable*, he enter'd into correſpondence with Sir *Richard Greenvil*; who, he knew well, was as uninclined to the Council about the Prince as Himſelf; and finding that the Enemy troubled him not, but had given him reſt, whilſt the Army was employed upon other important Service, They two met privately; and, upon the Encouragement and Money he receiv'd from *Greenvil*, he writ to the Chancellor a very chearful, and a very long Letter, bearing date the firſt of *Auguſt*, in which he inſerted ſeveral Propoſitions; which, he ſaid, had been framed " upon conference with Sir *Richard Greenvil*; which he deſired might be " preſented to the Prince; and if they ſhould be conſented to, and confirm'd " by his Highneſs, he ſaid, he would engage his life, that he would in a very " ſhort time have an Army of ten or twelve thouſand Men, that ſhould march " whereſoever they ſhould be Commanded; and ſhould be in as good order, as " any Army in the World: and concluded his Letter with theſe words; " I " ſee ſome light now of having a brave Army very ſpeedily on Foot, and I am " ſending a Copy of this incloſed Letter to the King, with this profeſſion, that " I will be content to loſe my Life, and my Honour, if we do not perform our " parts, if theſe demands be granted.

The Lord Goring *makes Propoſitions to the Prince.*

This Letter being preſented to his Highneſs, then at *Launceſton*, found ſo gracious a reception, that the next day, being the ſecond of *Auguſt*, the Prince return'd him an Anſwer of full conſent; and the ſame day Sign'd all the particulars propoſed by him; expreſſing a further reſolution " to add whatever elſe ſhould " be propoſed to him, and within his Power to grant; ſo that there was once more a hope of looking the Enemy in the face, and having a fair day for the Weſt. The next day, or thereabouts, Sir *Richard Greenvil* himſelf attended the Prince, in a ſeeming good humour; all the Propoſitions were immediately confirm'd, ſome of which were, " that Sir *Richard Greenvil* ſhould receive ſuch a " proportion of the Contributions of *Cornwal*, and five thouſand pounds of the " Arrears, for the payment of the Officers of the Army; and thereupon Sir " *Richard* would gather up all the Straglers, who were return'd into *Cornwal* " from their Colours; who, he ſaid, would amount to three thouſand Foot, " and he would raiſe three thouſand Foot more in *Devon-ſhire*. So he betook himſelf again to Action, ſending out his Warrants, and Levying Men and Money; having lent two hundred pounds to the Lord *Goring* at their firſt meeting, and calling the *poſſe* of *Devon* to meet at ſeveral places, where himſelf was ſtill preſent; by which, he pretended, he ſhould ſpeedily recruit the Army. But before the end of *Auguſt*, that Friendſhip grew colder; Sir *Richard* obſerving a better correſpondence between the Lord *Goring*, and Sir *John Berkley*, than he hoped would have been, and hearing that the Lord *Goring* uſed to mention him very ſlightly (which was true) he writ a very ſharp Letter to him, in which he ſaid, " he would have no more to do with him. However he continued as

which the Prince granted

Active as before, being now in *Devon*, and then in *Cornwal*, where he Commanded abſolutely without any Commiſſion, and very ſeaſonably Suppreſſed an Inſurrection about St. *Ives*, which might elſe have grown to a head; and hanged two or three fellows, who, I believe, were guilty enough, by his own order without any Council of War; and raiſed what Money he pleaſed upon others; then return'd to his Houſe at *Worrington*, All the Vivacity that had ſo lately appear'd in the Lord *Goring*, upon the news of the loſs of *Sherborne*, declin'd; and then there was nothing, but complaint of want of Money, and a Propoſition to put the Army into Garriſons; although the Enemy gave them the ſame leiſure, to purſue the former deſign, *Fairfax* being then engaged with his Army before *Briſtol*.

Aſſoon as the Prince, who was then at *Launceſton*, had read the Letter, which the Lord *Colepepper* brought to him from the King, he return'd it to the Lord *Colepepper* to keep, and to Communicate it to the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for it was a misfortune, that there was not ſo good Correſpondence with the Earl of *Berk-ſhire* (through ſome jealouſies that were infuſed into him) as might have been wiſh'd; and from the Prince's firſt coming into *Cornwal*, ſome of his Servants of the beſt Quality, who had from the beginning been diſcontented, and upon ſtrange pretences thought themſelves undervalued that they were not of the Council, and, ſince the King's misfortune at *Naſeby*, expreſſed their indiſpoſitions with more Licence, and whiſper'd abroad "that there was a purpoſe of carrying the Prince into *France*, not that they believ'd it, but thereby thought to render the Council odious and ſuſpected, had wrought ſo far upon the Earl of *Berk-ſhire*, that He ſeem'd to believe it too, whereby they got ſo much intereſt in him, that he always Communicated whatſoever paſſed in Council to them; ſo that a Letter of ſo great importance was not thought fit to be Communicated to him, nor to the Earl of *Brentford*, who (though he was very kind, and juſt to the other four) was not without his jealouſies, and was an ill treaſurer of Secrets. They were very much troubled at the ſight of the Letter, not at the Command of leaving the Kingdom, for, though they had never Communicated their thoughts to each other upon that Subject before, they found themſelves unanimous in the Reſolution, "that rather than he ſhould be taken by the Rebels, they would carry "him into any part of the Chriſtian World. For the better doing whereof, from that minute, they took care that there was always a Ship ready in the Harbour of *Falmouth*. But it troubled them, "that the King's Command was "ſo poſitive for *France*, againſt which they could make to themſelves many Ob-"jections. Beſides that, one of the Prince's Bed-Chamber, who was newly return'd from *Paris*, brought a Letter from the Earl of *Norwich*, then the King's Embaſſador there, to one of the Council; in which taking notice of a report there of the Prince of *Wales*'s coming thither, he paſſionately declar'd againſt it, "as a certain Ruin to the Prince; of which the Meſſenger, by His direction, gave many inſtances of moment. And they were the more troubled, becauſe the Lord *Colepepper*, who brought that Letter from the King; averr'd, that "he had Had no conference with the King upon the Argument, but had wholely "declin'd it, as a matter too great for him: ſo that they had nothing before "them but that Letter. After two or three ſad Debates between themſelves, they agreed upon "a Letter to be prepared in Cipher, preſenting their reaſons, "and what they had been inform'd concerning *France*; and therefore offer'd it to "his Majeſty, whether he would not leave the choice of the place to them, "or nominate ſome other, againſt which ſo many exceptions might not be "made; and propoſed *Ireland*, (if the Peace were made there) or *Scotland*, if "the Marquis of *Mountroſe* was as Victorious as he was reported to be; "withal aſſuring his Majeſty, that in caſe of danger, they would run any "hazard, or into any Country, before the Prince ſhould fall into the hands "of the Rebels. This Letter after it was Communicated with the Prince, as the Debates had been, was forthwith ſent by an Expreſs.

Towards the end of *Auguſt*, the Lord *Goring*, after he had, in all his ſecret diſcourſes, and in the hours of his jollity, ſpoken very bitterly of the Council about the Prince, as the Authors of all the Miſcarriages, ſent the Lord *Wentworth* to *Launceſton* to his Highneſs, with certain demands, as he call'd them, on his behalf; but with direction, "that before he preſented them to the Prince, he

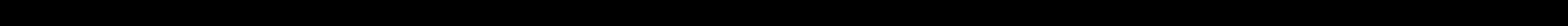
"ſhould

" ſhould Communicate them to the Lord *Colepepper*, or to the Chancellor, and be " adviſed by them, in what manner to preſent them.

His Demands were, and ſo he ſtyl'd them (1) To have a Commiſſion to be Lieutenant-General of all the Weſt, and to Command immediately under the Prince, Garriſons as well as the Army, and to be ſworn of the Council aſſoon as might be. (2) That all Commiſſions to Officers of the Army, when his Highneſs is preſent, be given by the Prince; but that his Highneſs ſhould ſign none but ſuch as he ſhould prepare for him. (3) That in the Prince's abſence he ſhould Sign, and grant all Commiſſions; and that, if any Governments of Towns ſhould fall vacant, he might have the abſolute recommendation of thoſe that are to ſucceed, or, at leaſt, a Negative Voice. (4) That all deſigns of Conſequence ſhould be debated, in the Prince's preſence, by the Prince's Council, and ſuch Officers of the Army as he ſhould chooſe to aſſiſt at it. (5) That the Number of the Prince's Guards ſhould be limited; and many other particulars, which ſeem'd ſo unreaſonable, and unfit to be publickly urged, that the Lord *Colepepper* perſwaded the Lord *Wentworth*, to ſuſpend the preſenting them; " the rather (as he ſaid) becauſe the Chancellor was then " abſent (being ſent by his Highneſs to *Pendennis*-Caſtle, under pretence of giving ſome direction in the matter of the Cuſtoms, but, in truth, to take care that the Frigat provided for the Prince's Tranſportation might be in readineſs, and Victuals be privately made ready, to be preſently put on Board, when the occaſion ſhould require) " and likewiſe becauſe his Highneſs intend- " ed to be ſhortly at *Exeter*, where the Lord *Goring*, being preſent, might bet- " ter conſider, and debate his own buſineſs; to the which the Lord *Wentworth* conſented.

For the Commiſſioners of *Devon* had beſought his Highneſs to interpoſe his Authority, in the regulating and diſpoſing the Army to march towards the relief of *Briſtol*; declaring, " as the poſture of it then was, that both that " County, and Garriſons, muſt in a ſhort time be as much undone, and loſt " by Them, as by the Invaſion of the Enemy; that all the Foot ſubſiſted " by, and liv'd upon, the Magazines of the Garriſons; and the Horſe poſſeſ- " ſed the other part of the Country to themſelves; and would neither ſuffer " proviſions to be brought to the Markets, for the repleniſhing their Stores, " nor Warrants to be executed for any payments; pretending they were " to defend their own Quarters; whilſt themſelves levyed what Monies they " pleaſed, and committed all ſorts of inſolencies and outrages. By this means both before in *Somerſet-ſhire*, and afterwards in *Devon-ſhire*, when the King's Army was forced to retire, the Enemy found great plenty of Proviſions in thoſe Quarters, where His Forces had been in danger of ſtarving: as, all about *Taunton*, there were very great quantities of Corn, when the King's Forces had cauſed all their Bread to be brought out of the Stores of *Bridgewater*, and *Exeter*; which proceeded partly from the negligence, and lazineſs of the Officers and Soldiers, who would not be at the trouble of threſhing out the Mows, and Ricks, which were there; but principally by the Protection given by the Horſe; who would not ſuffer any thing to be carried out of their Quarters; and ſuch as ſent their Proviſions to Market, were ſure to have their Money taken from them in their return. Inſomuch as it was affirm'd by the Commiſſioners of *Exeter*, " that before the E- " nemy had any Quarter within ten miles, there was not ſo much proviſion " brought into that City in a Fortnight, as they ſpent in a Day: which was only by reaſon of the diſorder of our own Horſe, General *Goring* being all this time in *Exeter*, breaking Jeſts, and Laughing at all People, who brought complaints to him; as, one day, when the Fiſhermen complained to him, " that as they came to the " Market, they were robbed by his Troopers, who took all their Fiſh from them, he ſaid, " that they might by this ſee what great Injury was done to his Men, by " thoſe who accuſed them of great Swearing; for if they did Swear, you know (ſaid " he) they could catch no Fiſh.

Upon theſe reaſons, and the very earneſt deſire of the Lord *Goring*, and the Commiſſioners, the Prince, on *Friday* the 29th of *Auguſt*, went from *Launceſton* to *Exeter* in one day; leaving Sir *Richard Greenvil* (who then ſeem'd to be in good humour) to bring up the Soldiers in *Cornwal*, and to haſten his Levies in the North and Weſt parts of *Devon*. The Army having now lain ſtill from the beginning of *July* to the end of *Auguſt*, without the leaſt Action, or Alarm from the Enemy, and



ſo being ſufficiently refreſh'd, and, as their Officers ſaid, awaken'd to a ſenſe and a ſhame of their former amazements, it was unanimouſly agreed at a Council of War, his Highneſs being preſent, "that the Foot ſhould preſently advance to *Ti-*
"*verton*; and the Horſe to the Eaſt of *Exeter*; and that, aſſoon as Sir *Richard*
"*Greenvil* could come up with his Men, they ſhould all advance to the relief
"of *Briſtol*; which was underſtood to be in a very good condition; the laſt Meſſenger that came thence, aſſuring the Prince, as from Prince *Rupert*, that he was ſufficiently provided with all Neceſſaries for ſix Months.

A deſign to Petition the Prince to ſend Conditions of Peace, prevented.

There had been, from the time of the firſt going of the Prince into *Cornwal*, ſeveral rumours diſperſed, as hath been ſaid, by thoſe who were diſcontented or angry with the Council, "that there was an intent to carry the Prince
"into *France*; which begot infinite prejudice to all that was adviſed. Of this diſcourſe General *Goring* had made great uſe, to the diſadvantage of all thoſe whom he deſired to diſcredit, which was indeed one of the Motives of his Highneſs's Journey to *Exeter*, that he might diſcountenance that Report; which had wrought ſo far amongſt the Gentlemen of the ſeveral Weſtern Counties, who were retir'd thither for Safety, that there was a Reſolution among them "to Petition the Prince to interpoſe between the King and the Parliament;
"and to ſend a Meſſage to the latter with Overtures of Peace: and to that purpoſe, meetings had been amongſt thoſe Gentlemen, to agree upon what Articles the Prince ſhould propoſe a Peace; every Man declaring his opinion, what condeſcenſion ſhould be in the matter of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, upon conſideration of what had paſſed at *Uxbridge*. When my Lords of the Council heard of theſe conſultations, they apprehended great inconveniencies might ariſe from thence to the King's Service, and to the Prince; who, by being preſſed by their deſires, and importunities, would loſe the honour and thanks of the good Succeſs that might attend it: Beſides that, if he ſhould ſend any Meſſage upon their Motion, they would quickly make Themſelves Judges of the matter of it, and Counſellors of what was to be done upon it: therefore they were of opinion, "that all endeavours were to be uſed to divert, and prevent any Petition of
"ſuch a nature from being preſented to his Highneſs; which, with great difficulty, was at laſt perfected.

A Conference between the Lord Goring *and one of the Prince's Counſil.*

Shortly after the Prince's coming to *Exeter*, the Lord *Goring* being not then well, but engaged in a courſe of Phyſick, deſir'd that he might have a free Conference with one of the Council in private; in which, he profeſſed he would diſcover his heart, and whatever had ſtuck with him. Whereupon, according to appointment, the Perſon he had deſir'd, went to him one Morning to his Lodging; when he cauſed all Perſons to withdraw; and bid his Servant not to ſuffer any Man to diſturb them. When they were by themſelves, he began with the diſcourſe of "unkindneſſes he had apprehended from the Council, and from
"that Perſon in particular; but confeſſed he had been deceiv'd, and abuſed
"by wrong information: that he was now very ſenſible of the Damage that had
"befallen the Publick by thoſe Private Jealouſies and Miſtakes; and deſired, that
"if any thing had indiſcreetly or paſſionately fallen from him, it might be for-
"gotten; and that they might all proceed vigorouſly in what concern'd the King's
"Service; in which he could not receive a better encouragement, than by an
"aſſurance of that Perſon's Friendſhip. From this, he diſcourſed at large his ap-
"prehenſions of his Brother *Porter*, of his Cowardice, and of his Treachery, with
"very great freedom in many particular inſtances; and concluded, "that he re-
"ſolv'd to quit himſelf of him; and after two hours ſpent in thoſe diſcourſes, and in ſomewhat that concern'd his Father, in which he ſaid, "he was to receive this
"Perſon's advice by his Father's direction (it being about the Government of *Pendennis*) as if he had ſaid all he meant to ſay, he asked the other negligently,
"what he thought of the Demands he had ſent by the Lord *Wentworth*? Proteſting,
"he had no private thoughts, but only an Eye to the Publick Service; towards
"the doing whereof, as the exigents of Affairs then ſtood, he did not think himſelf
"ſufficiently qualified. The other told him, "that whatever He thought of them
"would not ſignify much, being but a ſingle voice in Council; by the concurrent
"Advice whereof, he preſumed, the Prince would govern himſelf. However,
"if he would have him tell him his opinion as a Friend, he would ſhew himſelf ſo
"ill a Courtier, as to tell it him frankly; which, except he reform'd him in his
"judgement, he would declare where it ſhould be propos'd, and, he believ'd, it

"would

" would be the opinion of moſt of the Lords, if it were not His. Thereupon he told him very freely and plainly, " that he thought his Demands not fit for the " Prince to grant, nor ſeaſonable for him to ask; his Authority being the ſame, " as to the Publick, all his Orders being Obeyed, and the Prince giving Him the " ſame Aſſiſtance, as if he were his Lieutenant General: that the Prince had not " hitherto interpoſed his Authority in the governing that Army; and therefore, " that he conceiv'd it unſeaſonable, at that time, for his Highneſs to intereſt him- " ſelf in the Command thereof; which he ſhould do by making him Lieutenant " General: that the King having directed the Prince to make the Lord *Hopton* his " Lieutenant General, it would not become Them to adviſe the Prince to alter that " deſignation, without receiving his Majeſty's Command: therefore he adviſed him, " ſince the alteration was no way neceſſary, and would inevitably beget much trou- " ble, that he would defer the preſſing it, till the King's Affairs ſhould be in a better Poſture. Satisfied he was not, yet he forbore to importune the Prince to that purpoſe at this time.

Prince Rupert *delivers up* Briſtol.

About the middle of *September*, the Prince being ſtill at *Exeter*, the News came of the fatal loſs of *Briſtol*; which, as all ill accidents at that time did, caſt all Men on their Faces, and damped all the former Vigour and Activity for a march. However, the former Reſolution continued of drawing to *Tiverton*, and at leaſt of defending thoſe Paſſes, and keeping the Enemy from invading *Devon*: for the better doing whereof, and enabling them to Fight, if *Fairfax* ſhould advance, the Prince return'd to *Launceſton*; whither he ſummon'd all the Train'd-bands of *Cornwal*, and an appearance of the whole Country; which appear'd very chearfully, and ſeem'd well inclined to march to *Tiverton*. In the mean time the ſame negligence and diſorder continued in the Army, and the Lord *Goring*, with the ſame Licence and Unconcernedneſs, remain'd at *Exeter*, to the great Scandal of the Country, and diſheartning of the Army. About the latter end of *September*, his Lordſhip writ a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper*; in which he remember'd him of the Propoſitions formerly ſent by the Lord *Wentworth* to *Launceſton*; and recounted at large, but very unjuſtly, the diſcourſe which had paſſed between the other Counſellor and him, at *Exeter*, upon that Subject; in which he charged the other with Anſwers very far from thoſe he had receiv'd from him; and deſir'd his Lordſhip, " that, by His " means, he might know poſitively what he was to truſt to; concluding, " that " without ſuch a Commiſſion as he deſir'd, he could not be anſwerable for the Mu- " tinies and Diſorders of the Army. Whereupon his Highneſs, upon full conſideration of the miſchiefs that would attend his Service, if he ſhould conſent to the Matter of thoſe Demands, or comply with the Manner of the demanding, ſent him word, " that he would not for the preſent, grant any ſuch Commiſſion; and wiſh- " ed him " to purſue the former Counſels and Reſolutions, in advancing towards " the Enemy; all things being in a good forwardneſs in *Cornwal* to ſecond him. And ſo there was no further preſſing that Overture; however, he preſum'd to ſtyle himſelf, in all his Warrants and Treaties with the Commiſſioners, and in ſome Orders which he Printed, " General of the Weſt.

The ſuddain and unexpected loſs of *Briſtol*, was a new Earthquake in all the little Quarters the King had left, and no leſs broke all the Meaſures which had been taken, and the deſigns which had been contrived, than the loſs of the Battle of *Naſeby* had done. The King had made haſt from *Ludlow*, that the *Scotiſh* Army might no more be able to interrupt him; and with very little reſt paſſed through *Shropſhire*, and *Derbyſhire*, till he came to *Wellbeck*, a Houſe of the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* in *Nottingham-ſhire*, then a Garriſon for his Majeſty; where he refreſhed Himſelf, and his Troops, two days; and, as far as any reſolution was fixed in thoſe days, the purpoſe was, " to march directly into *Scotland*, to joyn with the Marquis of *Mountroſe*; who had, upon the matter, reduced that whole Kingdom. During his Majeſty's ſhort ſtay at *Wellbeck*, the Governour of *Newark*, with the Commiſſioners for *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*, repaired to him, as likewiſe all thoſe Gentlemen of *York-ſhire* who had been in *Pontefract*-Caſtle (which, after a long and worthy defence, was lately, for meer want of all kind of Proviſions, Surrender'd upon good conditions; whereby, " all the Soldiers had liberty to repair to their " own Houſes, and might live quietly there) whereupon the Gentlemen aſſured the King, " they were as ready as ever to ſerve him, when they ſhould " be required. Whether the wonted irreſolution of thoſe about the King, or the imagination, upon this report of the Gentlemen, that a body of Foot might be

ſpeedily gather'd together in thoſe parts (which was enough encouraged by the chearfulneſs of all the Gentlemen of the ſeveral Counties) prevailed, or not, ſo it was, that the King was perſwaded, "that it was not beſt to continue his march, "with that ſpeed he intended, towards *Mountroſe*; but that it would be better to "ſend an Expreſs to him, to agree upon a fit place for their meeting; and in "the mean time, his Majeſty might be able to refreſh his wearied Troops, "and to raiſe a Body of Foot in thoſe parts. To which purpoſe, *Doncaſter* was propoſed as a fit place to begin in: and to *Doncaſter*, thereupon, the King went; and the Gentlemen ſo well perform'd their undertaking, that, within three days, there was an appearance of full three thouſand Foot; who undertook, within four and twenty hours, to appear well armed, and ready to march with his Majeſty, what way ſoever he would go.

The King goes to Doncaſter.

Here again the King's froward Fortune, deprived him of this opportunity to put himſelf into a poſture of War. That very Night, they receiv'd Intelligence, "that *David Leſly* was come to *Rotheram* with all the *Scotiſh* Horſe; which was within ten miles of *Doncaſter*. The News whereof ſo confounded them (as beaten and baffled Troops do not naturally, in a ſhort time, recover courage enough to endure the ſight of an Enemy) that they concluded "he came in "purſuit of the King, and therefore that it was now too late to proceed upon their "Northern Expedition, and that the King, muſt ſpeedily remove to a greater "diſtance for his own ſecurity. Whereupon, he made haſt (without expecting that recruit of Foot) from *Doncaſter*, back again to *Newark*; Reſolving then to go directly to *Oxford*; whereas, in truth, *David Leſly*, knew nothing of the King's being in thoſe parts; but, upon ſuddain Orders from *Scotland*, was required to march, with all poſſible expedition, with the Horſe, to relieve his own Country from being totally overrun and ſubdued by the Marquis of *Mountroſe*; who had then actually taken *Edenborough*. The Orders had no ſooner come to the *Scotiſh* Army before *Hereford*, but he began his march, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any Enemy in his way, till he ſhould come into *Scotland*; and ſo, as he had made a very long march that day, he came tired and wearied with his Troops that Night into *Rotheram*. And he confeſſed afterwards, "if the King "had then fallen upon him, as he might eaſily have done, he had found him in a "very ill poſture to have made reſiſtance, and had abſolutely preſerv'd *Mountroſe*. But by his ſo ſuddain retreat, *David Leſley* was at liberty to purſue his march for *Scotland*, and came upon *Mountroſe*, before he expected ſuch an Enemy; and ſo prevented his future triumph, that he was compell'd with great loſs to retire again into the Highlands; and *Leſley* return'd time enough to relieve and ſupport the *Scotiſh* Army, after they were compell'd to riſe from *Hereford*.

Thence to Newark.

Mountroſe *defeated by* David Leſley

The King goes to Oxford:

The King now, with great expedition, proſecuted his Journey to *Oxford*, though not without making ſome Starts out of the way; by which he had opportunity to beat up ſome Quarters of new levied Horſe for the Service of the Parliament; and, before the end of *Auguſt*, he arrived at *Oxford*; where he did not ſtay more than two days, but departed from thence again to *Worceſter*, with a reſolution to attempt the relief of *Hereford*; which had defended it ſelf bravely, and very much weaken'd the *Scotiſh* Army by frequent Sallies. They had only a Body of eight hundred tired Horſe remaining, which *David Leſley* left behind him when he marched with the reſt into *Scotland*; and therefore the raiſing that Siege was thought the leſs difficult; and with this reſolution his Majeſty left *Oxford* the third day after he came thither. Upon his arrival at *Kagland*, he was certainly inform'd, "that *Fairfax* had Beſieged *Briſtol*; for which no body underwent any trouble; for all Men looked upon that place as well Fortified, Manned, and Victualled; and the King even then receiv'd a very chearful Letter from Prince *Rupert*; in which, "he undertook to defend it full four Months. So that the Siege being begun ſo late in the year, as the beginning of *September*, there was reaſonable hope that the Army might be ruined, before the Town taken. Therefore the King proſecuted his former reſolution, at leaſt to endeavour the relief of *Hereford*. And as he was upon his March thither, he receiv'd Intelligence, "that the *Scotiſh* Army, upon the notice of his Purpoſe, was that Morning riſen "in great diſorder and confuſion, and reſolv'd to make their retreat on the *Welſh* "ſide of the River, and ſo to paſs through *Gloceſter*. This news was ſo welcome, and his Majeſty was receiv'd with ſo full joy into the City of *Hereford*, that he ſlipp'd the opportunity he then had of diſcommoding at leaſt, if not ruining the

Thence to Ragland.

The Scots *riſe from before* Hereford *and march into the North.*

Scotiſh

Scotiſh Army; which now paſſed through a ſtrange Country, where they had never been, and where the whole Nation was extremely odious to the People. Nor would the Governour of *Glouceſter* ſuffer them to paſs through his Garriſon, till they ſent him word plainly "that if they might not paſs through that Town, they "knew they ſhould be very welcome to paſs through *Worceſter*; by which Argument he was convinced; ſo that he permitted them to go through that Town, from whence they proſecuted their march into the North. If, in all this time, they had been purſued by the King's Horſe, conſidering the ſmall Body they had of their own, there is little doubt to be made, very many, if not the greater part of that Army, had been deſtroyed.

But the King's heart was now ſo wholely ſet upon the Relief of *Briſtol*, that nothing elſe was thought upon, which might in any degree delay it. And ſo the King, from *Hereford*, advertiſed Prince *Rupert*, "that he had raiſed the Siege of "*Hereford*, and that the *Scots* were marched Northward; that he intended ſpee-"dily to relieve him; and in order to it, that he had then commanded General "*Goring*, to draw what force he could out of the Weſt, and to march to the "*Somerſet-ſhire* ſide of *Briſtol*; and that his Majeſty would himſelf have a Body of "three thouſand Foot, drawn out of the ſeveral Garriſons of thoſe parts, which "ſhould paſs over the *Severn*, about *Berkley*-Caſtle on *Glouceſter-ſhire* ſide; and "that his Horſe, which were then above three thouſand, ſhould at the ſame "time Ford the *Severn* not far from *Glouceſter* (as they might have done) "and ſo joyn with the Foot; and by this means, all things being well concerted, "they might hopefully fall on *Fairfax* his Quarters on both ſides. And the better to bring all this to paſs, the King himſelf went the ſecond time to *Ragland*, the Houſe of the Marquis of *Worceſter*; ſending the Horſe to thoſe ſeveral places, as might beſt facilitate the execution of the deſign that was form'd for the relief of *Briſtol*.

But when the King came to *Ragland*, he receiv'd the terrible information of the Surrender of *Briſtol*, which he ſo little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been unqueſtionable, it could not have been believ'd. With what indignation, and dejection of Mind, the King receiv'd this Advertiſement, needs no other deſcription and enlargement, than the ſetting down, in the very words of it, the Letter which the King writ thereupon to Prince *Rupert*; which, conſidering the unſpeakable indulgence his Majeſty had ever ſhew'd towards that Prince, is ſufficient evidence, how highly he was offended and incenſed by that Act; which yet he took ſome time ſadly to think of, and conſider, before he would allow himſelf to abate ſo much of his natural candour towards him. Aſſoon as he receiv'd that ſurpriſing Intelligence, he preſently remov'd from *Ragland*, and return'd to *Hereford*, the Poſt he choſe wherein to conſider the deſperateneſs of the condition he was in, and to enter upon new conſultations. To that purpoſe, he ſent Orders, "for all the Officers, and their Troops, which had been ſent into *Shrop-*"*ſhire*, *Worceſter-ſhire*, and South *Wales*, to provide for the relief of *Briſtol*, to "attend him there. And aſſoon as he came to *Hereford*, he diſpatch'd an Expreſs with this Letter to Prince *Rupert*.

Hereford 14th *Sept.* 1645.

The King's Letter to Prince Rupert *upon his Surrender of* Briſtol.

Nephew,

"Though the loſs of *Briſtol* be a great blow to me, yet your Surrendring it as "you did, is of ſo much affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget the "conſideration of that place, but is likewiſe the Greateſt Trial of my con-"ſtancy that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done, after one that is ſo "near me as You are, both in Blood and Friendſhip, ſubmits himſelf to ſo mean "an Action? (I give it the eaſieſt term) ſuch ——— I have ſo much to ſay, "that I will ſay no more of it: only, leſt raſhneſs of judgment be laid to my "charge, I muſt remember you of your Letter of the 12th of *Auguſt*, where-"by you aſſured me, that, if no Mutiny happen'd, you would keep *Briſtol* for "four Months. Did you keep it four Days? Was there any thing like a "Mutiny? More Queſtions might be asked, but Now, I confeſs, to little pur-"poſe: My concluſion is, to deſire you to ſeek your Subſiſtence, until it ſhall "pleaſe God to determine of my Condition, ſomewhere beyond Sea; to which "end I ſend you herewith a Paſs; and I pray God to make you ſenſible of

" your preſent Condition, and give you means to redeem what you have loſt;
" for I ſhall have no greater joy in a Victory, than a juſt occaſion without
" bluſhing to aſſure you of my being
Your loving Uncle, and moſt faithful Friend, *C. R.*

With this Letter, the King ſent a Revocation of all Commiſſions formerly granted to Prince *Rupert*, and ſignified his Pleaſure to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, whither Prince *Rupert* was retired with his Troops from *Briſtol*, " that they ſhould require Prince *Rupert* to deliver into their hands his Com-
" miſſion. And whether the King had really ſome apprehenſion that he might make ſome difficulty in giving it up, and make ſome diſorder in *Oxford*, or whether it was the effect of other Men's Counſels, his Majeſty, at the ſame time, ſent a Warrant likewiſe for the preſent Impriſonment of Colonel *Leg* (who was Governour of *Oxford*) as a Perſon much in the Prince's favour, and therefore like to be ſubſervient to any of his Commands. But this circumſtance of rigour, made the other judgment upon the Prince thought to be over ſuddain,
" that He ſhould be made the firſt Example of the King's Severity, when ſo
" many high Enormities, and Miſcarriages of others, had paſſed without being
" call'd in queſtion. And as no body ſuſpected the Prince's want of Duty in ſubmitting to the King's Pleaſure, ſo Colonel *Leg* was generally believ'd to be a Man of that entire Loyalty to the King, that he was above all temptations: this circumſtance of committing the Governour, made the other to be likewiſe ſuſpected to be more the effect of the power of ſome Potent Adverſaries, than of the King's own Severity.

When the Prince of *Wales* came to *Launceſton* from *Exeter* (which was about the middle of *September*) after the loſs of *Briſtol*, and the motion of the Enemy inclined Weſtward, it was then thought fit to draw all the Train'd-bands of *Cornwal* to *Launceſton*, and as many of them as could be perſwaded, to march Eaſtward; it being agreed at *Exeter*, " that, if the Enemy gave time, the force
" of both Counties (ſave what was neceſſary to be continued at *Plymouth*) ſhould
" be drawn to *Tiverton*, and, upon that Paſs, to Fight with the Rebels; for the better compaſſing whereof, it was Order'd, " that Sir *Richard Greenvil* ſhould
" Command all the *Corniſh* Train'd-bands, whereunto ſhould be added his own
" three Regiments, which he had formerly carried to *Taunton*; who took themſelves to be ſo diſobliged, both Officers and Soldiers (as in truth they were) by the Lord *Goring*, that they were abſolutely disbanded, and could by no other means be gotten together, but upon aſſurance that they ſhould be Commanded by Sir *Richard Greenvil*. Things being thus ſettled, *Greenvil* ſeem'd well ſatisfied, having all the reſpect, and encouragement from the Prince that was deſir'd, or could be given; and without any other indiſpoſition, than that, once in two or three days, he would write a Letter either to the Prince himſelf, the Lords, or Mr. *Fanſhaw*, Extolling himſelf, and Reproaching the Lord *Goring*'s plundering Horſe, and ſometimes Sir *John Berkley*; in all which he uſed a very extraordinary Licence.

During the Prince's being at *Exeter*, Sir *John Berkley* had deſir'd, " that, in
" reſpect his continual preſence would be neceſſary at *Exeter*, ſince the Enemy
" apparently look'd that way, his Highneſs would diſpoſe the Command of the
" Forces before *Plymouth*, to ſuch a Perſon as He thought fit; who might dili-
" gently attend that Service. There was a general inclination to have ſent back Sir *Richard Greenvil* to that Charge, which it was viſible he look'd for; but there were three great points to be conſider'd; The firſt, the pretence that General *Digby* had to that Command; to whom it Originally belonged; and both He, and the Earl of *Briſtol*, expected it upon this alteration; he being at that time ſo well recover'd in his health, that he was well able to execute the Command: The next, that if it ſhould be offer'd to *Greenvil*, he would inſiſt upon ſuch aſſignations of Contributions, as would make the ſubſiſtence of the Army, and of the Garriſons impoſſible; the laſt and greateſt, was, that the whole deſign being now to draw ſuch a Body together, as might give the Rebels Battle, this could not be without the *Corniſh* Train'd-bands, and thoſe other Soldiers, who had run from their Colours; neither of which, would march without Sir *Richard Greenvil*; and it was apparent, if he went to *Plymouth*, thoſe old Soldiers would go to him. Beſides, his experience and activity was then thought moſt neceſſary to the marching Army; where there

there was a great dearth of good Officers. Hereupon, it was reſolv'd that General *Digby* ſhould again reſume the Charge about *Plymouth*, but upon any extraordinary occaſion, and advance of the Enemy, he was to receive Orders from Sir *Richard Greenvil*; and accordingly, upon Sir *Richard Greenvil*'s advancing into *Devon*, and fixing a Quarter at *Okington*, *Digby* was order'd ſo to do; which he obſerv'd accordingly.

In the beginning of *October*, the Lord *Goring* perſwaded the Commiſſioners of *Devon*, upon his promiſe to puniſh and ſuppreſs all diſorders in the Soldiery, and that the Markets ſhould be free, " to double the Contribution of the County for " ſix Weeks, and to aſſign half thereof to his Army; by vertue whereof he raiſ-ed vaſt Sums of Money; but abated nothing of the former diſorders, and preſſures: and the Money ſo raiſed, inſtead of being regularly diſtributed amongſt the Soldiers, was diſpoſed to ſuch Perſons as he thought fit by his Warrants to direct. But no ſooner was Sir *Thomas Fairfax* advanced as far as *Cullampton*, than the Lord *Goring* gave over the thought of defending *Devon*, and, by his Letter of the 11*th* of *October* to the Lord *Colepepper*, ſaid, " that he had ſent all the Horſe, but one " thouſand, Weſtward, under the Command of the Major General, to joyn with " the *Corniſh*; who were to advance; and that Himſelf, with one thouſand Horſe, " and all his Foot, reſolv'd to ſtay in *Exeter* to defend that Town, if the Enemy " came before it; or to be ready to attend their Rear, if they march'd forward; and therefore deſir'd, " that his Highneſs would appoint whom he thought fit, to " give Orders to the Lord *Wentworth*, his Major General, who was prepared not " to diſpute Orders ſent by any Subſtituted by the Prince. Hereupon, the Prince had appointed Sir *Richard Greenvil* " to advance with the *Corniſh* to *Okington*, and directed the Major General " to receive Orders from him: But, by that time they two had diſpoſed themſelves in Order, as they did very handſomly and chearfully, General *Goring* changed his mind, and within four days after his former Letter, he retired with his thouſand Horſe out of *Exeter* to *Newton Buſhell*; and then ſent to the Prince, by a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper*, to know " whe-" ther Sir *Richard Greenvil* ſhould receive Orders from him; and offer'd to un-" dertake any deſign with Sir *Richard Greenvil*, or by Himſelf, as the Prince " ſhould direct; or that if his Preſence and Command ſhould be thought, on the " account of any indiſpoſition in the *Corniſh* towards him, probable to produce any " inconvenience to the Service, he would willingly, for that Expedition, reſign " his Command to any Perſon the Prince would deſign for it: intimating withal, " that if the Lord *Hopton* had it, the Lord *Wentworth* would willingly receive Or-" ders from him. His Highneſs, the next day, writ to him, " that he committed " the management of the whole to his Lordſhip; and had Commanded Sir *Richard* " *Greenvil* to receive Orders from him, who had then a good Body of *Corniſh* " with him, and power to draw off the Men from *Plymouth*, if there ſhould be " occaſion.

The King's having been in that perpetual motion, as hath been mention'd before, kept the Expreſs that had been ſent to him from the Counſellors, upon the firſt ſignification of his Pleaſure concerning the Prince's Tranſportation into *France*, from delivering that Letter for ſome time. So that it was the middle of *October*, before they receiv'd his Majeſty's further direction. Then this Letter to the Lord *Colepepper* was brought back by the ſame Expreſs.

The King's Letter concerning the Prince of Wales.

Colepepper,

" I have ſeen and conſider'd your diſpatches; and for this time you muſt be content " with Reſults without the Reaſons, leaving you to find them; Lord *Goring* muſt " break through to *Oxford* with his Horſe, and from thence, if he can, find me " out, whereſoever he ſhall underſtand I ſhall be; the Region about *Newark* being, " as I conceive, the moſt likely place. But that which is of more neceſſity in-" deed abſolute, is, that, with the beſt conveniency, the moſt ſecrecy, and great-" eſt expedition, Prince *Charles* be Tranſported into *France*; where his Mother is " to have the ſole care of him, in all things but one, which is his Religion; and " that muſt ſtill be under the care of the Biſhop of *Salisbury*; and this I undertake " his Mother ſhall ſubmit unto: concerning which, by my next diſpatch, I will " advertiſe Her; this is all; So I reſt

Your moſt aſſured Friend, *Charles R.*

Though this Letter was writ after the loſs of *Briſtol*, yet when it arriv'd, the hopes of the Weſt were not thought deſperate; and it was abſolutely concluded between the Lords, "that, as the Perſon of the Prince was never to be in hazard "of being ſurprized, ſo he was not to be Tranſported out of the King's Domini- "ons, but upon apparent viſible neceſſity in point of ſafety: And the very ſuſpi- cion of his going had been, both by the Lord *Goring* and others, enviouſly whiſ- per'd, to the great diſheartning of the People; ſo that (beſides that an unſeaſonable attempt of going, might have been diſappointed) they ſaw that the loſs of the whole Weſt, both Garriſons, and Army, would immediately have attended that Action, and therefore they thought, they ſhould be abſolv'd, in point of duty, by the King, if they only preſerv'd themſelves in a power of obeying him, without exe- cuting his Command at that time; eſpecially ſince General *Goring* thought it not reaſonable to obſerve the Orders, which were ſent to him at the ſame time, for marching towards the King, nor ſo much as adviſed with his Highneſs, or Commu- nicated that he had receiv'd any ſuch Orders; and yet his Highneſs let him know, "that he was well content, that he ſhould break through with his Horſe to the "King; which he might have done.

The Enemy, having gain'd *Tiverton*, made no great haſt to the Weſt of *Exeter*, but ſpent their time in Fortifying ſome Houſes near the Town, on the Eaſt ſide, without receiving the leaſt diſturbance from the Army; the Lord *Goring* entertain- ing himſelf in his uſual jollity between *Exeter*, *Totneſs*, and *Dartmouth*; it being publickly ſpoken in *Exeter*, "that the Lord *Goring* intented to leave the Army, "and ſpeedily to go beyond Seas, and that Lieutenant General *Porter* reſolv'd to go "to the Parliament; long before the Prince underſtood General *Goring*'s reſolution to go into *France*, by any intimation from himſelf. The twentieth of *November*, his Lordſhip writ a Letter from *Exeter* to the Prince by the Lord *Wentworth*, "that, now that the Enemy and his Lordſhip were ſettled in their Winter Quar- "ters (whereas the Enemy was then as ſtirring as ever) he did beg leave of his "Highneſs to ſpend ſome time for the recovery of his health, in *France*; intimating, "that he hoped to do his Highneſs ſome notable Service by "that Journey; and deſir'd, "that his Army might remain entirely under "the Command of the Lord *Wentworth* (whereas, not above a Fortnight be- fore he writ, "that the Lord *Wentworth* was very willing to receive Orders from "the Lord *Hopton*) until his return; "which, he ſaid, ſhould be in two Months; and ſo having diſpatch'd the Lord *Wentworth* with this Letter to the Prince to *Truro*, his Lordſhip, never attending his Highneſs's leave or approbation, went the ſame, or the next day, to *Dartmouth*; where he ſtay'd no longer than till he could pro- cure a paſſage into *France*; whither, with the firſt wind, he was Tranſported; Lieutenant General *Porter*, at the ſame time, declining the Exerciſe of his Com- mand, and having receiv'd ſeveral Meſſages, Letters, and a Paſs from the Enemy for his going to *London*. After the knowledge whereof, General *Goring* ſign'd a Warrant for the levying two hundred pounds upon the Country forbearing his Char- ges. The Lord *Wentworth*, at the ſame time of his being then at *Truro*, told ſome of his confidents, "that the Lord *Goring* intended to return no more to the Army, "or into *England*, but rely'd upon Him to preſerve the Horſe from being enga- "ged, till he could procure a Licence from the Parliament to Tranſport them, "for the Service of a Forreign Prince, which would be a fortune to the Officers. "And the Major General ſaid afterwards at *Launceſton*, that he could not under- "ſtand the Lord *Goring*'s deſigns; for that, at his going from the Army, he gave "the Officers great charge to preſerve their Regiments, for he had hope to get "leave to Tranſport them; and within few days after he arriv'd at *Paris*, he ſent Captain *Porridge* into *England*, to fetch all his Saddle Horſes, and Horſes of Service, upon pretence that he was to preſent them in *France*; though at the ſame time he aſſur'd his Friends, "that he was returning ſpeedily with Men and Money; which was not the more believ'd by his ſending for his Horſes.

The Lord Goring *retires into* France.

Though there had been no great Modeſty uſed in the diſcourſes of the People to- wards General *Goring*, from the time of his firſt faſtning in the Weſt, eſpecially of the *Corniſh*, whom he had moſt unskilfully irreconciled to him, by his continual ne- glects and contempts of them (as he would uſually before *Taunton*, when he view'd his Foot, clap an *Iriſh*-man, or one of thoſe Soldiers who came out of *Ireland*, who doubtleſs were good Men, on the Shoulders, and tell him, in the hearing of the reſt, "that he was worth ten *Corniſh* Cowards, the greateſt part of his preſent

ſtrength

ſtrength, and all his future hopes depending upon the *Corniſh*, many whereof had reaſon to believe themſelves not inferior to any who had ſerv'd the King) yet from the time that he left the Army, and went for *France*, they gave themſelves a greater Licence; and declar'd, "that he had, from the beginning, Combined with the "Rebels; and having waſted and ruined all the Supplies which had been ſent him, "had now left a diſſolute and odious Army to the Mercy of the Enemy, and to a "County more juſtly incenſed, and conſequently more mercileſs than they. They "compared the loſs of *Weymouth*, in the view of his Army, after he had been in "the Town, and when the whole direction was in him, with the Counter-ſcuffle "at *Petherton*-Bridge, when two of his own Parties, purſuing the Orders they "had receiv'd, Fought with each other, whilſt the Enemy retired to their own "ſtrengths: they remember'd the voluntary, wanton, incenſing the Country; the "diſcountenancing the Garriſon of *Lamport*, and diſſolving it; the eating the "Proviſions of the reſt; the cheriſhing the Club-men; and the lying with his "whole Army before *Taunton* full ſix Weeks (after he had declar'd the Enemy "to be in his Mercy, within ſix days) and in that time (pretending that he would "in few days ſtarve them) he ſuffer'd great quantities of Proviſions to be carried "into them, through his own Quarters, and ſeveral Interviews, and private Meet-"ings to be by his Brother *Porter* (whoſe Integrity he had before ſuſpected) and "the chief Officers of the Rebels: the neglecting his Body of Foot, during the "time that he lay before *Taunton*, by which he ſuffer'd above two thouſand to run "away. They talked of the beating up his Head Quarter the day before the Rout "at *Lamport* at Noon-day, for which no Man was ever called to a Council of "War; and that total Rout at *Lamport*, as two of the moſt ſupine, and unſoldier-"ly Defeats, that were ever known; before which, or in thoſe ſtreights, or upon "any other occaſions of Advice, that he never called a Council of War to conſider "what was to be done; and in that laſt buſineſs of *Lamport*, himſelf was ſo far "from being preſent, that coming in great diſorder to *Bridgewater*, he ſaid, he had "loſt his Foot, and Cannon; which indeed were brought off entirely by the care, "and diligence of the Lord *Wentworth*, and Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff*. They talked of "his unheard of neglecting the Army, after that Retreat at *Bridgewater*, inſomuch "as of between three and four thouſand Foot, which himſelf confeſſed he had after "that buſineſs (and if his loſs had been no greater than he own'd, muſt have been "a far greater Number) within ſixteen days, he had not thirteen hundred, nor "ever after recover'd a Man, but what was gotten up by the Activity and Autho-"rity of the Prince. Laſtly, they remember'd his lying in *Devon-ſhire* from the "beginning of *July*, which was about the time of his Retreat from *Lamport*, to the "end of *November*, when he went to *France* (which was five Months) with a Body "of above four thouſand Horſe and Foot; deſtroying, and irreconciling the "Country to the King, and the Cauſe, without making the leaſt attempt, or in "any degree looking after the Enemy; whilſt the Rebels, by formal Sieges, "took in the Garriſons of *Bridgewater*, *Sherborne*, and *Briſtol*; and many other "important holds.

Upon the whole matter, comparing his Words, and his Actions, laying his doing and his not doing together, they concluded, "that if he had been confe-"derate with the Enemy, and been corrupted to betray the Weſt, he could not "have taken a more effectual way to do it; ſince he had not intereſt enough by "any Overt Act to have put it into their Power; and therefore they who had a greater opinion of his Wit, Courage, and Conduct, than of his Conſcience, and Integrity, preſum'd the failing was in the latter; towards which opinion they were the more inclin'd, by many diſcourſes negligently let fall by the Enemy in their Quarters, "that they were ſure enough of *Goring*; and by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s applying himſelf to the taking thoſe ſtrong places after the Rout at *Lamport*, without ever conſidering or looking after the Lord *Goring*'s Army; which he could not but know conſiſted of a Body of Horſe, equal in Number to his own; and had reaſon to apprehend thoſe two Populous Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, could quickly recruit the Foot; "which negligence (ſaid they) *Fair-*"*fax* could never be guilty of, if he had not been well aſſured, that thoſe Forces "ſhould work them no inconvenience; beſides that, being unpurſued, *Goring* might eaſily have made an eſcape, and joyn'd with the King, and ſo have diverted all the Enemies deſigns upon the Weſt.

Others, who were not enough in love with the Lord *Goring*, to desire to *be* join'd with him in any Trust, yet in their opinions clearly absolv'd him from any Combination with the Enemy, or design of Treachery, and imputed the slow managing the business, at his first coming into the West, and overslipping some opportunities of advantage, to his desire of being settled in that Command, and so not making haste, lest, the work being done, he might be necessitated to leave those Parts, and be call'd to the King; for without doubt, though there was a reconciliation made between Him and Prince *Rupert* to that degree, that all the Count enance General *Goring* receiv'd from Court in prejudice of the Prince's Authority, and of his Council, was procur'd for him purely by that Prince; who in one of his Letters to him, at such time as he was before *Taunton*, used these words; " what you desire in your Letter, on the 22d of *May*, shall be observ'd; " and assure your self that Prince *Rupert* shall maintain General *Goring*'s Honour " and Power, and shall lose his Life, rather than General *Goring* shall suffer for " Prince *Rupert*; which Letter (as he did any others, which he receiv'd from his Majesty, or the Secretaries, in Cipher) he Communicated to the Company in all his Acts of good fellowship; yet, I say, it was very evident, he was resolv'd never to be in the same Army with Prince *Rupert* under his Command; and all his loose and scandalous Speeches, they imputed to an innate licence he had always given himself; and his gross and unfortunate Oversights, to the lazyness and unactivity of his Nature; which could better pursue, and make Advantages upon good Successes, than struggle and contend with difficulties and streights. And they who had been neares the Observation, found a great difference between the presentness of his Mind and Vivacity in a suddain Attempt, though never so full of Danger, and an Enterprise that requir'd more deliberation, and must be attended with patience, and a steady circumspection; as if his Mind could not be long bent. And therefore he had been observ'd to give over a Game, sooner than Gamesters that have been thought to have less Fire. Many other passages must be attributed to his perfect hatred of all the Persons of the Council, after he found they would not comply with his desires, and to his particular Ambition; and both those Passions of Ambition, and Revenge, might transport his Nature beyond any limits. But what he meant by his discourse at parting to the Officers, for the keeping the Horse for the Service of some Forreign Prince, was never understood, except he did really believe, that he should shortly return with a Body of Foot; and so that they should not be forward to engage with the Enemy, or else to keep such a dependence upon him from the Officers, that they should always hope for employment under him.

Whilst Sir *Richard Greenvil* stay'd at *Okington*, he had several strange designs; which he always communicated to the Prince, or Lords, in Writing; one of which was, " to cut a deep Trench from *Barnstable* to the South Sea, for the " space of near forty Miles; by which, he said, he would defend all *Cornwal*, " and so much of *Devon*, against the World; and many such impossible Undertakings; at which they who understood matters of that Nature, thought him besides himself. Notwithstanding the Traind-bands of *Cornwal* return'd to their Homes (having stay'd out their Month; which was their first Contract) Sir *Richard Greenvil* stay'd still at *Okington*, with his three Regiments of old Soldiers, having barricadoed the Town; the Pass being of very great importance to hinder the Enemy from any Communication with *Plymouth*. And indeed the Reputation of his being there with a greater Strength than in truth he had at any time, was a great means of keeping the Rebels on the East side of *Exeter*; as appears by their suddain Advance, assoon as he remov'd from that Post; which he did about the end of *November*, without giving the least advice to the Prince of such his purpose, and contrary to the expres desire of the Lords *Capel*, and *Colepepper*, who were then at *Exeter*, and hearing of his Resolution, had written to him very earnestly " not to remove. He suddainly retir'd with his three Regiments from *Okington* into *Cornwal*, and Muster'd his Men upon the River *Tamar*, that divides *Cornwal* from *Devon*, with expres Command " to Guard the Passes, and not suf- " fer any of the Lord *Goring*'s Men, upon what pretence or warrant soever, to " come into *Cornwal*. For the better doing whereof, he caused the Country to come in to work at their Bridges, and Passes, as he had done before, most unreasonably, for the Fortifying of *Launceston*; and caused Proclamations, and Orders of his own, to be read throughout *Cornwal*, in the Churches, " that if any of the

" Lord

" Lord *Goring*'s Forces (whom in thoſe Writings he charged with all the odious Reproaches for Plundering) " ſhould offer to come into *Cornwal*, they ſhould " Ring the Bells, and thereupon the whole County ſhould riſe, and beat them out; by theſe unheard of, and unwarrantable means, preparing the Country to ſuch a hatred of the Lord *Goring*, and his Forces, that they rather deſir'd the Company of the Rebels; ſo alienating all Mens Spirits from reſiſting of the Enemy; and all this without ſo much as Communication with the Prince, till it was executed.

About the laſt week of *November*, he came himſelf to *Truro* to the Prince, on the ſame day that his Highneſs had receiv'd Letters from the Lords at *Exeter*, of the extreme ill Conſequence of Sir *Richard Greenvil*'s drawing off from *Okington*; upon encouragement whereof, a ſtrong Party of the Enemy was come to *Kirton*. Whereupon his Highneſs ſent for Sir *Richard Greenvil*; and, in Council, acquainted him with thoſe Letters, and other Intelligence that he had receiv'd of the Enemy, and deſired him to conſider what was now to be done. The next day, without attending his Highneſs any more, but returning to his Houſe at *Worrington*, he writ a long Letter to Mr. *Fanſhaw* of his Advice, which he deſired might be Communicated to the Lords; which was, " that his Highneſs ſhould ſend to the " Parliament for a Treaty, and ſhould offer, if he might enjoy the Revenue of the " Dutchy of *Cornwal*, and that they would not advance to diſturb him in that Coun- " ty, that he would not attempt any thing upon them, but that they ſhould en- " joy the freedom of all their Ports in *Cornwal* for Trade, without any diſtur- " bance by his Majeſty's Ships: and ſo, in plain *Engliſh*, to ſit ſtill a Neuter between the King and the Parliament, at a time when there was a Body of Horſe Superior to the Enemy in thoſe Parts; and when an equal proportion of Foot might have been gotten together; and when his Majeſty had not the face of an Army in any other part of *England*. The Prince was very much troubled at this Letter, and the more, becauſe he found Sir *Richard Greenvil* had contracted a great friendſhip with ſuch of his Highneſs's Servants, as he had reaſon to believe leſs zealous and intent upon the Honour, and proſperity of the King; and becauſe he had diſcover'd he laboured very much to infuſe a jealouſy into the Governour of *Pendennis*-Caſtle, " that the Prince intended to remove him from that " Command, and to confer it upon the Lord *Hopton*; to which purpoſe he had written to the Governour from *Okington* (when the Lord *Hopton*, and the Chancellor, were ſent down thither to aſſiſt him in the Fortifying and Supplying that Caſtle; which if they had not done, it would not have held out, as it did afterwards) " that the Lord *Hopton* had a Commiſſion to take that Charge from him; " but that he ſhould not ſuffer ſuch an Affront to be put upon him; for He, and all his Friends, would ſtick to him in it: Whereas there was never the leſt thought or intention to make any alteration in that Government.

Shortly after that Letter of the 27th, Sir *Richard Greenvil* writ again to Mr. *Fanſhaw*, to know how his Propoſitions were approv'd: to which, by direction, he return'd, " that the Council had not been yet together ſince the receipt of them; " the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper*, being not then return'd from *Exeter*; and that " therefore his Propoſitions had not been yet Debated. He proceeded in the mean time in his Fortifications there, and, about the middle of *December*, the Prince continuing at *Truro*, he ſent ſeveral Letters to the Gentlemen of the County to " meet him at *Launceſton*: One of which Letters I ſaw, to Colonel *Richard Arundel*; in which, " He deſired him to bring as many Gentlemen, and others of Ability, " as he could, as well the diſaffected, as well-affected; for that he intended to " Communicate to them ſome Propoſitions, which he had formerly preferr'd to the " Prince, and though they were not hearken'd to There, he believ'd would be very " acceptable to his Country-men of *Cornwal*: but the Prince's ſuddain going to *Taviſtock* diſappointed that meeting.

Shortly after the Lord *Goring*'s going into *France*, the Prince, being inform'd from *Exeter*, " that the Enemy, at the ſame time having finiſhed their works, " which kept the City from any Relief on the Eaſt ſide, were now drawing their " Forces to the Weſt ſide, whereby that City would be ſpeedily Diſtreſſed; thought it neceſſary to ſend the Lords *Brentford*, *Capel*, *Hopton*, and *Colepepper*, to confer with the Lord *Wentworth*, who lay then at *Aſh-Burton*, ſix miles from *Totneſs*, and with Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who was ready to draw ſome Foot into *Devon*, to the end that ſuch an underſtanding might be ſettled between them two, that the Service might proceed: their Lordſhips being directed, by Inſtructions

under his Highneſs's hand, upon conſideration of the ſtate of the Forces, and conference with the Lord *Wentworth*, and Sir *Richard Greenvil*, to adviſe what ſpeedy courſe ſhould be taken for the Relief of *Exeter* (the Prince having at the ſame time disburſed a thouſand pound ready Money to two Merchants of *Exeter*, for Proviſion of *Corn* for that City) preſuming that both the one and the other would have been very ready to have receiv'd, and followed the advice which their Lordſhips ſhould give.

The place of meeting was appointed to be *Taviſtock*; where every body was, ſave the Lord *Wentworth*; but He failing, the Lords, having directed Sir *Richard Greenvil* how to diſpoſe of himſelf, went themſelves to *Aſh-Burton*, near twenty Miles farther, to the Lord *Wentworth*'s Quarter; where they ſpent a day or two, but found not that reſpect from him they had reaſon to have expected. His Lordſhip was very jealous of diminution in his Command, which General *Goring* had devolved to him, and expreſſing himſelf oftentimes to them very unneceſſarily, "that he "would receive Orders from none but the Prince Himſelf; whereupon, and upon the importunate calling for Relief from *Exeter*, their Lordſhips "thought it abſo- "lutely neceſſary, that the Prince Himſelf ſhould advance in Perſon, as well to "bring up as great a Body of the *Corniſh*, as was poſſible (which without his Pre- "ſence was not to be hoped for) as to diſpoſe the Command of the whole Forces "in ſuch manner, as might probably be for the beſt advantage; the beſt that was "to be hoped for being to bring the Enemy to Fight a Battle; and that they might "be enabled to that purpoſe, by joyning with the Foot that were in *Exeter*; which "was a conſiderable Body. For the conducting ſo great a deſign, upon which no leſs than three Crowns depended, the Lord *Wentworth* could not be thought of Intereſt, Experience, or Reputation enough; and yet there was ſo great regard, that he ſhould not ſuffer in his Honour, or the imaginary Truſt devolv'd to him by General *Goring*, or rather indeed that no notable hazard might be run, by any unneceſſary mutation in Commands, at a time when the Soldier was to be led to Fight, that it was reſolv'd, "that he ſhould be rather Adviſed, than Commanded; and "that if he comported himſelf with that Temper and Modeſty, as was expected "all Reſolutions ſhould be form'd in Council, and all Orders, thereupon ſhould "iſſue in his Name.

The next day after *Chriſtmas* day, the weather being very ſharp, the Prince went from *Truro*, to *Bodwin*; and the next day to *Taviſtock*; where the Lords of the Council attended; the Lord *Wentworth* continuing at *Aſh-Burton*, and his Horſe ſpread over that part of the Country which was at any diſtance from the Enemy. Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who attended likewiſe at *Taviſtock*, had ſent three Regiments of Foot to *Okington*, under the Command of Major General *Moleſworth*; which were ſecured by the Brigade of Horſe under Major General *Web*, who was Quarter'd near thoſe parts, and the *Corniſh* Train'd-bands were to come up within a week; the Blockade before *Plymouth* was maintain'd by General *Digby*, with about twelve or thirteen hundred Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe; but the whole Contribution aſſign'd for the ſupport of thoſe Forces, was taken by the Lord *Wentworth*'s Horſe; ſo that the Prince was compell'd to ſupply thoſe Men, out of the Magazines of Victual which he had provided in *Cornwal* for the Army when it ſhould march; and to leave his own Guard of Horſe upon the skirts of *Cornwal*; there being no Quarter to be had for them nearer his own Perſon.

About this time, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Quarter'd at a Houſe about two miles Eaſt of *Exeter*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller* with a Brigade of his Army at *Kirton*, and another part of the Army had poſſeſſed *Powdram*-Houſe, and the Church, *Hulford*-Houſe, and ſome other Holds on the Weſt ſide; ſo that no Proviſions went in, and it hath been ſaid before, how long the Army under *Goring* had ſubſiſted upon the Proviſions within, and kept all ſupply from entring: the advice taken at *Taviſtock*, upon the Prince's coming thither, was, "that aſſoon as the *Corniſh* Foot ſhould be "come up, his Highneſs ſhould march with thoſe, his own Guards, and as many Foot "as might conveniently be taken from before *Plymouth*, by leaving Horſe in their place, "to *Totneſs*; where a Magazine ſhould be made of Proviſions for the whole Army, "both by Money (for which the County would yield great ſtore of Proviſions) and by "Victuals brought out of *Cornwal* by Sea; for which likewiſe directions were given: "From that place it was concluded, that the Prince might joyn with the Forces "in *Exeter*, except the Rebels ſhould draw their whole Body between them;

and

" and then that Garriſon would be able both to relieve it ſelf, and to infeſt the " Enemy in the Rear; and the Prince might retire, or Fight, as he found it moſt " convenient and advantageous to him. Reſolutions being thus fix'd, and the *Corniſh* being not expected in full Numbers till the Week following, the Prince choſe to go to *Totneſs*; where all things neceſſary might be agreed with the Lord *Wentworth*, who might conveniently attend there, his Quarters being within ſix miles; and where directions might be given for making the Magazine, towards which Money had been return'd out of *Cornwal*.

The next day after the Prince came thither, the Lord *Wentworth* attended him, and was inform'd in Council, what had been thought reaſonable at *Taviſtock*; the which he approv'd of; the Prince then call'd to ſee a Liſt of the Quarters, that thereupon it might be agreed how the whole Army ſhould be Quarter'd when they came together; to which end, the next day, the Lord *Wentworth* brought the Quarter Maſter General *Pinkney*, who indeed govern'd him. At the firſt Council, the Lord *Wentworth* told the Prince, " that he was to declare one thing to him, at " the entrance into buſineſs, and for the prevention of any miſtakes, that he could " receive no Orders from any Perſon but his Highneſs; the Lord *Goring* having " repoſed that truſt in him, and given him a Commiſſion and Inſtructions to that " purpoſe; which he often repeated afterwards in Council; and, in the Debate of Quartering, talk'd very imperiouſly, and very diſreſpectfully, and one day, after he had been drinking, very offenſively to ſome of the Council, in the preſence of the Prince. The time was not conceiv'd ſeaſonable for the Prince to declare how the Army ſhould be commanded, till he had brought it together, and till he had his own Guards about him; and ſo the Prince, though he was nothing ſatisfied in the Lord *Wentworth*'s carriage, only told him " that he would take the Command of " the Army upon himſelf, and iſſue out Orders as he ſhould think fit; and having viſited the Port and Garriſon of *Dartmouth*, and taken ſufficient courſe for the providing the Magazines, and ſettled the differences about Quartering, he return'd to *Taviſtock*; reſolving, with all poſſible expedition, to march with the whole Body of Foot to *Totneſs*, according to former appointment.

The day before the Prince begun his Journey to *Taviſtock*, he receiv'd a Letter from the King his Father, dated upon the ſeventh of *November*, in theſe words:

Oxford, 7th *November* 1645.

Charles,

A Letter from the King to the Prince.

" I leave others to tell you the News of theſe parts, which are not ſo ill, as, " I believe, the Rebels would make you believe: that which I think fit to tell " you is, I command you, aſſoon as you think your ſelf in a probable danger of " falling into the Rebels hands, to Tranſport your ſelf into *Denmark*; and, upon " my bleſſing, not to ſtay too long upon uncertain hopes within this Iſland, in " caſe of danger as above ſaid. For, if I miſtake not the preſent condition of the " Weſt, you ought not to defer your Journey one hour; in this I am not abſolutely " poſitive; but I am directly poſitive, that your going beyond Sea is abſolutely " neceſſary for me, as I do, to command you; and I do not reſtrain you only " to *Denmark*, but permit you to chooſe any other Country, rather than to ſtay " here; as for *Scotland* and *Ireland* I forbid you either, until you ſhall have " perfect aſſurance, that Peace be concluded in the one, or that the Earl of *Moun-* " *troſe*, in the other, be in a very good condition; which, upon my word, he is " not now: ſo God bleſs you.

Your loving Father *Charles R.*

Though the Intimations in this Letter were ſtrong for a preſent remove, yet they not being Poſitive, and the time of the year being ſuch, as that the Prince could not be block'd up by Sea, and ſo could chooſe his own time, and having one County entire, and *Exeter* and *Barnſtable* in the other well Garriſon'd, beſides the Blockade before *Plymouth*, and the reputation of an Army, the Council were of opinion, that the time was not yet ripe; and ſo purſued the former deſign of joyning the *Corniſh* to the Horſe, and to endeavour the relief of *Exeter*; for which purpoſe, the Prince undertook the Journey before mention'd to *Taviſtock*, the day after *Chriſtmas* day; and, at his coming thither, receiv'd this other Letter from the King.

Oxford, the 7th of *December*, 1645.

Another Letter from his Majeſty.

Charles,

" I writ to you this day Month; of which, few days after, I ſent you a Duplicate. The cauſes of my Commands to You in that Letter, are now multiplied. I will name but one, which I am ſure is ſufficient for what I ſhall now add to my former: it is This; I have reſolv'd to propoſe a Perſonal Treaty to the Rebels at *London*; in order to which a Trumpet is by this time there, to demand a Paſs for my Meſſengers, who are to carry my Propoſitions; which if admitted, as I believe it will, then my real ſecurity will be, your being in another Country, as alſo a chief Argument (which ſpeaks it ſelf without an Orator) to make the Rebels hearken, and yield to Reaſon: whereas therefore I left you by my laſt to judge of the time, I abſolutely command you to ſeek for carefully, and take the firſt opportunity of Tranſporting your ſelf into *Denmark*, if conveniently you can; but rather than not go out of this Kingdom, immediately after the receipt of this, I permit, and command you to repair to any other Country, as *France*, *Holland*, *&c.* whereto you may arrive with moſt convenient ſecurity as to your paſſage; for nothing elſe is to be fear'd: I need not recommend to you the leaving the Country in the beſt poſture you may, it ſo ſpeaks it ſelf, as I ſhall always do to be,

Your loving Father *Charles R.*

His Highneſs, as he uſed to do, aſſoon as he had peruſed the Letter, which, as the reſt, was written in the Lord *Colepepper*'s Cipher, and by him Decipher'd deliver'd it again to his Lordſhip, " to be ſecretly kept, and Communicated to " the other three; for it was by no means yet ſafe to truſt it farther. They were much troubled at the receipt of this Letter; for, beſides that it found them in the Article of the moſt probable deſign had been on foot ſince the late diſaſters, to preſerve the Weſt; if they ſhould have attempted to have given Obedience to that Command, the ſuddain, unexpected, and unreaſonable leaving the Army, would viſibly have declared what the intent had been, and would probably have engaged the People, and the Soldiers (who would have wanted neither Intelligence, nor Inſtigation from the Prince's own Servants; of whom the Lords could not rely upon three Men) they being full of hope in the Enterpriſe they were upon, and full of diſlike of the other they were to chooſe, to have prevented it; in which, they might reaſonably have expected aſſiſtance from the Garriſon of *Pendennis*; from which place his Highneſs was neceſſarily to remove Himſelf. So that if the Prince ſhould attempt to go, and ſucceed, the Army, upon that diſcountenance, muſt diſſolve; and if he ſucceeded not, there might be a fatal conſequence of the endeavour and diſappointment. Then, though they had long kept a Ship in the Harbour in readineſs, and had at that time another Frigate of Mr. *Haſdunks*, yet by its having been carried with ſo much ſecrecy that very few had taken notice of it, they could not be provided for ſo long a Voyage as to *Denmark*, which, with ſo important a Charge, would require two Months Victual at leaſt. But that which troubled them moſt, was the very Argument which his Majeſty was pleaſed to uſe for his ſo poſitive Command; which, to their underſtanding, ſeem'd to conclude rather, that his Highneſs's Tranſportation (at leaſt without an immediate abſolute neceſſity) was at that time moſt unſeaſonable: for if, in expectation of a Treaty, his Majeſty ſhould venture his Royal Perſon in *London*, and ſhould be receiv'd there, and at the ſame time his Highneſs's Perſon ſhould be Tranſported out of the Kingdom, by his Majeſty's own Commands (which could not then have been conceal'd) it was reaſonable to believe, that not only the Rebels would make great advantage of it, as an Argument againſt his Majeſty's ſincere intentions, and thereby draw unſpeakable and irreparable prejudice upon him; but that his own Council, by which he was diſpoſed to that Overture, and whoſe Aſſiſtance he muſt conſtantly uſe, would take themſelves to be highly diſobliged by that Act; and they would loſe all confidence in their future Counſels.

Upon the whole Matter, the Lords were unanimouſly of opinion, " that the " Relief of *Exeter* was to proceed in the manner formerly agreed, and that the " Prince's Perſon was to be preſent at it: and thereupon they ſent an expreſs to the King, with a diſpatch ſign'd by the Four who were truſted, a Duplicate whereof

whereof was ſent by another Expreſs the next day, in which they preſented a clear ſtate to his Majeſty of his Forces, and the hopes they then had of improving their condition by the Prince's Preſence; of the condition of *Exeter*, and of the Strength, as they conceiv'd, of the Enemy; and of the inconveniency, if not the impoſſibility of obeying his Majeſty at that time. They farther inform'd his Majeſty of "the great indiſpoſition, that they perceiv'd in all the Servants towards his Highneſs's leaving the Kingdom; and that the jealouſy was ſo great of his going "into *France*, that they had reaſon to believe that many who were very faithful, "and tender of his Safety, would rather wiſh him in the hands of the Enemy, "than in that Kingdom; and therefore, when the time of Neceſſity ſhould "come (which they aſſured his Majeſty they would with any hazard watch and "obſerve) they muſt prefer the continuing Him ſtill within his Majeſty's own "Dominions, and ſo to waft him to *Silly*, or *Jerſey*, and from thence conclude what "was to be done farther. They preſented likewiſe their humble opinion to him, "that in caſe he ſhould be engaged in a Perſonal Treaty at *London* (which they "conceiv'd the Rebels would never admit, without ſuch Acts firſt obtain'd from "his Majeſty, as might invalidate His Power, and confirm Theirs) how incon-"venient it might be, without the Privity of thoſe Counſellors, whom he was "then to truſt, to Tranſport the Prince, except in danger of Surpriſal, before "the iſſue of that Treaty might be diſcern'd: Aſſuring his Majeſty "that nothing "ſhould put his Highneſs's Perſon into the hands of the Parliament, but his Ma-"jeſty's own Commands; which they ſhould not reſiſt in his own Dominions, "nor, they conceiv'd, any body elſe, if he were out of them.

The Lord Wentworth's *Horſe beaten at* Aſh-Burton.

The appearance at *Taviſtock* anſwer'd the expectation; there being full two thouſand four hundred of the Train'd-bands, very chearful, and ready to march; at *Okington* were eight hundred old Soldiers, under Major General *Moleſworth*; the Foot with the Lord *Wentworth* were given out to be eight hundred, with the Lord *Goring*'s Guards which were in *Dartmouth*; and to be drawn thence, upon the advance to the Army: from *Barnſtable*, the Governour had promiſed to ſend five hundred Men; and out of *Exeter*, at the leaſt, a thouſand five hundred Men were promiſed: all which, with his Highneſs's Guards, might well be depended upon for ſix thouſand Foot. The Horſe was very little fewer than five thouſand; whereof his Highneſs's Guards made near ſeven hundred; ſo that, if all theſe could have been brought to Fight, the day ſeem'd not deſperate. The Foot were appointed to have march'd the morrow, when the News came, "that the Enemy was advanced, and had beaten up the Lord "*Wentworth*'s Quarters in two ſeveral places, and ſhortly after the News, the Lord *Wentworth* himſelf came in, in great diſorder, not inform'd of the particular of his loſs, but conceiv'd it to be greater than in truth it was, though many Men, and more Horſes, were taken in both places. The Prince was very deſirous to purſue the former reſolution, and to have advanced with the whole Body to *Totneſs*; but the Lord *Wentworth* did not only alledge, "that probably the Enemy was "poſſeſſed by that time of *Totneſs*, but that he had in truth no hope to rally his "Horſe together, in any Numbers, till they might be allow'd three or four "days reſt. Whereas all that Rout had been occaſion'd by ſmall Parties of the Enemy, who, at day time, came into their Quarters, and found no Guards, but all the Horſe in the Stables; and their whole Body moved not in two or three days after; encouraged, it was thought, by the great diſorder they found thoſe Troops to be in. Matters ſtanding thus, and it being abſolutely neceſſary, by reaſon of this diſorderly retreat of the Horſe, to draw off the Blockade from *Plymouth*, *Taviſtock*, was no longer thought a place for the Prince's Reſidence; his Highneſs by the Advice of a Council of War remov'd to *Launceſton*; whither all the Foot were drawn, and the Horſe appointed to keep the *Devon-ſhire* ſide of the River; and from thence he hoped he ſhould be ſpeedily able to advance towards *Exeter*.

The King had ſtaid at *Hereford*, as hath been ſaid, in great perplexity, and irreſolution; not knowing which way to take, but moſt inclined to go to *Worceſter*; till he was aſſured, "that the whole ſtrength of the Parliament in the North "was gather'd together under the Command of *Pointz*; and that he was already "come between *Hereford* and *Worceſter*, with a Body of above three thouſand "Horſe and Dragoons; with which he was appointed always to attend the King's "motion: ſo that it would be very hard for his Majeſty to get to *Worceſter*, whither his purpoſe of going was, upon the new reſolution he had taken again to

march into *Scotland* to joyn with *Mountroſe*, who was yet underſtood to be proſperous. This being the only deſign, it was not thought reaſonable " to proſecute that march by *Worceſter*, and thereby to run the hazard of an Engagement with " *Pointz*; but rather to take a more ſecure paſſage through North *Wales* to *Che-* " *ſter*; and thence, through *Lancaſhire*, and *Cumberland*, to find a way into *Scotland*, " unobſtructed by any Enemy that could oppoſe them. This Counſel pleaſed; and within four days, though through very unpleaſant ways, the King came within half a days Journey of *Cheſter*; which he found in more danger than he ſuſpected; for within three days before, the Enemy out of their Neighbour Garriſons, had ſurpriſed both the Out-works, and Suburbs of *Cheſter*; and had made ſome Attempt upon the City, to the great Terror, and Conſternation of thoſe within; who had no apprehenſion of ſuch a ſurpriſe. So that this unexpected coming of his Majeſty, look'd like a deſignation of Providence for the preſervation of ſo important a place: and the Beſiegers were no leſs amazed, looking upon themſelves as loſt, and the King's Troops believ'd them to be in their power.

The King marches to Cheſter, *where his Horſe are Routed by* Pointz.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was ſent with moſt of the Horſe over *Holt*-Bridge, that he might be on the Eaſt ſide of the River *Dee*; and the King, with his Guards, the Lord *Gerrard*, and the reſt of the Horſe, march'd directly into *Cheſter*, with a reſolution, " that early the day following, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* " ſhould have fallen upon the back of the Enemy, when all the Force of the Town " ſhould have Sallied out, and ſo encloſed them. But Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, being that Night drawn on a Heath two Miles from *Cheſter*, had intercepted a Letter from *Pointz* (who had march'd a much ſhorter way, after he was inform'd which way the King was bound) to the Commander that was before *Cheſter*, telling him, " that he was come to their reſcue, and deſiring to have ſome Foot ſent to " him, to aſſiſt him againſt the King's Horſe: and the next Morning he appear'd, and was Charg'd by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and forc'd to retire with loſs; but kept ſtill at ſuch a diſtance, that the Foot from before *Cheſter* might come to him. The Beſiegers begun to draw out of the Suburbs in ſuch haſte, that it was believ'd in *Cheſter*, they were upon their Flight; and ſo moſt of the Horſe and Foot in the Town, had order to purſue them. But the others haſte was to joyn with *Pointz*; which they quickly did; and then they Charg'd Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; who, being over-power'd, was Routed, and put to Flight; and purſued by *Pointz* even to the Walls of *Cheſter*. There the Earl of *Lichfield* with the King's Guards, and the Lord *Gerrard* with the reſt of the Horſe, were drawn up, and Charg'd *Pointz*, and forc'd him to retire. But the diſorder of thoſe Horſe which firſt fled, had ſo fill'd the narrow ways, which were unfit for Horſe to Fight in, that at laſt the Enemies Muſqueteers compell'd the King's Horſe to turn, and to Rout one another, and to overbear their own Officers, who would have reſtrain'd them. Here fell many Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, with the brave Earl of *Lichfield*; who was the third Brother of that Illuſtrious Family, that Sacrificed their Lives in this Quarrel. He was a very faultleſs young Man, of a moſt gentle, courteous, and affable Nature, and of a Spirit and Courage invincible; whoſe loſs all Men exceedingly lamented, and the King bore it with extraordinary grief. There were many Perſons of Quality taken Priſoners, amongſt whom Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, a Gentleman of a noble Extraction, and ample Fortune in *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*; who liv'd to engage himſelf again in the ſame Service, and with the ſame Affection, and, after very great Sufferings, to ſee the King reſtored. This Defeat broke all the Body of Horſe, which had attended the King from the Battle of *Naſeby*, and which now fled over all the Country to ſave themſelves; and were as much diſperſed, as the greateſt Rout could produce.

The deſign of marching Northward, was now at an end; and it was well it was ſo; for about this very time *Mountroſe* was defeated by *David Leſley*; ſo that if the King had advanced farther, as he reſolv'd to have done, the very next day after he came to *Cheſter*, he could never have been able to have retreated. He ſtaid in *Cheſter* only one Night after this blow, but return'd, by the ſame way by which he had come, to *Denbigh*-Caſtle in North *Wales*, being attended only with five hundred Horſe; and there he ſtaid three days to refreſh himſelf, and to rally ſuch of his Troops as had ſtopp'd within any diſtance. So that, in a ſhort time, he had in view four and twenty hundred Horſe; but whither to go with them was ſtill the difficult

The King retires to Denbigh *to rally his Horſe.*

difficult queſtion. Some propoſed " the Iſle of *Angleſey*, as a place of Safety, and an " Iſland Fruitful enough to ſupport his Forces; which would defend it ſelf againſt any " Winter attempt, and from whence he might be eaſily Tranſported into *Ireland* or " *Scotland*. They who objected againſt this, as very many objections might well be made, propoſed " that his Majeſty might Commodiouſly make his Winter Quar- " ters at *Worceſter*, and by Quartering his Troops upon the *Severn*, between *Bridge-* " *north* and *Worceſter*, ſtand there upon his Guard; and by the acceſs of ſome o- " ther Forces, might be able to Fight with *Pointz*; who, by this time, that he might both be able the more to ſtreighten *Cheſter*, and to watch the King's motion, had drawn his Troops over the River *Dee* into *Denbigh-ſhire*; ſo that he was now nearer the King, and made the march laſt propoſed, much the more difficult; but there was ſo little choice, that it was proſecuted and with good Succeſs; and there being another Bridge to paſs the *Dee* ſome Miles further, and through as ill ways as any thoſe Countries have, his Majeſty went over without any oppoſition; and had, by this means, left *Pointz* a full day's Journey behind. Here Prince *Maurice* waited on his Majeſty with eight hundred Horſe, part whereof was of Prince *Rupert*'s Regiment that came out of *Briſtol*. And now being thus ſtrengthen'd, they leſs apprehended the Enemy; yet continued their march without reſting, till, by Fording the *Severn*, they came to *Bridgenorth*, the place deſign'd. Now every body expected, that they ſhould forthwith go to *Worceſter*, and take up their Winter Quarters; but upon the News of the Surrender of *Berkley*-Caſtle in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, and of the *Devizes* in *Wilt-ſhire*, two ſtrong Garriſons of the King's, it was urged, " that *Worceſter* would not be a good place for the King's Winter Reſidence, " and *Newark* was propoſed as a place of more ſecurity. This advice was the more like to be embraced, becauſe it was vehemently purſued upon a private, and particular Intereſt.

Thence to Bridgenorth.

Though Prince *Rupert* had ſubmitted to the King's pleaſure, in reſigning his Commiſſion, yet he reſolv'd not to make uſe of his Paſs, and to quit the Kingdom, till he might firſt ſee his Majeſty, and give an account of the Reaſons which oblig'd him to deliver up *Briſtol*, and was ready to begin his Journey towards him, aſſoon as he could be inform'd where the King intended to reſt. The Lord *Digby*, who had then the chief influence upon his Majeſty's Councils, and was generally believ'd to be the ſole cauſe of revoking the Prince's Commiſſion, and of the Order ſent to him to leave the Kingdom, without being heard what He could ſay for himſelf, found that the Odium of all this proceeding fell upon Him; and therefore, to prevent the breaking of that Cloud upon Him, which threaten'd his Ruin (for he had not only the indignation of Prince *Rupert*, and all his Party to contend with, but the extreme Malice of the Lord *Gerrard*; who uſed to hate heartily upon a ſuddain accident, without knowing why; over and above this, as Prince *Rupert* would have an eaſy Journey to *Worceſter*, ſo Prince *Maurice* was Governour there, who had a very tender ſenſe of the ſeverity his Brother had undergone, and was ready to revenge it; whereas if the King went to *Newark*, the Journey from *Oxford* thither would be much more difficult, and Prince *Maurice* would be without any Authority there) theſe Reaſons were Motives enough to the Lord *Digby*, to be very ſollicitous to divert the King from *Worceſter*, and to incline him to *Newark*; and his Credit was ſo great, that againſt the opinion of every other Man, the King reſolv'd to take that courſe; ſo having ſtay'd only one day at *Bridgenorth*, and from thence ſent Sir *Thomas Glemham* to receive the Government of *Oxford*, he made haſt to *Lichfield*; and then paſſed with that ſpeed to *Newark* that he was there aſſoon as the Governour had notice of his purpoſe. In this manner, in the greateſt perplexity of his own Affairs, was his Majeſty compell'd to condeſcend to the particular, and private Paſſions of other Men.

Thence to Newark.

When the King came to *Newark*, he betook himſelf to the regulating the diſorders of that Garriſon; which, by their great Luxury and Exceſſes, in a time of ſo general Calamity, had given juſt ſcandal to the Commiſſioners, and to all the Country. The Garriſon conſiſted of about two thouſand Horſe and Foot; and to thoſe there were about four and twenty Colonels and General Officers, who had all liberal Aſſignments out of the Contributions, according to their Qualities; ſo that though that ſmall County paid more Contribution than any other of that bigneſs in *England*, there was very little left to pay the Common Soldiers, or to provide for any other expences. This made ſo great a noiſe, that the King found it abſolutely neceſſary to reform it; and reduced ſome of the Officers entirely, and leſſen'd the

The condition of the Garriſon of Newark *at this time.*

Pay of others; which added to the number of the Diſcontented; which was very much too numerous before. Now reports were ſpread abroad with great confidence, and the advertiſement ſent from ſeveral places, though no Author named " that *Mountroſe*, " after his Defeat, by an acceſs of thoſe Troops which were then abſent, had " Fought again with *David Leſley*; and totally Defeated him; and that he was " march'd towards the Borders with a ſtrong Army. This News, how groundleſs ſoever, was ſo very good that it was eaſily believ'd, and believ'd to that degree, that the King himſelf declared a Reſolution, the third time, " to " advance, and joyn with *Mountroſe*; and the Lord *Digby* (who knew that Prince *Rupert* was already upon his way from *Oxford*, and that Prince *Maurice* had met him at *Banbury*) prevail'd ſo far, that the King reſolv'd, without delay, or expecting any Confirmation of the Report, " to move Northward to meet the " News, and, if it fell not out to his Wiſh, he would return to *Newark*. In this Reſolution, after a Weeks ſtay at *Newark*, he march'd to *Tuxford*; and the next day to *Wellbeck*, having, in his way, met with the ſame general Reports of *Mountroſe*'s Victories; which were interpreted as ſo many Confirmations; and therefore, though the King aſſembled his Council to conſult at *Wellbeck*, he declar'd " that he would not have it Debated whether he ſhould advance or retire; but " concerning the manner of his advancing; ſince he was reſolv'd not to retire; which he was ſure would be attended with more miſchief than could accompany his advancing.

This Declaration, how diſagreeable ſoever it was to the ſenſe of much the Major part, left very little to be conſulted upon; for ſince they muſt advance, it was eaſily agreed " that they ſhould march the next day to *Rotheram*; and that the " Troops ſhould be drawn to a Rendezvous, the next Morning, at ſuch an Hour; and ſo the Officers were riſing to give Orders out for the execution of what was Reſolv'd; when, in the inſtant, one knock'd at the door; who, being call'd in, was found to be the Trumpeter formerly ſent from *Cardiff* to the *Scotiſh* Army, with a Letter to the Earl of *Leven*, General thereof; who had taken him with him as far as *Berwick*, before he would ſuffer him to be diſcharg'd. The King ask'd him, " what he had heard of the Marquis of *Mountroſe*? He anſwer'd, " that " the laſt News he had heard of him, was, that he was about *Sterling*, retiring " farther North; and that *David Leſley* was in *Lothian*, on this ſide *Edenborough*; " and that the *Scotiſh* Army lay between North *Allerton* and *New-Caſtle*. This ſo unexpected Relation, daſhed the former purpoſe; and the Lord *Digby* himſelf declar'd, " that it was by no means fit for his Majeſty to advance; but to retire " preſently to *Newark*; which was, by every body, agreed to; and the Rendezvous of the Army for the next Morning to continue. When they were at the Rendezvous, the King declar'd, " that though it was not judged fit for Himſelf " to advance Northward, yet he thought it very neceſſary, that Sir *Marmaduke* " *Langdale* ſhould, with the Horſe under his Command, march that way; and " endeavour to joyn with *Mountroſe*. And having ſaid ſo, his Majeſty look'd upon Sir *Marmaduke*; who very chearfully ſubmitted to his Majeſty's pleaſure; and ſaid, " he had only one Suit to make to his Majeſty; which was that the Lord " *Digby* might Command in Chief, and He under him. All who were preſent, ſtood amaz'd at what was now ſaid; of which, no word had paſſed in Council; but when the Lord *Digby* as frankly accepted of the Command, they concluded, that it had been concerted before between the King and the other Two.

No Man contradicted any thing that had been propoſed; and ſo immediately, upon the place, a ſhort Commiſſion was prepar'd, and Sign'd by the King, to conſtitute the Lord *Digby* Lieutenant General of all the Forces raiſed, or to be raiſed for the King on the other ſide of *Trent*; and with this Commiſſion he immediately departed from the King, taking with him from the Rendezvous all the Northern Horſe, with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Richard Hutton*, High Sheriff of *York-ſhire*, together with the Earls of *Carnewarth*, and *Niddiſdale*, and ſeveral other *Scotiſh* Gentlemen: He march'd in the head of fifteen hundred Horſe; and ſo in a moment became a General, as well as a Secretary of State; and march'd preſently to *Doncaſter*.

Becauſe this Expedition was in a ſhort time at an end, it will not be amiſs to finiſh the relation in this place, there being no occaſion to reſume it hereafter. The Lord *Digby* was inform'd at his being at *Doncaſter*, " that there was, in a " Town two or three Miles diſtant, and little out of the way of the next day's " march,

" march, one thouſand Foot newly rais'd for the Parliament ; which he reſolv'd, the next Morning to fall upon ; and did it ſo well, that they all threw down their Armes, and diſperſed ; whereupon he proſecuted his march to a Town call'd *Sherborne*, where he ſtay'd to refreſh his Troops ; and whilſt he ſtay'd there, he had notice of the advance of ſome Troops of Horſe towards him, under the Command of Colonel *Copley*: *Digby* preſently Sounded to Horſe, and having gotten ſome few Troops ready, march'd with them out of the Town ; and finding *Copley* ſtanding upon a convenient ground, he would not ſtay for his other Companies, but immediately Charg'd them with that Courage, that he routed moſt of their Bodies ; which, after a ſhort reſiſtance, Fled, and were purſued by his Horſe through *Sherborne* ; where the other Troops were refreſhing themſelves ; who diſcerning the Flight of Horſe, in great Conſternation, concluded; that they were their own Fellows, who had been Routed by the Enemy ; and ſo with equal confuſion they mounted their Horſes, and Fled as faſt as the other, ſuch ways, as they ſeverally conceiv'd to be moſt for their ſafety. By this means, a Troop that remain'd upon the Field unbroken, fell upon the Lord *Digby*, and thoſe Officers, and Gentlemen, who remain'd about him ; who were compell'd to make their retreat to *Skipton* ; which they did with the loſs of Sir *Richard Hutton* (a gallant and worthy Gentleman, and the Son and Heir of a very Venerable Judge, a Man famous in his Generation) and two or three other Perſons ; and with the loſs of the Lord *Digby*'s Baggage ; in which was his Cabinet of Papers ; which, being publiſh'd by the Parliament, adminiſter'd afterwards ſo much occaſion of diſcourſe.

The Lord Digby *Routed at* Sherborne *in* York-ſhire.

At *Skipton*, moſt of the ſcatter'd Troops came together again, with which he march'd, without any other miſadventures, through *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, as far as *Dumfreeze* in *Scotland* ; and then, neither receiving directions which way to march, nor where *Mountroſe* was, and leſs knowing how to retire without falling into the hands of the *Scotiſh* Army upon the Borders ; in the higheſt deſpair, that Lord, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, the two Earls, and moſt of the other Officers, Embarked themſelves for the Iſle of *Man* ; and, ſhortly after, for *Ireland* ; where we ſhall leave them, all the Troops being left by them, to ſhift for themſelves. Thus thoſe fifteen hundred Horſe which march'd Northward, within very few days were brought to nothing ; and the Generalſhip of the Lord *Digby*, to an end. But if it had not been for that extraordinary accident of the flying of his own Troops becauſe the Enemy fled (as the greateſt misfortunes which befel that Noble Perſon, throughout the whole courſe of his Life, uſually fell out in a conjuncture when he had near attain'd to what he could wiſh) he had without doubt been Maſter of *York*, and of the whole North ; the Parliament having no other Forces in all thoſe parts, their Garriſons excepted, than thoſe Foot which he firſt defeated, and thoſe Horſe which he had ſo near broken. The temper, and compoſition of his Mind was ſo admirable, that he was always more pleaſed and delighted that he had advanced ſo far, which he imputed to his own Virtue and Conduct, than broken or dejected that his Succeſs was not anſwerable, which he ſtill charg'd upon ſecond Cauſes, for which he thought himſelf not accountable.

When the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* left the King, his Majeſty march'd back to *Newark* with eight hundred Horſe of his own Guards, and the Troops belonging to the Lord *Gerrard* ; and quickly heard of the misfortune that befel the Northern Adventurers ; upon which He concluded that it would not be ſafe for him to ſtay longer in the place where he was, for by this time *Pointz* was come with all his Troops to *Nottingham*, and *Roſſiter* with all the Force of *Lincoln-ſhire* to *Grantham* ; and all the power his Majeſty had, was not in any degree ſtrong enough to oppoſe either of them ; ſo that he was only to watch an opportunity by the Darkneſs of the Nights, and good Guides, to ſteal from thence to *Worceſter*, or *Oxford* ; in either of which he could only expect a little more time, and leiſure to conſider what was next to be done.

But before his Majeſty can leave *Newark*, he muſt undergo a new kind of Mortification from his Friends, much ſharper than any he had undergone from his Enemies ; which, without doubt, he ſuffered with much more grief, and perplexity of mind. Prince *Rupert* was now come to *Belvoir*-Caſtle, with his Brother Prince *Maurice*, and about one hundred and twenty Officers who attended him ; with which he had ſuſtained a charge from *Roſſiter*, and broke through without any

An account of the Diſcontent of ſome of the Chief Commanders againſt the King at Newark.

any conſiderable loſs. When the King heard of his being ſo near, he writ a Letter to him, by which " he required him to ſtay at *Belvoir* till further Order; and " reprehended him for not having given obedience to his former Commands. Notwithſtanding this Command, he came the next day to *Newark*, and was met by the Lord *Gerrard*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, Governour of the Town, with one hundred Horſe, two miles in his way. About an hour after, with his Train, he came to the Court; and found the King in the preſence; and without Ceremony, told his Majeſty, " that he was come to render an account of the loſs of " *Briſtol*, and to clear himſelf from thoſe imputations which had been caſt upon " him. The King, ſaid very little to him; but meat being brought up, went to Supper; and, during that time, asked ſome Queſtions of Prince *Maurice*, without ſaying any thing to the other. After he had Supped, he retired to his Chamber, without admitting any farther diſcourſe; and the Prince return'd to the Governour's Houſe, where he was well treated and lodged. The King, how diſpleaſed ſoever, thought it neceſſary to hear what Prince *Rupert* would ſay, that he might with the more eaſe provide for his own eſcape from thence; which it was high time to make. So he appointed the next day to hear his defence, which the Prince made with many proteſtations of " his innocence, and how impoſſible it " was long to defend the Fort, after the Line was entred. His Majeſty did not ſuſpect his Nephew to have any Malicious deſign againſt his Service, and had no mind to aggravate any circumſtances which had accompanied that Action; and therefore, after a day or two's debate, cauſed a ſhort Declaration to be drawn up, by which Prince *Rupert* was abſolv'd and clear'd from any Diſloyalty, or Treaſon in the rendring of *Briſtol*, but not of Indiſcretion. So that matter was ſettled; upon which the King expected the Prince ſhould have departed, as himſelf reſolv'd to proſecute the means for his own eſcape, without communicating it to him.

The change of the poſture of the Enemy, and *Pointz*'s coming to the North ſide of *Trent*, made his Majeſty reſolve to begin his march on the Sunday Night, being the twentieth of *October*; which he imparted to none but two or three of the neareſt truſt. But the differences were grown ſo high between the Governour and the Commiſſioners (who were all the principal Gentlemen of the Country, and Who had with Courage and Fidelity adher'd to the King from the beginning, and whoſe intereſt alone had preſerv'd that place) and had been ſo much increaſed by the mutual Conteſts which had been between them in the preſence of the King, that there was no poſſibility of reconciling them, and very little of preſerving the Garriſon, but by the removal of the Governour; which was ſo evident to the King, that he reſolv'd on that expedient; and, on the Sunday Morning, ſent for Sir *Richard Willis* into his Bed-Chamber; and after many gracious expreſſions of " the Satisfaction he had receiv'd in his Service, and of the " great abilities he had to ſerve him, he told him, his own deſign to be gone that " Night; and that he reſolv'd to take him with him, and to make him Captain of " his Horſe-Guards, in the place of the Earl of *Lichfield*, who had been lately kill'd " before *Cheſter* (which was a Command fit for any Subject) and that he would " leave the Lord *Bellaſis* Governour of *Newark*, who being allied to moſt of the " Gentlemen of the adjacent Counties, and having a good Eſtate there, would be more " acceptable to them. His Majeſty condeſcended ſo far, as to tell him, that he " did not hereby give a Judgement on the Commiſſioners ſide, who he declared " had been to blame in many particulars; and that he himſelf could not have " an ampler vindication, than by the honour and truſt he now conferred upon " him; but he found it would be much eaſier to remove Him, than to reform " the Commiſſioners; who, being many, could not be any other way united in his " Service.

Sir *Richard Willis* appeared very much troubled; and excuſed the not taking the other command, " as a place of too great Honour, and that his Fortune could " not maintain him in that employment: he ſaid that his Enemies would triumph " at his removal, and he ſhould be look'd upon as caſt out, and diſgraced. The King replied, " that he would take care and provide for his Support; and that a " man could not be look'd upon as diſgraced, who was placed ſo near his " Perſon; which, he told him, he would find to be true, when he had thought a little " of it. So his Majeſty went out of his Chamber, and preſently to the Church. When he return'd from thence, he ſat down to dinner; the Lords, and other of his

his Servants, retiring likewiſe to their Lodgings. Before the King had din'd, Sir *Richard Willis*, with both the Princes, the Lord *Gerrard*, and about twenty Officers of the Garriſon, entred into the preſence Chamber: *Willis* addreſſed himſelf to the King, and told him, " that what his Majeſty had ſaid to him in private, was " now the publick Talk of the Town, and very much to his Diſhonour: Prince *Rupert* ſaid, " that Sir *Richard Willis* was to be remov'd from his Government, " for no Fault that he had committed, but for being His Friend: the Lord *Gerrard* added, " that it was the Plot of the Lord *Digby*, who was a Traytor, and " he would prove him to be ſo. The King was ſo ſurpriſed with this manner of behaviour, that he roſe in ſome diſorder from the Table, and would have gone into his Bed-Chamber; calling Sir *Richard Willis* to follow him; who anſwer'd aloud, " that he had receiv'd a Publick injury, and therefore that he " expected a Publick ſatisfaction. This, with what had paſſed before, ſo provoked his Majeſty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever ſeen poſſeſſed with, he commanded them " to depart from his Preſence, and to come no " more into it; and this with ſuch circumſtances in his looks and geſture, as well as words, that they appear'd no leſs confounded; and departed the Room, aſham'd of what they had done; yet aſſoon as they came to the Governour's Houſe, they Sounded to Horſe, intending to be preſently gone.

The noiſe of this unheard of inſolence, quickly brought the Lords, who were abſent, and all the Gentlemen in the Town, to the King, with expreſſions full of Duty, and a very tender ſenſe of the uſage he had endured. There is no doubt, he could have proceeded in what manner he would againſt the Offenders. But his Majeſty thought it beſt, on many conſiderations, to leave them to themſelves, and to be puniſh'd by their own reflections; and preſently declared the Lord *Bellaſis* to be Governour; who immediately betook himſelf to his Charge, and placed the Guards in ſuch a manner as he thought reaſonable. In the Afternoon, a Petition and Remonſtrance was brought to the King, ſign'd by the two Princes, and about four and twenty Officers; in which they deſired, " that Sir *Richard* " *Willis* might receive a Trial by a Court of War; and if they found him faulty, " then to be diſmiſſed from his Charge; and that, if this might not be granted, " they deſired Paſſes for themſelves, and as many Horſe as deſir'd to go with " them. Withal, they ſaid, " they hoped, that his Majeſty would not look upon " this Action of theirs as a Mutiny. To the laſt the King ſaid, " he would not " now Chriſten it; but it look'd very like one: As for the Court of War, he " would not make that a judge of his Actions; but for the Paſſes, they ſhould " be immediately prepared for as many as deſired to have them. The next Morning the Paſſes were ſent to them; and in the Afternoon they left the Town; being in all about two hundred Horſe; and went to *Wyverton*, a ſmall Garriſon depending upon *Newark*; where they ſtayed ſome days; and from thence went to *Belvoir*-Caſtle; from whence they ſent one of their Number to the Parliament, " to " deſire leave, and Paſſes, to go beyond the Seas.

Beſides the exceeding trouble and vexation that this Action of his Nephews, towards whom he had always expreſſed ſuch tenderneſs and indulgence, gave the King, it had well nigh broke the deſign he had for his preſent eſcape; which was not poſſible to be executed in that time; and *Pointz* and *Roſſiter* drew every day nearer, believing they had ſo encompaſed him round, that it was not poſſible for him to get out of their hands. They had now Beſieged *Shetford*-Houſe, a Garriſon belonging to *Newark*, and kept ſtrong Guards between them and *Belvoir*, and ſtronger towards *Lichfield*; which was the way they moſt ſuſpected his Majeſty would incline to take; ſo that the truth is, nothing but Providence could conduct him out of that Labyrinth; but the King gave not himſelf over. He had fixed now his Reſolution for *Oxford*, and ſent a truſty Meſſenger thither with directions, that the Horſe of that Garriſon ſhould be ready upon a day he appointed, between *Banbury* and *Daventry*. Then, upon *Monday*, the third of *November*, early in the Morning, he ſent a Gentleman to *Belvoir* Caſtle, to be inform'd of the true State of the Rebels Quarters, and to advertiſe Sir *Gervas Lucas*, the Governour of that Garriſon, of his Majeſty's deſign to march thither that Night, with order that his Troops and Guides ſhould be ready at ſuch an hour; but with an expreſs charge, " that he ſhould not acquaint the Princes, or any of their " Company, with it. That Gentleman being return'd with very particular information, the reſolution was taken " to march that very night, but not pub-

liſh'd till an Hour after the ſhutting the Ports. Then order was given, "that "all ſhould be ready in the Market place, at ten of the Clock; and by that time the Horſe were all there, and were in number between four and five hundred, of the Guards and of other looſe Regiments; they were all there put in order; and every Man was placed in ſome Troop; which done, about eleven of the Clock, they began to march; the King himſelf in the head of his own Troop, march'd in the middle of the whole Body. By three of the Clock in the Morning, they were at *Belvoir*; without the leaſt interruption or alarm given. There Sir *Gervas Lucas*, and his Troop, with good Guides were ready; and attended his Majeſty till the break of day; by which time he was paſt thoſe Quarters he moſt apprehended; but he was ſtill to march between their Garriſons; and therefore made no delay, but march'd all that day; paſſing near *Burleigh* upon the Hill, a Garriſon of the Enemy, from whence ſome Horſe waited upon the Rear, and took and kill'd ſome Men, who either negligently ſtaid behind, or whoſe Horſes were tired. Towards the Evening the King was ſo very weary, that he was even compell'd to reſt and ſleep for the ſpace of four hours, in a Village within eight miles of *Northampton*. At ten of the Clock that Night, they began to march again; and were, before Day, the next Morning paſt *Daventry*; and before Noon, came to *Banbury*; where the *Oxford* Horſe were ready, and waited upon his Majeſty, and conducted him ſafe to *Oxford* that Day; ſo he finiſh'd the moſt tedious and grievous march that ever King was exerciſed in, having been almoſt in perpetual motion from the loſs of the Battel of *Naſeby* to this hour, with ſuch a variety of diſmal accidents as muſt have broken the Spirits of any Man who had not been truly magnanimous. At *Oxford*, the King found himſelf at reſt, and eaſe to revolve, and reflect upon what was paſt, and to adviſe and conſult of what was to be done, with Perſons of entire devotion to him, and of ſteady Judgements; and preſently after his coming thither, he writ that Letter of the ſeventh of *November*; and, ſhortly after, the other of the ſeventh of *December*; both which are mention'd before, and ſet down at large.

The King retreats towards **Oxford:**

And arrives there.

The Prince of *Wales* did not enjoy ſo much reſt and eaſe in his Quarters; for, upon the hurry of the Retreat of the Horſe, which is mention'd before, and which indeed was full of confuſion, very many of the Train'd-bands of *Cornwal* broke looſe, and run to their Houſes, pretending "they fear'd that the Horſe would "go into that Country, and plunder them; for which fear they had the greater pretence, becauſe, upon the Retreat, many Regiments had Orders from the Lord *Wentworth* to Quarter in *Cornwal*; of which his Highneſs was no ſooner advertiſed, than he ſent his Orders poſitive, "that no one Regiment of Horſe ſhould be there, but that they ſhould be all Quarter'd on the *Devon* ſide. Upon that, they were diſperſed about the Country, for the ſpace of thirty miles breadth, as if no Enemy had been within two days march of them. There were now drawn together, and to be engaged together in one Action againſt the Enemy, all the Horſe and Foot of the Lord *Goring*; the Command whereof, the Lord *Wentworth* challenged to himſelf by deputation; the Horſe and Foot of Sir *Richard Greenvil*; and the Horſe and Foot of General *Digby*, neither of which acknowledged a ſuperiority in the other, beſides the Guards; which no body pretended to Command but the Lord *Capel*. When the Prince remov'd from *Taviſtock*, the raiſing the Blockade from *Plymouth* was abſolutely neceſſary, and it was concluded, as hath been ſaid, at a Council of War, "that it would be fit for his Highneſs to re-"move to *Launceſton*; whither the Train'd-bands, and the reſt of the Foot ſhould "likewiſe come, and the Horſe march on the *Devon-ſhire* ſide, and Quarter moſt "conveniently in that County. The care of the Retreat, and bringing the Proviſions from *Taviſtock*, was committed to Sir *Richard Greenvil*; which was perform'd by him ſo negligently, that beſides the diſorders he ſuffer'd in *Taviſtock*, by the Soldiers, a great part of the Magazine of Victuals, and three or four hundred pair of Shoes, were left there; and ſo loſt. The day after the Prince came to *Launceſton*, Sir *Richard Greenvil* writ a Letter to him, wherein he repreſented "the impoſſibility of keeping that Army together, or fighting with it in the con-"dition it was then in; told him, "that he had, the night before, ſent directions "to Major General *Harris* (who Commanded the Foot that came from about *Plymouth*) "to guard ſuch a Bridge; but that he return'd him word, that he "would receive Orders from none but General *Digby*; that General *Digby* ſaid, "that he would receive Orders from none but his Highneſs; that a Party of the

The King's Affairs in the Weſt about this time.

"Lord

" Lord *Wentworth*'s Horſe had the ſame Night come into his Quarters, where " his Troop of Guards, and his Firelocks were; that neither ſubmitting to the " command of the other, they had fallen foul, and two or three Men had been " kill'd; that they continued ſtill in the ſame place, drawn up one againſt another; " that it was abſolutely neceſſary, his Highneſs ſhould conſtitute one Superior Of- " ficer, from whom all thoſe independent Officers might receive Orders; without " which, it would not be poſſible for that Army to be kept together, or do Ser- " vice; that for His own part, he knew his Severity and Diſcipline had render'd " him ſo odious to the Lord *Goring*'s Horſe, that they would ſooner chooſe to ſerve " the Enemy, than receive Orders from Him; therefore he deſired his Highneſs " to conſtitute the Earl of *Brentford*, or the Lord *Hopton*, to Command in Chief, " and then he hoped, ſome good might be done againſt the Enemy.

The miſchief was more viſible by much than a remedy; it was evident ſome Action muſt be with the Enemy within few days, and what inconvenience would flow from any alteration, at ſuch a conjuncture of time, was not hard to gueſs, when both Officer and Soldier were deſirous to take any occaſion, and to find any excuſe to lay down their Arms; and it was plain, though there were very few who could do good, there were enough that could do hurt; beſides, whoever was fit to undertake ſo great a truſt and charge, would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the Command of a diſſolute, undiſciplin'd, wicked, beaten Army, upon which he muſt engage his Honour, and the hope of what was left, without having time to reform, or inſtruct them. That which made the reſolution neceſſary, was, that though there was little hope of doing good by any alteration in Command, there was evident and demonſtrable ruin attended No alteration; and they who were truſted might be accountable to the World, for not adviſing the Prince to do that, which, how hopeleſs ſoever, only remain'd to be done.

The Lord **Hopton** *made General of the remains of the Weſtern Army. Lord* **Wentworth** *to Command the Horſe.* **Greenvil** *the Foot.*

Thereupon, on the fifteenth of *January*, his Highneſs made an Order, " that the " Lord *Hopton* ſhould take the Charge of the whole Army upon him; and that the " Lord *Wentworth* ſhould Command all the Horſe, and Sir *Richard Greenvil* the Foot. It was a heavy impoſition, I confeſs, upon the Lord *Hopton* (to the which nothing but the moſt abſtracted Duty and Obedience could have Submitted) to take charge of thoſe Horſe whom only their Friends fear'd, and their Enemies laughed at; being only terrible in Plunder, and reſolute in Running away. Of all the Train'd-bands of *Cornwal*, there were not three hundred left; and thoſe, by ſome infuſions from *Greenvil* and others, not ſo devoted to him as might have been expected. The reſt of the Foot (beſides thoſe who belonged to the Lord *Goring*, which were two Regiments of about four hundred) were the three Regiments of about ſix hundred; which belong'd to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and the Officers of them entirely His Creatures; and thoſe belonging to General *Digby*, which were not above five hundred; To theſe were added (and were indeed the only Men, but a ſmall Troop of his own of Horſe and ſome Foot, upon whoſe affection, courage, and duty he could rely; except ſome particular Gentlemen, who could only undertake for themſelves) about two hundred and fifty Foot, and eight hundred Horſe of the Guards; who were Commanded by the Lord *Capel*, and entirely to receive Orders from his Lordſhip.

The Lord *Hopton* very generouſly told the Prince, " that it was a cuſtom now, " when Men were not willing to ſubmit to what they were enjoyn'd, to ſay, that " it was againſt their Honour; that their Honour would not ſuffer them to do " this or that; for His part, he could not obey his Highneſs at this time, without " reſolving to loſe his Honour; which he knew he muſt, but ſince his Highneſs " thought it neceſſary to Command him, he was ready to obey him with the loſs of his " Honour. Since the making of this Order was concluded an Act of abſolute neceſſity, and the Lord *Hopton* had ſo worthily Submitted to it, it was poſitively reſolv'd by his Highneſs, " that it ſhould be dutifully Submitted to by all other Men; " or that the Refuſers ſhould be exemplarily puniſhed. There was not the leaſt ſuſpicion that Sir *Richard Greenvil* would not willingly have Submitted to it, but it was believ'd that the Lord *Wentworth*, who had carried himſelf ſo high, and more inſolently ſince his diſorderly retreat than before, would have refus'd; which if he had done, it was reſolv'd by the Prince preſently to have committed, him and to have deſir'd the Lord *Capel* to have taken the charge of the Horſe.

His Highneſs ſent Sir *Richard Greenvil* a Letter of thanks " for the advice which " he had given; and which, he ſaid, he had follow'd, as by the incloſed Order he " might perceive; by which his Highneſs had committed the care and charge of " the whole Army to the Lord *Hopton*, appointing that the Lord *Wentworth* ſhould " Command all the Horſe, and Sir *Richard Greenvil* all the Foot, and both to re- " ceive Orders from the Lord *Hopton*: no Man imagining it poſſible that, beſides that he had given the advice, he could have refuſed that Charge, by which he was to have a greater Command than ever he had before, and was to be commanded by none but by whom he had often been formerly commanded. But the next day after he receiv'd that Letter and Order, contrary to all expectation; he writ to his Highneſs " to deſire to be excuſed, in reſpect of his indiſpoſition of health; " expreſſing, that he could do him better ſervice in getting up the Soldiers who " ſtragled in the Country, and in ſuppreſſing Malignants; and at the ſame time, writ to the Lord *Colepepper*, " that he could not conſent to be commanded by the " Lord *Hopton*. It pleanly appear'd now, that his drift was to ſtay behind, and Command *Cornwal*; with which, conſidering the premiſes, the Prince thought he had no reaſon to truſt him. He ſent for him therefore, and told him " the ex- " treme ill conſequence that would attend the publick Service, if he ſhould Then, " and in ſuch a manner, quit the Charge his Highneſs had committed to him; that " more ſhould not be expected from him than was agreeable to his health; and " that if he took the Command upon him, he ſhould take what Adjutants he " pleas'd to aſſiſt him. But notwithſtanding all that the Prince could ſay to him, or ſuch of his Friends who thought they had Intereſt in him, he continued obſti- nate; and poſitively refuſed to take the Charge, or to receive Orders from the Lord *Hopton*.

Sir Richard Greenvil *refuſing the Command, the Prince commits him to Priſon.*

What ſhould the Prince have done? for beſides the ill conſequence of ſuffering himſelf to be in that manner contemned, at a time when that Army was ſo indiſ- poſed, it was very evident, if *Greenvil* were at liberty, and the Army once march'd out of *Cornwal*, he would have put himſelf in the head of all the diſcontented Party, and at leaſt endeavour'd to have hindred their retreat back into *Cornwal*, upon what occaſion ſoever; and for the preſent that he would under-hand have kept many from marching with the Army, upon the ſenſleſs pretence of defending their own Country. So that, upon full conſideration, his Highneſs thought fit to com- mit him to Priſon to the Governour of *Launceſton*; and within two or three days after, ſent him to the Mount; where he remain'd till the Enemy was poſſeſſed of the County; when his Highneſs, that he might by no means fall into their hands, gave him leave to Tranſport himſelf beyond the Sea.

The Lord *Wentworth*, though he ſeem'd much ſurpriſed with the Order when he heard it read at the Board, and deſir'd " time to conſider of it till the next day, " that he might confer with his Officers; yet, when the Prince told him, that he " would not refer his Acts to be ſcanned by the Officers; but that he ſhould give " his poſitive Anſwer, whether he would ſubmit to it, or no; and then his High- " neſs knew what he had to do; he only deſir'd " to conſider till the Afternoon; when he ſubmitted; and went that Night out of Town to his Quarters; of which moſt Men were not glad, but rather wiſh'd (ſince they knew he would never obey chearfully) that he would have put the Prince to have made further alterations; which yet would have been accompanied with hazard enough. By this time the Intelligence was certain of the loſs of *Dartmouth*, which added nei- ther Courage, nor Numbers to our Men; and the importunity was ſuch from *Exeter* for preſent relief, that there ſeem'd even a neceſſity of attempting ſome- what towards it, upon how great diſadvantage ſoever; and therefore the Lord *Hopton* reſolv'd to march by the way of *Chimley*; that ſo, being between the Ene- my and *Barnſtable*, he might borrow as many Men out of the Garriſon, as could be ſpared; and by ſtrong Parties at leaſt to attempt upon their Quarters. But it was likewiſe reſolv'd, " that in reſpect of the ſmallneſs of the numbers, and " the general indiſpoſition, to ſay no worſe, both in Officer and Soldier, it " would not be fit for his Highneſs to venture his own Perſon with the Army; " but that he ſhould retire to *Truro*, and reſide there; againſt which there were objections enough in view, which were however weighed down by greater.

Whoever had obſerv'd the temper of the Gentry of that County towards Sir *Richard Greenvil*, or the Clamour of the Common People againſt his Oppreſſion, and Tyranny, would not have believ'd, that ſuch a neceſſary proceeding againſt him

him, at that time, could have been any Unpopular Act; there being ſcarce a day, in which ſome Petition was not preſented againſt him. As the Prince paſſed through *Bodmin*, he receiv'd Petitions from the Wives of many ſubſtantial, and honeſt Men; amongſt the reſt, of the Mayor of *Liſtithiel*; who was very eminently well affected and uſeful to the King's Service; all whom *Greenvil* had committed to the Common Goal, for preſuming to Fiſh in that River; the Royalty of which he pretended belonged to him, by Virtue of the Sequeſtration granted him by the King, of the Lord *Roberts*'s Eſtate at *Lanhetherick*; whereas they who were committed, pretended a Title, and had always uſed the liberty of Fiſhing in thoſe Waters, as Tenants to the Prince of his Highneſs's Mannor, of *Liſtithiel*; there having been long Suits between the Lord *Roberts* and the Tenants of that Mannor, for that Royalty. And when his Highneſs came to *Taviſtock*, he was again Petition'd by many Women for the liberty of their Husbands, whom Sir *Richard* had committed to Priſon, for refuſing to grind at his Mill, "which, he ſaid, they were bound "by the Cuſtom to do. So by his Martial Power he had Aſſerted whatever Civil Intereſt he thought fit to lay claim to; and never diſcharg'd any Man out of Priſon, till he abſolutely ſubmitted to his Pleaſure.

There were in the Goal at *Launceſton*, at this time when himſelf was committed, at leaſt thirty Perſons, Conſtables and other Men, whom he had committed, and impoſed Fines upon, ſome of three, four, and five hundred pounds, upon pretence of Delinquency (of which he was in no caſe a proper Judge) for the payment whereof they were detain'd in Priſon. Amongſt the reſt, was the Mayor of St. *Ives*, one *Hammond*, who had then the reputation of an honeſt Man; and was certified to be ſuch by Colonel *Robinſon* the Governour, and by all the Neighbouring Gentlemen. After the late Inſurrection there, which is ſpoken of before, he had given his Bond to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, of five hundred pound, to produce a young Man, who was then abſent, and accuſed to be a favourer of that Mutiny, within ſo many days. The time expired before the Man could be found; but within three days after the expiration of the term, the Mayor ſent the Fellow to Sir *Richard Greenvil*; That would not ſatisfy; but he ſent his Marſhal for the Mayor himſelf, and required fifty pound of him for having forfeited his Bond, and upon his refuſal forthwith to pay it, committed him to the Goal at *Launceſton*. The Son of the Mayor preſented a Petition to the Prince, at *Truro*, for his Father's liberty, ſetting forth the matter of fact as it was, and annexing a very ample teſtimony of the good Affection of the Man. The Petition was referr'd to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, with direction, "that if the caſe were in truth ſuch, he "ſhould diſcharge him. Aſſoon as the Son brought this Petition to him, he put it in his Pocket; told him, "the Prince underſtood not the buſineſs; and committed the Son to Goal, and cauſed Irons to be put upon him for his preſumption. Upon a ſecond Petition to the Prince, at *Launceſton*, after the time that Sir *Richard* himſelf was committed, he directed the Lord *Hopton*, "upon examination "of the truth of it, to diſcharge the Man; of which, when Sir *Richard* heard, he ſent to the Goaler "to forbid him, at his peril, to diſcharge *Hammond*; threatning him "to make him pay the Money; and, after that, cauſed an Action to be entred in the Town Court at *Launceſton* upon the forfeiture of the Bond. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, he was no ſooner committed by the Prince, than even thoſe who had complain'd of him as much as any, expreſſed great trouble; and many Officers of thoſe Forces which he had Commanded, in a Tumultuous manner, Petition'd for his releaſe; and others took great pains to have the indiſpoſition of the People, and the ill accidents that follow'd, imputed to that proceeding againſt Sir *Richard Greenvil*; in which none were more forward, than ſome of the Prince's own Houſehold Servants; who were ſo tender of Him, that they forgot their duty to their Maſter.

It was *Friday* the ſixth of *February*, before the Lord *Hopton* could move from *Launceſton*, for want of Carriages for their Ammunition, and Proviſion of Victual. Neither had he then Carriages for above half their little Store, but rely'd upon the Commiſſioners to ſend the remainder after; and ſo went to *Torrington*; where he reſolv'd to faſten, till his Proviſions could be brought up; and he might receive certain Intelligence of the Motion, and Condition of the Enemy. He had not continued there above four days, in which he had Barricadoed, and made ſome little Faſtneſſes about the Town, when Sir *Thomas Fairfax* advanced to *Chimley*, within eight Miles of *Torrington*, with ſix thouſand Foot, three thouſand five hundred

Horſe, and five hundred Dragoons; of which ſo near advance of the Enemy (notwithſtanding all the ſtrict Orders for keeping of Guards; whereof one Guard was, or was appointed to be, within two Miles of *Chimley*) he had not known but by a Lieutenant, who was accidentally plundering in thoſe parts, and fell amongſt them. So negligent, and unfaithful, were both Officers and Soldiers in their duty.

The Lord Hopton's *Forces routed at* Torrington *by Sir* T. Fairfax.

The Lord *Hopton* having this Intelligence of the Strength, and Neighbourhood of the Enemy, had his Election of two things, either into retire to *Cornwal*, or to abide where he was; the firſt, beſides the diſheartning of his Men, ſeem'd rather a deferring, than a preventing of any miſchief that could befal him; for he foreſaw, if he brought that great Body of Horſe into *Cornwal*, the few that remain'd of the Train'd-bands, would immediately diſſolve, and run to their Houſes; and the remainder of Horſe and Foot, in a ſhort time, be deſtroy'd without an Enemy. Therefore he rather choſe, notwithſtanding the great diſadvantage of Number in Foot, to abide them in that place; where, if the Enemy ſhould attempt him in ſo faſt a Quarter, he might defend himſelf with more advantage, than he could in any other place. So he placed his Guards, and appointed all Men to their Poſts, having drawn as many Horſe (ſuch as on the ſuddain he could get) into the Town, as he thought neceſſary; the reſt being order'd to ſtand on a Common, at the Eaſt end of the Town. But the Enemy forced the Barricadoe in one place by the baſeneſs of the Foot; with which the Horſe in the Town more baſely receiv'd ſuch a Fright, that they could neither be made to Charge, nor Stand; but, in perfect confuſion, run away; whoſe example all the Foot upon the Line, and at their other Poſts, follow'd; leaving their General (who was hurt in the Face with a Pike, and his Horſe kill'd under him) with two or three Gentlemen, to ſhift for themſelves; one of the Officers publickly reporting, leſt the Soldiers ſhould not make haſte enough in running away, "that he ſaw their General run through the Body with a Pike. The Lord *Hopton* recovering a freſh Horſe, was compell'd (being thus deſerted by his Men) to retire; which he did, to the Borders of *Cornwal*, and ſtay'd at *Stratton* two or three days, till about a thouſand or twelve hundred of his Foot came up to him. It was then in conſultation, ſince there was no likelyhood of making any ſtand againſt the Enemy with ſuch Foot, and that it was viſible that Body of Horſe could not long ſubſiſt in *Cornwal*, whether the Horſe might not break through to *Oxford*; which, in reſpect of their great wearineſs, having ſtood two or three Days and Nights in the Field, and the Enemies ſtrength being drawn up within two Miles of them, was concluded to be impoſſible. Beſides (that there was at that time a confident aſſurance, by an Expreſs (Sir *D. Wyat*) out of *France*, "of four or five thouſand Foot to come from thence within three Weeks, or a Month at fartheſt; thoſe Letters, and the Meſſenger, averring, "that moſt of the Men were ready, when He came away.

The Enemy advanced to *Stratton*, and ſo to *Launceſton*; where Mr. *Edgecomb*, who had always pretended to be of the King's Party, with his Regiment of Traind-bands, joyn'd with them; and the Lord *Hopton* retir'd to *Bodmin*; the Horſe, Officers and Soldiers, notwithſtanding all the ſtrict Orders, very negligently performing their duty; inſomuch as the Lord *Hopton* proteſted, "that, from the "time he undertook the Charge, to the hour of their diſſolving, ſcarce a Party or "Guard appear'd with half the Number appointed, or within two hours of the "time; and *Goring*'s Brigade, having the Guard upon a Down near *Bodmin*, drew off without Orders, and without ſending out a Scout; inſomuch as the whole groſs of the Rebels, were at day time march'd within three Miles, before the Foot in *Bodmin* had any notice. So that the Lord *Hopton* was inſtantly forced to draw off his Foot and Carriages Weſtward; and kept the Field that cold Night, being the firſt of *March*; but could not, by all his Orders diligently ſent out, draw any conſiderable Body of Horſe to him by the end of the next day; they having Quarter'd themſelves at pleaſure over the Country, many above twenty Miles from *Bodmin*, and many running to the Enemy; and others purpoſely ſtaying in their Quarters, till the Enemy came to diſpoſſeſs them.

When by the diſorders and diſtractions of the Army, which are before ſet down, his Highneſs was perſwaded to make his own Reſidence in *Cornwal*, he came to *Truro* on the 12th day of *February*; where he receiv'd a Letter from the King, directed to thoſe four of the Council who had Signed that to his Majeſty at *Taviſtock*. This Letter was dated at *Oxford* the fifth of *February*, and contain'd theſe words;

"Yours

" Yours from *Taviſtock* hath fully ſatisfied me, why my Commands concerning " Prince *Charles* his going beyond Sea were not obeyed. And I likewiſe agree with " you in opinion, that he is not to go until there be an evident neceſſity; alſo ap- " proving very much of the Steps whereby you mean to do it. But withal, I re- " iterate my Commands to you for the Prince's going over, whenſoever there ſhall " be a viſible hazard of his falling into the Rebels hands. In the mean time, I like " very well that he ſhould be at the head of the Army; and ſo much the ra- " ther, for what I ſhall now impart to you of my reſolution, &c. And ſo pro- ceeded in the Communication of his own deſign of taking the Field; which was afterwards fruſtrated by the defeat of my Lord *Aſtley*, and the ill ſucceſs in the Weſt.

The Prince having ſtaid ſome days at *Truro*, went to *Pendennis*; intending only to recreate himſelf for two or three days; and to quicken the Works, which were well advanced; his Highneſs having iſſued all the Money he could procure, towards the finiſhing of them. *The Prince goes to Pendennis.* But, in the very Morning that he meant to return to *Truro*, his Army being then retired, and *Fairfax* at the edge of *Cornwal*, the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Capel* ſent Advertiſements, " that they had ſeverally receiv'd " Intelligence of a deſign to ſeiſe the Perſon of the Prince; and that many Perſons " of Quality of the Country were privy to it. Hereupon the Prince thought it moſt convenient to ſtay where he was, and ſo return'd no more to *Truro*. The time of apparent danger was now in view, and if there were in truth any deſign of ſeiſing the Prince's Perſon, they had reaſon to believe that ſome of his own Servants were not ſtrangers to it. The Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* being at the Army; only the Prince, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, knew the King's Pleaſure, and what was to be done. And they two had no confidence, that they ſhould have Reputation enough to go through with it; the Earl of *Berkſhire* continuing very jealous of the deſign of going into *France*, whatever they ſaid to the contrary; The Governour of the Caſtle was Old and Fearful, and not reſolute enough to be truſted; and his Son, though a gallant Gentleman, and worthy of any Truſt, had little Credit with his Father.

There was no Letter from the King (though they had long before deſir'd ſuch a one, and propoſed the Form) fit to be publickly ſhew'd, in which there were not ſome Clauſes which would have been applied to his Majeſty's diſſervice; eſpecially if he ſhould have been at *London*, which was then confidently averr'd by ſome, who ſwore " they met him at *Uxbridge*. Therefore theſe two Counſellors concluded, " that the Prince's going away muſt ſeem to be the effect of Counſel upon neceſ- " ſity, and the appearance of danger to his Perſon, without any mention of the " King's Command. But how to procure this Reſolution from the Council was the difficulty. They very well knew the Lords minds who were abſent, but durſt not own that knowledge, leſt the deſign might be more ſuſpected: In the end, having adviſed *Baldwin Wake*, to cauſe the Frigat belonging to *Haſdunc*, and the other Ships, to be ready upon an hours warning; they propoſed in Council, when the Lords *Berk-ſhire*, and *Brentford* were preſent, " to ſend Mr. *Fanſhaw* to the Army, " to receive the opinion and advice of the Lords that were there, what was beſt to " be done with reference to the Perſon of the Prince, and whether it were fit to " hazard him in *Pendennis*; which was according done. Their Lordſhips according to the former agreement between them, return'd their Advice, " that it was " not fit to adventure his Highneſs in that Caſtle (which would not only not pre- " ſerve his Perſon, but probably, by his ſtay there, might be loſt; but by his ab- " ſence might defend it ſelf) and that he ſhould remove to *Jerſey* or *Silly*. This, upon Mr. *Fanſhaw*'s report, was unanimouſly conſented to by the whole Council.

But becauſe *Jerſey* was ſo near to *France*, and ſo might give the greater umbrage, and that *Silly* was a part of *Cornwal*, and was by them all conceiv'd a place of unqueſtionable ſtrength, the publick Reſolution was for *Silly*, it being in their power, when they were at Sea, to go for *Jerſey*, if the Wind was fair for one, and croſs to the other. So the Reſolution being imparted to no more that Night, than was of abſolute neceſſity (for we apprehended clamour from the Army, from the Country, and from that Garriſon in whoſe Power the Prince was) the next Morning, being *Monday*, the ſecond of *March*, after the News was come that the Army was retiring from *Bodmin*, and the Enemy marching furiouſly after; and thereby Men

were sufficiently awaken'd with the apprehension of the Prince's Safety; the Governour and his Son were call'd into the Council, and made acquainted with the Prince's Resolution, "that Night to Embark himself for *Silly*, being a "part of *Cornwal*; from whence, by such aids and relief, as he hoped he should "procure from *France* and Foreign parts, he should be best able to relieve "them. And accordingly, that Night, about ten of the Clock, he put himself on Board; and on *Wednesday* in the Afternoon, arriv'd safe in *Silly*; from whence, within two days, the Lord *Colepepper* was sent into *France*, to acquaint the Queen "with his Highness's being at *Silly*; with the Wants and Incommodities of that "place; and to desire supply of Men and Monies for the Defence thereof, and the "Support of his own Person; it being agreed in Council, before the Lord *Colepepper*'s going from *Silly*, "that if, upon advancement of the Parliament Fleet, or "any other apparent danger, his Highness should have cause to suspect the security of his Person there (the strength of the place in no degree answering expectation, or the fame of it.) "he would immediately Embark himself in the "same Frigat (which attended there) "and go to *Jersey*.

Thence by Sea to Silly.

When the Lord *Hopton* found that he could put no restraint to the Licence of the Soldiers, he called a Council of War to consider what was to be done. The principal Officers of Horse were so far from considering any Means to put their Men in order, and heart to face the Enemy, that they declared in plain *English*, "that "their Men would never be brought to Fight; and therefore proposed positively, "to send for a Treaty: From which not one Officer dissented, except only Major General *Web*, who always professed against it. The Lord *Hopton* told them, "it "was a thing he could not consent to without express leave from the Prince (who "was then at *Pendennis*-Castle) to whom he would immediately dispatch away an "Express; hoping, that, by that delay, he should be able to recover the Officers to a better Resolution; or that, by the advance of the Enemy, they would be compell'd to Fight. But they continued their importunity, and at last (no doubt by the advice of our own Men; for many, both Officers and Soldiers, went every day in to them) a Trumpet arrived from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with a Letter to the Lord *Hopton*, offering a Treaty, and making some Propositions to the Officers and Soldiers. His Lordship Communicated not this Letter to above one or two, of principal Trust; conceiving it not fit, in that disorder and dejectedness, to make it publick. Hereupon, all the principal Officers assemble together (except the Major General, *Web*) and expressing much discontent that they might not see the Letter, declare peremptorily to the Lord *Hopton*, "that if he would not "consent to it, they were resolv'd to Treat themselves. And from this time they neither kept Guards, nor perform'd any Duty; Their Horse every day mingling with those of the Enemy, without any Act of Hostility. In this streight, the Lord *Hopton* having sent his Ammunition and Foot into *Pendennis*, and the Mount, and declar'd, "that he would neither Treat for himself nor the Garrisons, he gave the Horse leave to Treat; and thereupon those Articles were concluded, by which that Body of Horse was dissolv'd; and Himself and the Lord *Capel*, with the first Wind, went from the Mount to *Silly*, to attend his Highness; who, as is said, was gone thither from *Pendennis*-Castle, after the Enemies whole Army was enter'd *Cornwal*

The Lord Hopton's Army dissolv'd

Touching Duke Hamilton Prisoner at Pendennis.

Having left the Prince in *Silly*, so near the end of that unprosperous year 1645 (for it was upon the three and twentieth of *March*) that there will be no more occasion of mentioning him till the next year, and being now to leave *Cornwal*, it will be necessary to inform the Reader of one particular. It is at large set down, in a former Book, what proceedings had been at *Oxford* against Duke *Hamilton*; and how he had been first sent Prisoner to *Bristol*, and from thence to *Pendennis*-Castle in *Cornwal*. And since we shall hereafter find him acting a great part for the King, and General in the Head of a great Army, it would be very incongruous, after having spent so much time in *Cornwal* without so much as naming him, to leave Men ignorant what became of him, and how he obtain'd his Liberty; which he employ'd afterwards with so much Zeal for the King's Service to the loss of his Life; by which he was not only vindicated, in the opinion of many Honest Men, from all those Jealousies and Aspersions, he had long suffer'd under; but the proceeding that had been against him at *Oxford*, was looked upon by many as void of that Justice and Policy, which had been requisite; and they concluded by what he did after a long Imprisonment, how much he might have done more

more Succeſsfully, if he had never been reſtrain'd. Without doubt, what he did afterwards, and what he Suffer'd, ought, in great meaſure, to free his Memory from any Reproaches for the Errors, or Weakneſſes, of which he had before been guilty. What were the Motives, and Inducements of his Commitment, have been at large ſet down before in the proper place. It remains now, only to ſet down how he came at laſt to be poſſeſſed of his Liberty, and why he obtain'd it no ſooner, by other more gracious ways from the King; which might have been an obligation upon him; when it might eaſily have been foreſeen, that he muſt be, in a ſhort time, at Liberty, notwithſtanding any oppoſition.

When the Prince firſt viſited *Cornwal*, to ſettle his own Revenue of that Dutchy; which was the only ſupport he had, and out of which he provided for the carrying on the King's Service, upon many emergent occaſions; he ſpent ſome days at *Truro*, to ſettle his duty upon the Tinn, by Virtue of his ancient Privilege of Preemption. And in that time, which was about the end of *July*, the Governour of *Pendennis*-Caſtle invited him to dine there; which his Highneſs willingly accepted, that he might take a full View of the Situation and Strengh thereof; having it then in his view, that he might probably be compell'd to reſort thither. Every Man knew well that Duke *Hamilton* was then a Priſoner there, and therefore it was to be conſider'd, what the Prince was to do, if the Duke ſhould deſire, as without doubt he would, to kiſs his hand, And it was reſolv'd without diſpute, " that the Prince was not to admit ſuch a Perſon " into his Preſence, who ſtood ſo much in his Father's diſpleaſure, and was " committed to Priſon by him, and that none of the Council, or of his High- " neſs's Servants, ſhould viſit, or enter into any kind of correſpondence with him. Thereupon the Governour was adviſed, in regard the Accommodations in the Caſtle were very narrow, " that during the time the Prince was in the Caſtle, the " Duke ſhould be removed out of his Chamber into one of the Soldier's Houſes; " which was done accordingly. This the Duke took very heavily, lamenting " that he might not be admitted to ſee the Prince; and had a deſire to have conferr'd with the Lord *Colepepper*, or the Chancellor, which they were not then at liberty to have ſatisfied him in. He afterwards renew'd the ſame deſire to them both, by his Servant Mr. *Hamilton*. Hereupon, when the Chancellor was ſhortly after ſent to viſit the Ports of *Padſtow*, the Mount, and *Pendennis*, which was about the middle of *Auguſt* (the buſineſs being, under that diſguiſe, to provide for the Prince's Tranſportation, when it ſhould be neceſſary) the Prince referr'd it to him " to ſee the Duke, if he found it convenient. When he came to *Pendennis*, and was to ſtay there neceſſarily ſome days, he was inform'd, " that the Duke " came always abroad to Meals, and that at that time all Men ſpoke freely with him: So that, either he was to be made cloſe Priſoner by his being there, or they were to meet at Supper and Dinner. The Governour then asked him, " whether the Duke ſhould come abroad. The Chancellor had neither Authority nor Reaſon to make any alteration; therefore he told him, " he knew his " own courſe, which he preſumed he would obſerve whoever came; and that if " the Duke pleaſed, he would wait upon him in his Chamber, to kiſs his hands before Supper; the which he did.

When the Duke, after ſome Civilities to him whom he had long known, and ſome Reproaches to the Governour, who was preſent, " of his very ſtrict uſage and " carriage towards him; which, he ſaid he believ'd he could not juſtify (whereas the Chancellor well knew, that the Governour was abſolutely govern'd by him) ſpoke to him of his own condition, and of " his Misfortune to fall into his Ma- " jeſty's diſpleaſure, without having given him any Offence. He told him, " that " he had very much deſired to ſpeak with him, that he might make a Pro- " poſition to him, which he thought for the King's Service; and he deſired, if it " ſeem'd ſo to Him, that he would find means to recommend it to his Majeſty, " and to procure his acceptance of it. Then he told him, " that he was an ab- " ſolute Stranger to the Affairs of both Kingdoms, having no other Intelligence, " than what he receiv'd from Gentlemen whom he met in the next Room at " Dinner; but he believ'd, by his Majeſty's late loſs at *Naſeby*, that his condi- " tion in *England* was very much worſe than his Servants hop'd it would have " been; and therefore, that it might concern him to tranſact his buſineſs in *Scot- " land* aſſoon as might be: that he knew not in what ſtate the Lord *Moun- " troſe* was in that Kingdom, but he was perſwaded he was not without op-

" poſition. He ſaid, " he was confident that if he himſelf had his liberty, he " could do the King conſiderable Service, and either incline that Nation power- " fully to mediate a Peace in *England*, or poſitively to declare for the King; " and joyn with *Mountroſe*. He ſaid, " he knew, it was believ'd by many, that the " Animoſity was ſo great from him to *Mountroſe*, who indeed had done him very " cauſeleſs injuries, that he would rather meditate Revenge than concur with " him in any Action; but he ſaid, he too well underſtood his own danger, " if the King and Monarchy were deſtroy'd in this Kingdom, to think of Pri- " vate Contention and matters of Revenge, when the Publick was ſo much at " Stake. And he muſt acknowledge, how unjuſt ſoever the Lord *Mountroſe* had " been to him, he had done the King great Service; and therefore proteſted with many Aſſeverations, " he ſhould joyn with him in the King's behalf, as " with a Brother; and if he could not win his own Brother from the other Party, " he would be as much againſt Him. He ſaid, he could not apprehend that his " Liberty could be any way prejudicial to the King; for he would be a Pri- " ſoner ſtill upon his Parole; and would engage his Honour, that if he found he " could not be able to do his Majeſty that acceptable Service, which he deſir'd " (of which he had not the leaſt doubt) he would ſpeedily return, and render " himſelf a Priſoner again in the place where he then was. In this diſcourſe he made very great profeſſions, and expreſſions of his Devotion to the King's Service, of his Obligations to him, and of the great confidence he had, in this particular, of being uſeful to his Majeſty.

After he made ſome pauſe, in expectation of what the Chancellor would ſay, the Chancellor told him, " he doubted not but he was very able to ſerve the King both " in that and in this Kingdom; there being very many in both who had a principal " dependence upon him: that he heard the King was making ſome propoſitions " to the *Scotiſh* Army in *England*, and that it would be a great Inſtance of his " Affection and Fidelity to the King, if by any Meſſage from him to his Friends, " and Dependents in the *Scotiſh* Army then before *Hereford*, or to his Friends in " *Scotland*, his Brother being the head or prime Perſon of Power there that oppoſed " *Mountroſe*, they ſhould declare for the King, or appear willing to do him " Service; and that he having free liberty to ſend through the Parliament's " Army, to *London*, or into *Scotland*, he might aſſoon do the King this Service, as " receive a Warrant for his enlargement; which he preſumed, he knew could not " be granted but by the King himſelf.

The Duke reply'd, " that he expected that Anſwer, but that it was not poſſible " for him to do any thing by Meſſage or Letter, or any way but by his Pre- " ſence: Firſt, that they, in whom he had intereſt, would look upon any thing " he ſhould write, or any Meſſage he ſhould ſend, as the reſult of diſtreſs and com- " pulſion, not of his affection or judgement. Beſides, he ſaid, he look'd upon him- " ſelf as very odious to that Nation, which was irreconciled to him for his Zeal " to the King, and thought this a juſt judgement of God upon him for not adher- " ing to them. And, he ſaid, for his own Brother, who he heard indeed had the " greateſt influence upon their Counſels, he had no reaſon to be confident in him, at " that diſtance; for, beſides the extreme injury he had done him, in making an " eſcape from *Oxford*, by which both their innocencies were made to be ſuſpected, " and for which he ſhould never forgive him, he was the Heir of the Houſe and " Family; and he believ'd would be content that himſelf ſhould grow old and " dye in Priſon: whereas, if he were at liberty, and amongſt them, he was con- " fident ſome for love, and others for fear, would ſtick to him; and he ſhould " eaſily make it appear to thoſe who were fierceſt againſt the King, that it con- " cern'd their own intereſt to ſupport the King in his juſt power. However, he " concluded, that the worſt that could come was his returning to Priſon, which " he would not fail to do. So the diſcourſe ended for that Night.

The next day the Duke enter'd again into the ſame Argument, with much earneſtneſs, that the Chancellor would interpoſe, upon that ground, for his liber- ty; who told him, " that he was ſo ill a Courtier, that he could not diſſemble to " him: that he was not ſatisfied with his Reaſons, and could not but believe, he " had intereſt enough, at that diſtance, to make ſome real demonſtration of his " Affection to the King, by the impreſſion he might make upon his Dependents " and Allies: and therefore that he could not offer any advice to the King, to the " purpoſe he deſired. He told him, " that he had been preſent at the Council-

Table

" Table when the King Communicated that buſineſs, which concern'd him, to the " Board; and that he gave his opinion fully, and earneſtly, for his Commitment; " being ſatisfied, upon the Information that was given concerning him, that his " Affection to the King was very queſtionable; and that it appear'd, that he had " been earneſtly preſſed by thoſe Perſons of Honour in that Kingdom, upon whom " his Majeſty relied, to declare himſelf; and that if he could have been induced " ſo to do, having promiſed the King that he would, and having Authority to " that purpoſe from him, they might very eaſily have ſuppreſſed that Rebellion in " the bud: but that his Lordſhip and his Brother, were ſo far from oppoſing it, " that the very Proclamation which had iſſued out there for the general Inſurrection " (which Proclamation was peruſed at Council-Table, when he was committed) " was not only ſet forth in his Majeſty's own Name, but Sealed with his Signet; " which was then in the Cuſtody of the Earl of *Lanrick* his Brother, he being " Secretary of State in that Kingdom. That thoſe who were the principal Infor- " mers againſt him, and who profeſſed that they could do no Service, if he were " at liberty, now ſince his reſtraint, being arm'd with no more Authority than " he had, at his laſt being there, when the Kingdom was in Peace, had, upon all " diſadvantages imaginable, when that Kingdom was totally loſt to the King, re- " duced the greateſt part of it again to his obedience; and therefore, whether it " was his Lordſhip's Misfortune, or his Fault, ſince things proſper'd ſo well in his " abſence, he could not as a Counſellor, adviſe the King, without the privity and " conſent of the Lord *Mountroſe*, or without ſome ſuch Teſtimony of his Service, " as he had before propoſed, to give him his Liberty: and that any ill ſucceſs, " which poſſibly might have no relation to that Act, would yet be imputed to that " Counſel; and the Lord *Mountroſe* have at leaſt a juſt, or probable excuſe, for any " thing that ſhould happen amiſs.

The Duke thanked him for the freedom he had uſed towards him; and ſaid, " upon the Information which was given againſt him, he muſt acknowledge the " proceedings to be very juſt; but he was confident, whenever he ſhould be ad- " mitted to a fair hearing, he ſhould appear very innocent from the Allegations " which had been given. He ſaid, he had never made the leaſt promiſe to the " King, which he had not exactly perform'd; that he had not Authority or Power " to croſs any thing that was done to the prejudice of the King; and therefore " to have made any ſuch Attempt, or Declaration, as ſome Lords had deſired, in " that conjuncture of time, had been to have deſtroyed themſelves to no purpoſe: " and therefore, he made haſte to the King with ſuch Propoſitions, and Overtures, " that he was confident, if he had been admitted to have ſpoken with his Majeſty, " at his coming to *Oxford*, he ſhould have given good ſatisfaction in them; and " then intended immediately to have return'd into *Scotland*, with ſuch Authority " and Countenance, as the King could well have given him; and doubted not but " to have prevented any inconveniences from that Kingdom: but that by his Im- " priſonment (which he could have prevented, for he had notice upon his Jour- " ney, what was intended, and truſted ſo much in his innocence, that he would not " avoid it) all thoſe deſigns failed. For his Brother, he could ſay nothing; but he " believ'd him an honeſt Man; and for the proceedings of the Lord *Mountroſe*, " though he had receiv'd good aſſiſtance from *Ireland*, which was a good Foun- " dation, he could not but ſay, it had been little leſs than miraculous: However, " he preſumed the work was not ſo near done there, but that His Aſſiſtance might " be very ſeaſonable. After this they ſpoke often together; but this was the ſub- ſtance and reſult of all; he inſiſting upon his preſent Liberty, and the other as preſ- ſing, that he would write to his Friends. Yet the Chancellor promiſed him " to " preſent, by the firſt convenience, his Suit and Propoſition to the King; which he ſhortly after did in a Letter to the Lord *Digby*.

Upon the firſt news of the loſs of the Battle of *Naſeby*, it was enough fore- ſeen, that the Prince himſelf might be put to a retreat to *Pendennis*-Caſtle. There- fore they wiſh'd, " that it might be in the Prince's power, upon an emergent oc- " caſion, to remove the Duke from that place. Which conſideration the Lord *Colepepper* preſented to the King, at his being with him in *Wales*; and thereupon a Warrant was ſent from the King, for the removal of the Duke to *Silly*; which was likewiſe foreſeen that the Prince might repair to. As the Enemy drew nearer the Weſt, many good Men were very ſollicitous, that the Duke ſhould be re- mov'd from *Pendennis*, having a great jealouſy of the intereſt he had in the Go-

vernour; of which there was ſo univerſal a ſuſpicion, that many Letters were writ to the Council, "that if he were not ſpeedily diſpoſed to ſome other place, they "feared the Caſtle would be betrayed: and Sir *Richard Greenvil* writ earneſtly to the Prince about it, as did Sir *Harry Killigrew* a Perſon of entire Affections to the King, and a true Friend of the Governour) very importunately. So that about the Month of *November*, the King's Warrant for his removal was ſent to Sir *Arthur Baſſet* Governour of the Mount; who went to *Pendennis* in the Morning, and took him with him to the Mount, in order to remove him to *Silly*, when the time ſhould require it; the Duke expreſſing great trouble and diſcontent that he ſhould be remov'd, and pretending, "that he could not ride for the Stone (of which he complain'd ſo much, that he had petition'd the King for leave to go into *France* to be cut) and the Governour, and all that Family and Garriſon, made ſhew of no leſs grief to part with him, he having begotten a great opinion in that People of his Integrity and Innocence. But when the Duke ſaw there was no Remedy, he mounted a Horſe that was provided for him, and paſſed the Journey very well.

Duke Hamilton *is remov'd to the Mount.*

After the loſs of *Dartmouth*, ſome Perſons of near truſt about the Prince reſumed the diſcourſe again of enlarging the Duke, and believ'd that he would be able to do the King great Service in the buſineſs of *Scotland*; and this prevailed ſo far with one of the Lords of the Council, that upon the confidence of Doctor *Frazier*, the Prince's Phyſician, he made a Journey with the Doctor to the Mount; and did think, that he had ſo much prevail'd with the Duke, that he had conſented "to ſend a Servant ſpeedily to the *Scotiſh* Army in *England* (who ſhould likewiſe "paſs by the King, and carry any Letters to his Majeſty from the Prince) to per-"ſwade them to comply with the King; and that he would likewiſe diſpatch "*Charles Murray* into *Scotland*, inſtructed to his Brother *Lanrick*, and that Party, "to oblige them to joyn with *Mountroſe*. But Doctor *Frazier* confeſſed to thoſe "he truſted, that the Duke rather conſented to it to ſatisfy that Lord's vehemence "and importunity, than that he had any great hope of ſucceſs by it; inſiſting "ſtill, that nothing but his own Liberty would do it: for which he gave a rea-ſon, that before had never been heard of, and was very contrary to what the Duke had ſaid to the Chancellor, which was, "that the State of *Scotland* was ſo ſenſible "of the injury done to the Duke by his impriſonment (which he had ſaid before that they were very glad of) "that they had made an Order, that there ſhould "never be a Treaty with the King, or agreeing with *Mountroſe*, till he was at "Liberty, or brought to a legal Trial. And when *Charles Murray* went to him for his inſtructions, though he ſaid much for him to ſay again to his Friends, and his Brother, towards their declaring for the King, he diſcouraged him much as to the Journey, repreſenting to him "his own danger and the ſtrict Orders that were in "*Scotland* againſt diviſive Motions; of which, he ſaid, he fear'd this would be ta-"ken for one.

This made the Council to have no mind to be engaged in any Treaty with him, and leſs in propoſing or conſenting to his Liberty; not only upon the former knowledge they had of his diſpoſition and nature, but alſo that they believ'd, if he were not ſincere, he would do much miſchief; and the more for being in any degree truſted; if he were ſincere, that he would be able to do more good for the King, by being redeem'd out of Priſon by the Enemy, than by being releaſed by the King or Prince. And therefore, when the Prince remov'd in that haſte and diſorder from *Pendennis* to *Silly*, there was no poſſibility of removing him; ſo that, at the ſurrender of the Mount, which was, by his advice, much ſooner than they had reaſon to do it, when they were able to defend themſelves for many Months, he was enlarged, and remov'd himſelf to *London* by ſpeedy Journeys on Horſeback; and did never after complain of the Stone; which he before proteſted "would kill "him, if he were not cut within a year.

Upon the Surrender of the Mount he obtain'd his Liberty.

We left the King in *Oxford*, free from the trouble and uneaſineſs of thoſe perpetual and wandring Marches, in which he had been ſo many Months exerciſed; and quiet from all rude and inſolent provocations. He was now amongſt his true and faithful Counſellors and Servants, whoſe Affection and Loyalty had firſt engaged them in his Service, and made them ſtick to him to the end; and who, if they were not able to give him aſſiſtance to ſtem that mighty Torrent that overbore both Him and Them, paid him ſtill the Duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort. There were yet ſome

The King's Tranſactions at Oxford.

ſome Garriſons remaining in his Obedience, which were like, during the Winter Seaſon, to be preſerv'd from any attempt of the Enemy. But upon the Approach of Spring, if the King ſhould be without an Army in the Field, the Fate of thoſe few places was eaſy to be diſcern'd. And which way an Army could poſſibly be brought together, or where it ſhould be rais'd, was not within the compaſs of the wiſeſt Man's comprehenſion. However, the more difficult it was, the more vigour was to be applied in the attempt. *Worceſter*, as it was Neighbouring to *Wales*, had the greateſt Outlet and Elbow-room; and the Parliament party that had gotten any Footing there, behaved themſelves with that Inſolence and Tyranny, that even they who called them thither, were weary of them, and ready to enter into any combination to deſtroy them. Upon this proſpect, and ſome invitation, the King ſent the Lord *Aſtley* (whom he had before, at his being at *Cardiff*, conſtituted Governour of thoſe Parts, in the place of the Lord *Gerrard*) to *Worceſter*, with order "to proceed, as he ſhould find him-"ſelf able, towards the gathering a Body of Horſe together, againſt the Spring, "from thoſe Garriſons which were left, and from *Wales*: and what progreſs he made towards it will be ſoon known.

When a full proſpect, upon the moſt mature deliberation, was taken of all the hopes which might with any colour of reaſon be entertain'd; all that occurr'd, appear'd ſo hopeleſs and deſperate, that it was thought fit to reſort to an old expedient, that had been found as deſperate as any; which was a new Overture for a Treaty of Peace: for which, they who adviſed it, had no other reaſon, but that they could not tell what elſe to do. *Cromwell* had left *Fairfax* in the Weſt, and with a Party Selected had ſet down before *Baſing*, and his imperious Summons having been rejected, he Storm'd the Place and took it, and put moſt of the Garriſon to the Sword: and a little before *Wincheſter* had Surrender'd upon eaſy conditions. The leſſer Garriſons in the North, which had ſtood out till now, were render'd every day; and the *Scotiſh* Army, which had march'd as far as their own Borders, was called back and requir'd to Beſiege *Newark*. So that whoever thought the ſending to the Parliament (puffed up and ſwoln with ſo many Succeſſes) for a Peace, would prove to no purpoſe, was not yet able to tell, what was like to prove to better purpoſe. This reflection alone prevail'd with the King, who had enough experimented thoſe inclinations, to refer entirely to the Council, "to "chooſe any expedient, they thought moſt probable to ſucceed, and to prepare "any Meſſage they would adviſe his Majeſty to ſend to the Parliament. And when they had conſider'd it, the Overtures he had already made, by two ſeveral Meſſages, to which he had receiv'd no Anſwer, were ſo ample, that they knew not what addition to make to them; but concluded, "that this Meſſage ſhould contain nothing "but a reſentment of That, and a demand of an Anſwer to the Meſſages his Majeſty "had formerly ſent for a Treaty of Peace.

Cromwell takes Wincheſter and Baſing.

This Meſſage had the ſame entertainment which the former had receiv'd. It was receiv'd, read, and then laid aſide without any Debate; which they who wiſh'd well to it, had not credit or courage to advance; yet ſtill found means to convey their advice to *Oxford*, "that the King ſhould not give over that importunity: and they who had little hopes of better effects from it, were yet of opinion, "that the neglect-"ing thoſe gracious invitations, made by his Majeſty for Peace, would ſhortly make "the Parliament ſo odious, that they would not dare long to continue in the ſame "obſtinacy. The *Scots* were griev'd and enraged, to ſee their Idol Presbytery ſo undervalued, and ſlighted, that beſides the Independents power in the City, their very Aſſembly of Divines every Day loſt Credit and Authority to ſupport it; and deſir'd nothing more than a Treaty for Peace: and many others who had contributed moſt to the ſuppreſſion of the King's Power, were now much more afraid of their own Army, than ever they had been of His Authority; and believ'd, that if a Treaty were once ſet on foot, it would not be in the Power of the moſt violent to render it ineffectual: or whatever they believ'd themſelves, they convey'd this to ſome about the King, as the concurrent advice of all who pretended to wiſh well: And ſome Men took upon them to ſend the ſubject of what Meſſage the King ſhould ſend, and cloath'd in ſuch expreſſions, as they conceiv'd were like to gain ground; which his Majeſty could not but graciouſly accept; though he very ſeldom imitated their Style.

The King ſends another Meſſage for Peace, which was laid aſide by the Houſes.

His Majesty sends again for a Safe Conduct for the Duke of Richmond *and others.*

After the King had long expected an Answer to his last Message, induced by those and the like reasons above mention'd, he sent again to the Parliament, " that they would send a Safe Conduct for the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of " *Southampton*, Mr. *John Ashburnham*, and Mr. *Geoffery Palmer*; by whom he would " make such particular Propositions to them as he hoped would produce a Peace. To this they return'd an Answer, such as it was, " that it would be inconvenient, " and might be of dangerous consequence, to admit those Lords and Gentlemen *Their Answer.* " to come into their Quarters; but that they were preparing some Propositions, " which, when finish'd, should be sent to his Majesty in Bills, to be sign'd by " him; which would be the only way to produce a Peace. The King understood well what such Bills would contain, and which when he had granted, he should have nothing left to deny; and therefore liked not, that such conclusions should be made without a Treaty. He resolv'd once more to try another way, which having been never yet try'd, he believ'd they could not deny; and if granted, what hazard soever his Person should be in, he should discover whether he had so many Friends in the Parliament, and the City, as many Men would perswade him to conclude; and whether the *Scots* had ever a thought of doing him Service. He sent to them, towards the end of *December*, " that since all other Overtures had prov'd

The King sends to desire a Personal Treaty at Westminster.

" ineffectual, He desir'd to enter into a Personal Treaty with the two Houses " of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scot-* " *land*, upon all matters which might conduce to the Peace and Happiness of the " distracted Kingdoms; and to that purpose his Majesty would come to *Lon-* " *don*, or *Westminster*, with such of his Servants as now attended him, and their " followers, not exceeding in the whole the Number of three hundred Persons, " if he might have the engagement of the two Houses of Parliament, the Com- " missioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, of the Chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas* " *Fairfax*'s Army, and of those of the *Scotish* Army, for his Free and Safe coming " to, and abode in *London*, or *Westminster*, for the space of forty days; and after " that time, for his Free and Safe repair to *Oxford*, *Worcester*, or *Newark* if a " Peace should not be concluded: For their better encouragement to hope well " from this Treaty, his Majesty offer'd to settle the Militia in such Persons as should " be acceptable to them.

Their Answer. This Message indeed awaken'd them, and made them believe that the Gamesters who were to play this Game, look'd into their hands, and hoped to find a Party in their own Quarters; and that if they should neglect to send an Answer to this Message, their Silence might be taken for consent, and that they should quickly hear the King was in *London*; which they did not wish. They made thereupon more than ordinary haste, to let his Majesty know, " that there had " been no delay on their parts; but for the Personal Treaty desir'd by his Majesty, " after so much Innocent Blood shed in the War by his Commands, and Commis- " sions (with the mention of many other odious particulars) they conceiv'd, that " until Satisfaction and Security were first given to both Kingdoms, his Majesty's " coming thither could not be convenient, nor by them assented to; nor did they " apprehend it a means conducing to Peace, to accept of a Treaty for few days, " with any thoughts or intentions of returning to Hostility again. They ob- serv'd, " that his Majesty desir'd the engagement, not only of the Parliament, but " of the Chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army, and those of the *Scotish* " Army; which, they said, was against the Privilege and Honour of Parliament, " to have those joyn'd with them, who were Subject and Subordinate to their " Authority. They renew'd what they had said in their last Answer, " that they " would shortly send some Bills to his Majesty, the signing of which would be the " best way to procure a good, and a safe Peace.

The King sends again. Though the King was not willing to acquiesce with this stubborn rejection, but sent Message upon Message still to them for a better Answer, and at last offer'd " to dismantle all his Garrisons, and so come to and reside with his Parliament; " if all they who had adher'd to him, might be at liberty to live in their own " Houses, and to enjoy their own Estates, without being obliged to take any " Oaths, but what were enjoyn'd by the Law; he could never procure any other Answer from them. And lest all this should not appear Affront enough,

Their Ordinance thereupon. they publish'd an Ordinance, as they call'd it, " that if the King should, contra- " ry to the advice of the Parliament already given to him, come, or attempt " to come, within the Lines of Communication, the Committee of the Militia

should

" ſhould raiſe ſuch Forces as they ſhould think fit, to prevent any Tumult that " might ariſe by his coming, and to ſuppreſs any that ſhould happen; and to ap- " prehend any who ſhould come with him, or reſort to him; and to ſecure his " Perſon from Danger: which was an expreſſion they were not aſhamed always to uſe, when there was no Danger that threaten'd him, but what themſelves contriv'd, and deſign'd againſt him. To this their Ordinance, they added another Injunction, " that all who had ever borne Armes for his Majeſty (whereof very many upon the Surrender of Garriſons, and liberty granted to them, by their Articles upon thoſe Surrenders, were come thither) " ſhould immediately depart, " and go out of *London*, upon penalty of being proceeded againſt as Spies. So that all doors being, in this obſtinate manner, ſhut againſt a Treaty, all thoughts of That, at leaſt with reference to the Parliament, were laid aſide; and all endeavours uſed to get ſuch a power together, as might make them ſee that his Majeſty was not out of all poſſibility of being yet able to defend himſelf.

The King tries to deal with the Independents.

When all hopes, as I ſaid, were deſperate of any Treaty with the Parliament, and conſequently many hazards were to be run, in the contriving a Peace any other way; the ſuſtaining the War, with any probability of Succeſs, was the next deſirable thing to a Peace, and preferable before any ſuch Peace, as was probably to be hoped for from the Party that govern'd the Army, which govern'd the Parliament. The King therefore uſed all the means which occur'd to him, or which were adviſed and propoſed by others, to divide the Independent party; and to prevail with ſome principal Perſons of them, to find their Content and Satisfaction in advancing his Intereſt. That Party comprehended many who were not ſo much Enemies to the State, or to the Church, as not to deſire heartily that a Peace might be eſtabliſh'd upon the foundations of Both, ſo their own particular Ambitions might be comply'd with. To them the King thought he might be able to propoſe very valuable Compenſations for any Service they could do Him; and the power of the Presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the *Scots*, ſeem'd no unnatural Argument to work upon thoſe, who profeſſed to be ſway'd by matter of Liberty of Conſcience in Religion: ſince it was out of all queſtion, that they ſhould never find the leaſt ſatisfaction to their Scruples, and their Principles in Church Government, from thoſe who pretended to Erect the Kingdom of *Jeſus Chriſt*. And it was thought to be no ill Preſage towards the repairing of the Fabrick of the Church of *England*, that it's two Mortal Enemies, who had expoſed it to ſo much Perſecution and Oppreſſion, hated each other as mortally, and labour'd each others Deſtruction, with the ſame Fury and Zeal they had both practiced towards Her. This reaſonable imagination very much diſpoſed the King, who was well acquainted with the unruly Spirit and Malice of the Presbyterians, to think it poſſible that he might receive ſome benefit from the Independents; a Faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted: and his Majeſty's extraordinary Affection for the Church made him the leſs weigh and conſider the incompatibility, and irreconcilableneſs of that Faction with the Government of the State; of which, it may be, he was the leſs ſenſible, becauſe he thought nothing more impoſſible, than that the *Engliſh* Nation ſhould ſubmit to any other than Monarchical Government. There were beſides an over-active and buſy kind of Men, who ſtill undertook to make Overtures as agreeable to the wiſh of ſome principal Leaders of that Party, and as with their Authority, and ſo prevail'd with the King, to ſuffer ſome Perſons of Credit near him, to make ſome Propoſitions, in his Name, to particular Perſons. And it is very probable, that as the ſame Men, made the expectations of thoſe People appear to the King much more reaſonable and moderate, than in truth they were, ſo they perſwaded the others to believe, that his Majeſty would yield to many more important Conceſſions, than he would ever be induced to grant. So either ſide had, in a ſhort time, a clear view into each others intentions, and quickly gave over any expectation of benefit that way; ſave that the Independents were willing, that the King ſhould cheriſh the hopes of their complyance, and the King as willing that they ſhould believe that his Majeſty might be prevail'd with to grant more, than at firſt he appear'd reſolv'd to do.

But in vain.

The truth is, though that Party was moſt prevalent in the Parliament; and comprehended all the Superior Officers of the Army (the General only excepted; who thought himſelf a Presbyterian) yet there were only three Men, *Vane*, *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*, who govern'd and diſpoſed all the reſt according to their Senti-

ments; and without doubt they had not yet publiſh'd their dark deſigns to many of their own Party, nor would their Party, at that time, have been ſo numerous and conſiderable, if they had known, or but imagin'd, that they had entertain'd thoſe thoughts of Heart, which they grew every day leſs tender to conceal, and forward enough to diſcover.

A Treaty between the King and the Scots *ſet on foot by the Interpoſition of* France: *And* Montrevil *is ſent for that purpoſe.*

There was another Intrigue now ſet on foot, with much more probability of Succeſs, both in reſpect of the thing it ſelf, and the circumſtances with which it came accompanied; and that was a Treaty with the *Scots*, by the Interpoſition and Mediation of the Crown of *France*; which, to that purpoſe at this time, ſent an Envoy, one *Montrevil*, to *London*, with ſome formal Addreſs to the Parliament, but intentionally to Negotiate between the King and the *Scots*; whoſe Agent at *Paris* had given encouragement to the Queen of *England*, then there, to hope that That Nation would return to their Duty; and the Queen Regent, in the great generoſity of her Heart, did really deſire to contribute all that was in Her Power to the King's recovery. To that purpoſe, ſhe ſent *Montrevil* at this time with Credentials to the King, as well as to the Parliament; by which the Queen had opportunity to Communicate her Advice to the King her Husband; and the Envoy had Authority "to engage the Faith of *France*, for the performance of what-"ſoever the King ſhould promiſe to the *Scots*.

This was the firſt inſtance, and it will appear a very ſorry one, that a Forreign Soveraign Prince gave, of wiſhing a Reconciliation, or to put a period to the Civil War in his Majeſty's Dominions; towards the contrivance whereof, and the frequent fomenting it, too many of them contributed too much. The old Maxim, "that the Crown of *England* could Ballance the Differences which fell "out between the Princes of *Europe*, by it's inclining to either Party, had made the Miniſters of our State too negligent in cultivating the Affections of their Neighbours by any real Obligations; as if they were to be Arbiters only in the Differences which fell out between others, without being themſelves lyable to any impreſſion of adverſe Fortune. This made the unexpected Calamity that befel this Kingdom not ingrateful to it's Neighbours on all ſides; who were willing to ſee it weaken'd and chaſtiſed by it's own ſtrokes.

Cardinal *Richelieu*, out of the haughtineſs of his own nature, and immoderate appetite of revenge, under the diſguiſe of being jealous of the Honour of his Maſter, had diſcover'd an implacable hatred againſt the *Engliſh*, ever ſince that unhappy provocation by the Invaſion of the Iſle of *Ree*, and the declared Protection of *Rochel*; and took the firſt opportunity, from the indiſpoſition and murmurs of *Scotland*, to warm that People into Rebellion, and ſaw the Poyſon thereof proſper, and ſpread to his own wiſh; which he fomented by the *French* Embaſſadour in the Parliament, with all the Venom of his Heart; as hath been mention'd before. As he had not unwiſely driven the Queen Mother out of *France*, or rather kept her from returning, when ſhe had unadviſedly withdrawn her ſelf from thence, ſo he was as vigilant to keep her Daughter, the Queen of *England*, from coming thither; which ſhe reſolv'd to have done, when ſhe carried the Princeſs Royal into *Holland*; in hope to work upon the King her Brother, to make ſuch a ſeaſonable Declaration againſt the Rebels of *England*, and *Scotland*, as might terrify them from the farther proſecution of their wicked purpoſes. But it was made known to her, "that her Preſence would not be acceptable in *France*; and ſo, for the preſent, that enterpriſe was declin'd.

But that great Cardinal being now dead, and the King himſelf dying within a ſhort time after, the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of that Kingdom, in the Infancy of the King, and under his Mother, the Queen Regent, was committed to Cardinal *Mazarin*, an *Italian* by Birth, and raiſed by *Richelieu* to the degree of a *Cardinal*, for his great dexterity in putting *Caſel* into the hands of *France*, when the *Spaniard* had given it up to him, as the Nuntio of the Pope, and in truſt that it ſhould remain in the Poſſeſſion of his Holineſs, till the Title of the Duke of *Mantua* ſhould be determin'd. This Cardinal was a Man rather of different, than contrary Parts from his Predeceſſor; and fitter to build upon the Foundations which he had laid, than to have laid thoſe Foundations; and to cultivate, by Artifice, Dexterity, and Diſſimulation (in which his Nature and Parts excell'd) what the other had begun with great Reſolution and Vigour, and even gone through with invincible Conſtancy and Courage. So that, the one having broken the heart of all oppoſition and contradiction to the Crown, by the cutting off the Head of

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the Duke of *Montmorancy*, and reducing Monſieur, the Brother of the King, to the moſt tame ſubmiſſion, and incapacity of fomenting another Rebellion, it was very eaſy for the other to find, a complyance from all Men, now ſufficiently terrified from any contradiction. And how great things ſoever this laſt Miniſter perform'd for the Service of that Crown, during the minority of the King, they may all, in juſtice, be imputed to the prudence and providence of Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had reduced and diſpoſed the whole Nation to an entire Subjection and Submiſſion to what ſhould be impoſed upon them.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, when he came firſt to that great Miniſtry, was without any Perſonal Animoſity againſt our King, or the *Engliſh* Nation; and was no otherwiſe delighted with the diſtraction and confuſion they were both involv'd in, than as it diſabled the whole People from making ſuch a conjunction with the *Spaniard*, as might make the proſecution of that War (upon which his whole Heart was ſet) the more difficult to him: which he had the more reaſon to apprehend by the Reſidence of *Don Alonſo de Cardenas*, Embaſſadour from the King of *Spain*, ſtill at *London*, making all Addreſſes to the Parliament. When the Queen had been compell'd in the laſt year, upon the advance of the Earl of *Eſſex* into the Weſt, to tranſport her ſelf out of *Cornwal* into *France*, ſhe had found there as good a reception, as ſhe could expect; and receiv'd as many expreſſions of kindneſs from the Queen Regent, and as ample promiſes from the Cardinal, as ſhe could wiſh. So that ſhe promiſed her ſelf a very good effect from her Journey; and did procure from him ſuch a preſent ſupply of Armes and Ammunition, as, though of no great value in it ſelf, ſhe was willing to interpret, a as good evidence of the reality of his intentions. But the Cardinal did not yet think the King's Condition low enough; and rather deſired, by adminiſtring little and ordinary Supplies, to enable him to continue the ſtruggle, than to ſee him Victorious over his Enemies; when he might more remember, how ſlender Aid he had receiv'd, than That he had been aſſiſted; and might hereafter make himſelf Arbiter of the Peace between the two Crowns. Wherefore he was more ſollicitous to keep a good correſpondence with the Parliament, and to profeſs a Neutrality between the King and them, than inclin'd to give them any jealouſie, by appearing much concern'd for the King.

But after the Battle of *Naſeby* was loſt, and that the King ſeem'd ſo totally defeated, that he had very little hope of appearing again in the head of an Army, that might be able to reſiſt the Enemy, the Cardinal was Awaken'd to new Apprehenſions; and ſaw more cauſe to fear the Monſtrous power of the Parliament, after they had totally ſubdued the King, than ever he had to apprehend the exceſs of greatneſs in the Crown: and therefore, beſides the frequent incitements he receiv'd from the generoſity of the Queen Regent, who really deſir'd to ſupply ſome Subſtantial relief to the King, he was himſelf willing to receive any Propoſitions from the Queen of *England*, by which She thought that the King her Husband's Service might be advanced; and had always the Dexterity and Artifice, by letting things fall in diſcourſe, in the preſence of thoſe, who, he knew would obſerve and report what they heard or conceiv'd, to cauſe that to be propoſed to him, which he had moſt mind to do, or to engage himſelf in. So he had Application enough from the Covenanting Party of *Scotland* (who from the beginning had depended upon *France*, by the encouragement and promiſes of Cardinal *Richelieu*) to know how to direct them, to apply themſelves to the Queen of *England*, that they might come recommended by her Majeſty to him, as a good Expedient for the King's Service. For they were not now reſerv'd in their Complaints of the Treatment they receiv'd from the Parliament, and of the terrible apprehenſion they had of being diſappointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the Independent Army, and of their Faction in both Houſes; and therefore wiſh'd nothing more, than a good opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the King; towards which they had all encouragement from the Cirdinal, if they made their addreſs to the Queen, and if her Majeſty would deſire the Cardinal to conduct it. And becauſe mady things muſt be promiſed, on the King's behalf, to the *Scots* upon this their engagement, "the Crown of *France* ſhould give credit and engage, as well that the *Scots* ſhould perform all that they ſhould promiſe, as "that the King ſhould make good whatſoever ſhould be undertaken by Him, or "by the Queen on his behalf.

Montrevil's *Negotiation with the King.*

This was the Occaſion and Ground of ſending Monſieur *Montrevil* into England, as is mention'd before. He arriv'd there in *January*, with as much credit as the Queen Regent coul'd give him to the *Scots*, and as the Queen of *England* could give him to the King; who likewiſe perſwaded his Majeſty, to believe, "that "*France* was now become really kind to him, and would engage all it's power to "ſerve him; and that the Cardinal was well aſſured, that the *Scots* would behave "themſelves henceforwards very honeſtly; which his Majeſty was willing to believe, when all other hopes had failed; and all the Overtures made by him for a Treaty had been rejected. But it was not long before he was undeceiv'd; and diſcern'd that this Treaty was not like to produce better fruit, than his former Overtures had done. For the firſt Information he receiv'd from *Montrevil*, after his arrival in *England*, and after he had conferr'd with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, was, "that they peremptorily inſiſted upon his Majeſty's Condeſcenſion, and "Promiſe, for the Eſtabliſhment of the Presbyterian Government in *England*, as it "was in *Scotland*; without which, he ſaid, there was no hope, that they would "ever joyn with his Majeſty; and therefore the Envoy preſſed his Majeſty "to "give them ſatisfaction therein, as the advice of the Queen Regent and the Car-"dinal, and likewiſe of the Queen his Wife; which exceedingly troubled the King. And the *Scots* alledged confidently, "that the Queen had expreſsly promis'd to Sir "*Robert Moray* (a cunning and a dextrous Man, who had been employ'd by them to her Majeſty) "that his Majeſty ſhould conſent thereunto. They produced a Writing Sign'd by the Queen, and deliver'd to Sir *Robert Moray*, wherein there were ſuch expreſſions concerning Religion, as nothing pleaſed the King; and made him look upon that Negociation, as rather a Conſpiracy againſt the Church between the Roman Catholicks and Presbyterians, than as an Expedient for his Reſtoration, or Preſervation: and he was very much diſpleaſed with ſome Perſons, of near truſt about the Queen, to whoſe miſinformation, and advice, he imputed what her Majeſty had done in that particular.

Thereupon he deferr'd not to let Monſieur *Montrevil* know, "that the alteration "of the Government in the Church was expreſsly againſt his Conſcience; and that "he would never conſent to it; that what the Queen his Wife had ſeem'd to "promiſe, proceeded from her not being well inform'd of the conſtitution of the "Government of *England*; which could not conſiſt with the change that was propoſed. But his Majeſty offer'd, "to give all the aſſurance imaginable, and hoped "that the Qeen Regent would engage her Royal word on his behalf in that parti-"cular, that the Maintenance and Support of he Epiſcopal Government in *Eng-"land*, ſhould not in any degree ſhake, or bring the leaſt prejudice to that Go-"vernment that was then ſettled in *Scotland*; and, farther he offer'd, "that, if "the *Scots* would deſire to have the free exerciſe of their Religion, according to "their own practice and cuſtome, whilſt they ſhould be at any time in *England*, "he would aſſign them convenient places to that purpoſe in *London*, or any other "part of the Kingdom, where they ſhould deſire it. Nor could all the Importunity or Arguments, uſed by *Montrevil*, prevail with his Majeſty to enlarge thoſe Conceſſions, or in the leaſt to recede from the conſtancy of his reſolution; though he inform'd him of "the diſſatisfaction both the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, and the "Presbyterians in *London* had in his Majeſty's reſolution, and averſeneſs from "gratifying them in that, which they always had, and always would inſiſt upon; "and that the *Scots* were reſolv'd to have no more to do with his Majeſty, but to "agree with the Independents; from whom they could have better conditions than "from Him; and he fear'd ſuch an Agreement was too far advanced already.

Many Anſwers aud Replies paſſed between the King and *Montrevil* in Cipher, and with all imaginable Secrecy; in which, whatever reproaches were caſt upon him afterwards, he always gave the King very clear and impartial information of the temper, and of the diſcourſes of thoſe People with whom he was to Tranſact. And though he did, upon all occaſions, with much earneſtneſs, adviſe his Majeſty to conſent to the unreaſonable demands of the *Scots*, which, he did believe, he would be at laſt compell'd to do, yet it is as certain, that he did uſe all the Arguments the Talent of his Underſtanding, which was a very good one, could ſuggeſt to him, to perſwade the *Scots* to be contented with what the King had ſo frankly offer'd and granted to them; and did all he could to perſwade and convince them, that their own preſervation and that of their Nation depended upon the preſervation of the King, and the Support of his Regal Authority. And it is very memorable, that, in Anſwer

ſwer to a Letter which *Montrevil* writ to the King, and in which he perſwaded his Majeſty to agree with the *Scots* upon their own demands, and amongſt other Arguments, aſſured his Majeſty, " that the *Engliſh* Presbyterians were fully agreed with the " *Scots* (which his Majeſty believ'd they would never be) the *Scots* having declared, " that they would never inſiſt upon the ſettling any other Government " than was at that time practiced in *London*; urging many other ſucceſſes, which they had at that time obtain'd; the King, after ſome expreſſions of his adhering to what he had formerly declared, uſed theſe words in his Letter of the 21ſt of *January* to Monſieur *Montrevil*, " Let them never flatter themſelves ſo with their " good ſucceſſes; without pretending to Prophecy, I will foretel their ruin; ex- " cept they agree with me; however it ſhall pleaſe God to diſpoſe of Me; which they had great reaſon to remember after.

But becauſe, though this Treaty was begun, and proceeded ſo far as is recited, before the end of the preſent Year, yet it was carried on, and did not conclude, till ſome Months after the next Year was begun, we ſhall put an end to our Relation of it at preſent, and reſume what remains, in it's place of the Year enſuing: Only, before we finiſh our Account of the Actions of this unfortunate Year forty five, we muſt mention one more, which happen'd on the two and twentieth of *March*, juſt as the Year was expiring.

The Year 1645 concludes with the Defeat of the Lord Aſtley's Forces.

The King had hoped to draw out of the few Garriſons ſtill in his poſſeſſion, ſuch a Body of Horſe and Foot, as might enable Him to take the Field early in the Spring, though without any fixed deſign. But this was daſh'd in the very beginning, by the total Rout and Defeat the Lord *Aſtley* underwent; who being upon his March from *Worceſter* towards *Oxford*, with two thouſand Horſe and Foot, and the King having appointed to meet him, with another Body of fifteen hundred Horſe and Foot, Letters and Orders miſcarried, and were intercepted; whereby the Enemy came to have notice of the Reſolution, and drew a much greater ſtrength from their ſeveral Garriſons of *Gloceſter*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Eveſham*. So that the Lord *Aſtley* was no ſooner upon his March, but they follow'd him; and the ſecond day, after he had marched all night, when he thought he had eſcaped all their Quarters, they fell upon his wearied Troops; which, though a bold and ſtout Reſiſtance was made, were at laſt totally Defeated; and the Lord *Aſtley* himſelf, Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was Lieutenant General of the Horſe, and moſt of the other Officers, who were not kill'd, were taken Priſoners. The few who eſcaped, were ſo ſcatter'd and diſperſed, that they never came together again; nor did there remain, from that time, any poſſibility for the King to draw any other Troops together in the Field.

THE END OF THE NINTH BOOK.

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